UnderCurrents

The Politics of
Natural Space

CONTENTS

Have you
been introduced
to PLACE?

Do you know
WHERE
PLACE
is?

PLACE
is
NOT
WHERE YOU WERE

Perhaps it might be best to begin here, with the particularities of the space in which *UnderCurrents* is produced. In its rather desultory isolation from the intensities of the city of Toronto, and its somewhat ironic "distance" from the mythos of the wild, *UnderCurrents* is both figuratively and literally situated at a juncture between the realms of culture and nature. For readers familiar with this journal, part of what we have attempted to negotiate over the years has been some of the conceptual boundaries which work to bracket and divide these intimately inseparable realms. In essence, *UnderCurrents* has sought to define something of a liminal, in-between space from which to consider various problematics of nature and the "natural". This project exists in what is strictly speaking, the 'suburban.' York University happens at edges of both Canada's largest metropolis and the nation's most densely populated and highly 'cultivated' cottage and farm country. Beside the woodlot stands the mall, and within this nexus, we sit in a three-story, neatly partitioned, sealed glass building which houses the Faculty of Environmental Studies. Needless to say, this site is full of contradictions. And yet there is, most definitely, a here here. Like any place, it has its pleasures, conditions of power, regulatory structures and regimes, deprivations, excesses and economies. As such, and in consideration of its multitude of contradictions, we find this to be an apropos site from which to instantiate some discussions about an equally contradictory figure we initially termed, and perhaps now, after putting this journal together, can only provisionally call, "natural space".

By looking to present some of the issues at stake when the question of "natural space" is at stake, our intention here is not to offer neat resolutions of the contradictions or conflicts this question might involve. Rather, one critical point of this issue of *UnderCurrents* is to suggest that space has a history, defines a history, and marks a way of being in history. Considered in this manner, the ostensible figure of "natural space" stands as an important subject of concern for various social critics, including environmentalists. For one, by coupling together two terms – the spatial and the natural – we can get a sense of how "nature" has been historically circumscribed, produced and designated spatially, whether it be in parks, cities, conservation areas, the global commons, heavy industries, scientific laboratories or in various human and nonhuman bodies. Perhaps more significantly, because such circumscriptions are constituted through often deeply contested political and ideological frameworks, and thus very much acts and effects of power, they differentially define meanings and experiences of "nature" (and "culture") for various populations across the globe. Definitions of "natural space" in every way work within and are constitutive of prescribed economic, discursive and geopolitical contexts. Immanent to the social, they are a condition of its very ontology.

Part of this ontology of space concerns the very contingencies of what we in the West call the natural. Whether taken in terms of the "accidents" of geography, the availability of "resources", or the "limits" of the body, the very natures that spatialization processes circumscribe make crucial demands upon the organization of space and definitions of its history. Not that these natures "fight back" by way of a militaristic mathematics of neo-Malthusianism. They are more significantly locations where nature is not simply acted upon but is itself an actor. Considered in terms of its variegated historicity (which at once includes the biological, political and technical), "natural space" presents a complex, polysemic and deeply conflicted figure whose exigencies call for multiple kinds of critical engagement.

In this issue of *UnderCurrents*, we wanted to script together some of the complexities raised by the question of what constitutes "natural space". As is indicative in the pieces selected here, such a question not only invokes concerns over what counts as "natural space", but for whom it counts, and at what cost. Such concerns give rise to some very important considerations that, perhaps not so surprisingly, suggest a need to look at a series of problematics regarding the politics of nature. One critical example centres on the implications of colonization in constructions of "natural space" and land claim struggles of Native peoples. Colonization, as a number of writers in this issue suggest, has often involved a two-fold process of Euro-American settler states appropriating and controlling the lands of Native peoples and simultaneously redefining (or, in some cases, imaginatively inventing) the terms by which these lands are to be represented, understood and known. Colonization is a spatial process that accordingly ascribes use and exchange values to particular "natural spaces" and, in turn, to the bodies and lives of those who happen to inhabit these spaces. Struggles of reclamation and restitution, whether enacted at Oka, on the Hawaiian island of Kaho'alawe, Irian Jaya or Haida Gwaii, are thus very much imbricated in political contests over meanings and configurations of natural space. In significant ways, they exemplify the degree to which what is given as a space of nature is often in fact the outcome of historical processes of domination.

Such challenges to this ethos of the domination of nature have certainly had the highest profile in interventions, strategies and discourses of recent environmentalist thought and practice. There can be little doubt that contemporary discourses of North American environmentalists have offered up some key re-definitions of natural spaces and meanings and relationships to "the environment." But sorely lacking in these often romantic, at times reactionary discourses is a consideration of the degree to which nature is constituted in the urban realm. Consistently viewed as an environmental pariah – the antithesis of the "natural" – the modern city cannot be so quixotically overlooked, for it is a crucial site within which nature is engaged with and defined by global populaces. As different writers herein suggest, not only is it impossible to arbitrarily divide city and country, but to do so is shortsighted. It will become crucial for environmentalists to engage with urban space, not only as a generator of vast amounts of pollution and waste, but as a legitimate and viable site for transforming our practice of living on this earth.

If the city is a crucial site for the articulation of discourses and politics of nature, so too are bodies. Due in large part to the foundational work done in feminist studies and gender theory, the previously neglected relationship between the body and nature requires greater consideration than ever before. Indeed, as is evidenced by a number of discussions occurring in this issue, the politics of nature is in every way inseparable from the politics of the body.

In sum, as an increasing number of environmental initiatives and preservation objectives seem to be blinkered by forms of single issue argumentation, an engagement with spatial politics might begin to suggest different ways of articulating "environmental problems" by situating them within wider discursive and political fields. Thinking of the politics of nature spatially can possibly effect different questions and thus different kinds of concerns for social and environmental praxis. As the above problematics suggest, the point is, space matters to any consideration of the environment or nature.

Michael Bresalier with Shauna M. O'Donnell

PLACE is NOT "HOME BASE"

PLACE GOES where YOU GO   all the time

This is all very fine when you have ONE SUPPORT

But what if your SUPPORT is DIVIDED?

THEN - WHERE IS PLACE?

No matter what you may be UP TO   or DOWN TO

PLACE IS:
ABOVE,
AT,
or
BELOW
your
CENTER OF WEIGHT
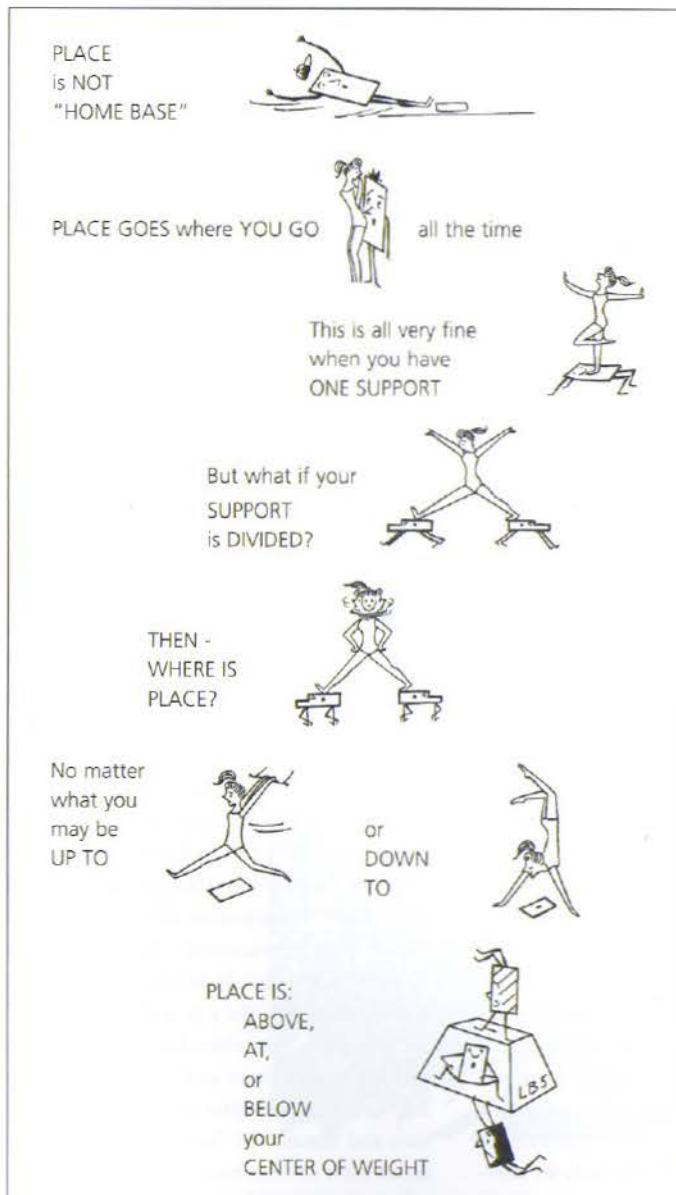
Labanotation by Ann Hutchinson, Illustrated by Doug Anderson, © 1954, 1970 The Dance Notation Bureau, Inc.

City and Ecology:
Notes towards an urban ecological politics

Stefan Kipfer

Our understanding of urban ecology continues to be informed by the nature ideologies of Social Darwinism, romanticism and scientism which are currently mobilized by political actors for concrete social projects: neo-fascism, eco-capitalism and different variants of environmentalism.[1] Accordingly it is not at all self-evident that the city should provide the site for ecological politics.[2] Under the impression of romantic ideologies, ecological problems are often linked to the ills of urbanization *per se* while Malthusian voices of the environmentalist movement interpret ecological problems and urban decay to inevitable evolutionary laws. In turn, solutions to the crisis of ecological sustainability tend to be looked for in a non-urban context, be it in the form of 'individual' suburban survival strategies, utopias of rural decentralization or the replacement of modern urban civilization by "organic" modes of rural living. Only in neo-capitalist strategies of 'ecological' planning does the city take centre stage in ecologically-oriented strategies of change.

These nature ideologies do not help us understand urban ecology as a process imbued with power relations. From the point of view of romantic thought, the city is important politically only in negative terms: as the anti-thesis of a co-operative and harmonic natural order serving (quite undialectically) as a dystopian mirror of an alternative future.[3] In Social Darwinist terms, the modern city with all its market-induced instabilities and disruptions is no more than a reflection of the realm of "nature", which is guided by the inexorable principles of competition and selection.[4] Finally, eco-system planners do situate themselves in the city, yet they do so by assuming that the science of ecology can provide the tools to adjust urban systems to eco-systemic imperatives irrespective of the social dimensions of the urban process.[5]

Recognizing and criticizing intellectual current which inform contemporary ecological politics is not enough, of course. I suggest that Romantic, Social-Darwinist and scientist propositions can be countered with a materialist approach to urban eco-politics. My claim in this paper is that such an alternative approach can be formulated through a critical engagement with Marxist and post-Marxist discourses which are sensitive to the ecological, spatial and symbolic dimensions of capitalist social formations. Accepting that "urban ecology [...] is not the transferal of biological imagination onto urban societies, but [...] the sum of our social practices in cities related to our natural environment,"[6] I will offer five cuts on urban ecology which can be read as attempts to tentatively and all too briefly delineate the parameters of analysis and action that a self-consciously urban ecological politics of transformation might take into account.

1. Situating the city

As David Harvey has pointed out, "there is in the final analysis nothing "unnatural" about New York City."[7] "Nature" is not something "out there" to bring back into the city or for people return to. Rather, the concept of urban ecology expresses the dialectical unity of "nature" and society. Through the modern, predominantly urban complexes of production, distribution and reproduction, the urban itself is implicated in the production and transformation of ecology. Cities do depend on non-human ecological processes, which escape the full knowledge and control of humans; yet they are also a part of these processes, for capital and labour flows are themselves integrated in the highly differentiated socio-ecological structures of modern cities. Urban ecologies represent spatially specific "natural/social articulations".[8]

Urban ecologies are spatializations of human and non-human processes in two major ways. On the one hand, cities share a common "natural" – ecological, social and economic – history with their regional, national and international hinterlands. As Cronon[9] has shown in his study on Chicago and the Midwest, the city and the "frontier" are not polar opposites, but are connected through energy flows and commodity transactions which stimulate agricultural production and sustain the "second nature" of the urban built environment. On the other hand, urban modes of life have become the norm for people in advanced capitalist regions to the extent where the distinction between city and countryside has become exceedingly problematic. In an ever-expanding and deepening world economy, socio-ecological life, even in ostensibly rural areas, is being urbanized as metropolitan areas continue sprawling and as agriculture is being fully industrialized and commodified. In the urban ecologies of North America, Europe and Japan, "first nature" or "nature" in the romantic sense of the word can no longer seen separate from the spatial reproduction processes of capital.[10]

Ironically, ideas and images of the "the country and the city" continue to interpret people's lived experience even in these highly urbanized times.[11] In cities, "nature" is not only produced and appropriated materially (here: physically) but also represented and constructed symbolically.[12] Partly stabilized through institutions of civil society (education, the media) and cultural practices such as advertisement, visual arts, landscaping and tourism,[13] many current nature ideologies have specifically urban origins. Modern arcadian and romantic imageries of "nature", for example, are specifically urban reactions to the threats and dangers of the industrial city. Although positing a retreat from the conflict-ridden, sinful and all too Promethean profanities of urban life into the idyllic, virtuous and divine realm of "nature," the realization of modern pastoral ideals has been fully dependent on urban expansion, notably on the mobilization of industrial wealth for the construction of arcadian utopias in the suburbanization process.[14]

If urban ecology expresses a nexus of "nature, culture and society," there is no reason why critical ecologists should shy away from the project of developing *urban* ecological visions.[15] Pragmatically, such visions could be based on the recognition that dense forms of urban living are in principle less energy-extensive than networks of dispersed 'rural' communities.[16] Politically, a transformative ecological politics would not dis-engage from the experience of industrialization and urbanization, it must build on them while striving to counter the destructive effects of *capitalist* urbanization. Such a perspective would counter

not only anti-urban nostalgia but also bourgeois "ideologies of the city" which have influenced current eco-managerial approaches to urban planning and may serve the purpose of providing urban growth coalitions with a sense of purpose and legitimacy.[17]

2. Urban ecology and the societal relations with nature

Any form of political mobilization is socially and spatially situated. The "middle-class" basis of a large part of what is commonly understood as environmental politics in metropolitan countries is a well-known fact. Although "middle class" is an increasingly problematic category describing many different and contradictory class positions (including the precarious position of educated but underemployed young adults who have played important roles in new social movements), both fundamentalist and mainstream environmental movements tend to draw disproportionately on professional middle class strata for membership and electoral support.[18] Given the social situatedness of environmentalism, constructing universal images of nature devoid of human practice to defend ecological stability and preserve wilderness is highly problematic.[19]

In reality, the human experience of "nature" is itself socially specific and finds multiple expressions in what Jahn calls societal relationships with nature. Societal relationships with nature encompass specific physical, social, symbolic and epistemological dimensions and include basic forms of human survival such as work health, nutrition, biological reproduction and inter-generational relations.[20] Societal relationships with nature are thus mediated through the power relationships of class, gender, sexual orientation, racism and imperialism which have regulated human bodies in modern social formations and mould the forms in which we relate to non-human life-forms.[21] By extension, urban ecologies are sites where these societal

relationships with nature assume historically and geographically concrete forms.[22]

In cities, "nature" is thus represented and appropriated unevenly and unequally. The configuration of suburbia in industrial Britain and North America, for example, was not only intended to symbolically reconcile man (sic) with pastoral nature by means of the very environmentally destructive processes of capital accumulation which had made the suburban utopia possible in the first place. Sub-urbanization was also predicated on the exploitation of colonial peoples and ecologies, the cementation of patriarchy in its nuclear bourgeois form of the single-family home and the ghettoization of the working class in the dismal quarters and workplaces of the industrial city. To put it differently, suburbanization can be understood as a particular socio-ecological constellation which includes processes of class formation, gendered and imperialist division of labour, forms of spatial segregation along lines of "race," ethnicity and class, and symbolic as well as physical forms of instrumentalizing non-human ecologies.[23]

Given these urban connections between spatial exclusion, social exploitation and the appropriation of human and non-human "nature," every ecological project represents a social and economic project as well, while "every social (including literary and artistic) project [is] a project about nature, environment and eco-system."[24] Urged by workers and environmental justice activists who face ecological problems such as toxic emissions and dump sites in their segregated spaces,[25] environmentalists cannot continue to pretend to defend the integrity of external or uni-

versal nature but must broaden the concept of ecological politics to include such questions as heterosexism, environmental racism, women's reproductive rights, and workers health and safety. In connecting these distinct but related struggles, urban ecological politics would encompass an articulatory politics of identity, difference and counter-hegemony.[26]

3. Urban ecology and the structure of the capitalist city

In the urbanization process, the degradation of human and non-human ecologies is socially produced. Since societal relationships with nature are mediated through urban ecologies – spatial constellations of human and non-human histories – urban ecological crises can be understood as crises of the societal relationships with nature, not as the products of urban and human infringements on "naturally" self-regulating eco-systems external to human practice. In cities, "the individual spheres of society and nature are not in a critical state, but society's relationships with nature are."[27] In the following
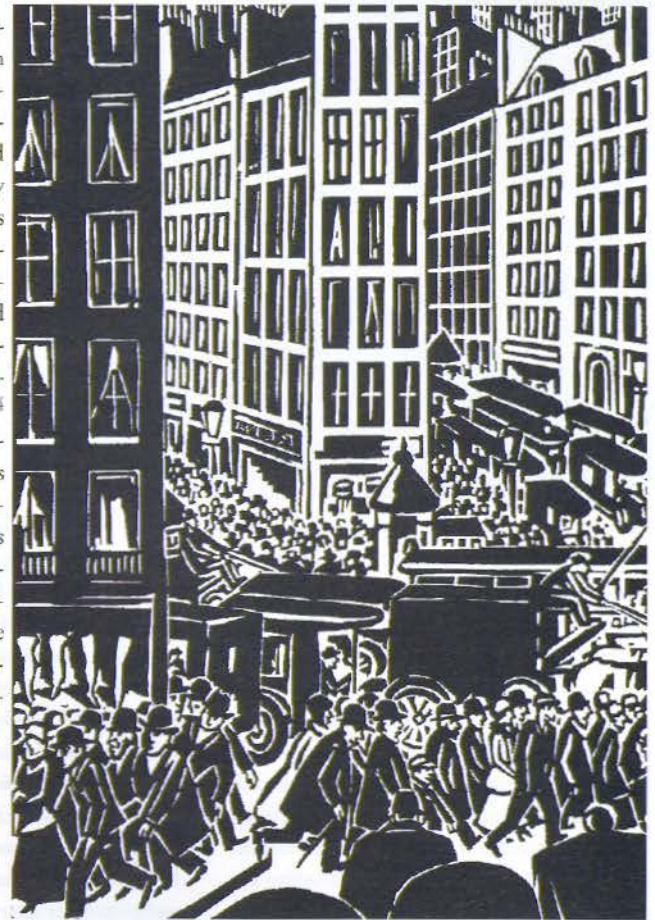
three sections, I would like to clarify this statement by foregrounding the capitalist dimensions of the societal relations with nature and demonstrate that urban ecologies are enmeshed with the production of space in capitalist social formations.

The reproduction of capital depends on the successful mobilization of "conditions of production" – the pseudo-commodities of labour-power, non-human ecology, and the "communal, general conditions of social production" which include collective infrastructures like transportation and communica-

tions systems. Labour-power, non-human ecology and the communal conditions of production are treated by capital as if they were commodities: they are objectified in the labour process and sucked into the monetized process of commodity exchange. In these processes the concrete and interdependent qualities of land, community and labour-power are no longer 'visible' other than on capital's terms: as universally exchangeable goods or isolated objects of production. Yet the conditions of production can never be fully subsumed under the control of capital. While permeated by the logics of capital, they are not produced and owned like regular industrial commodities and cannot

be manipulated by purely technical means. Capitalist social formations are thus riddled with uncertainties also because capital is blind to its ecological and extra-capitalist bases.[28]

The mobilization of the conditions of production is an inherently spatial process which extends to imperialist divisions of labour and the production of urban space. Although capitalist relations of production originated in the post-feudal countryside, capitalist industrialization has been a primarily urban phenomenon. Historically, the progression of capitalism came thus to depend on the constitution and periodic reorganization of the "structured coherence" of urban space,[29] that is to say a relatively stable configuration of labour markets, consumption norms, inter-corporate relations, built environments and technological systems of energy and matter transformation. Urban regions can be seen as particular "spatial fixes"[30] where labour-power is reproduced in working-class milieus, water and energy flows are appropriated and transformed, and technological dynamism is propelled by collective infrastructures, relationships of proximity and non-market transactions.

As a central moment in the organization of the ecological foundations of capital, the relative spatial fixity of cities also embodies social and ecological costs produced by capitalist modernization.[31] Many aspects of current ecological degradation, for example, can be traced back to the postwar city and the Fordist regime of accumulation characterized by mass production, mass consumption and an all-pervasive, cross-sectoral technological complex feeding on neo-colonialism, cheap fossil fuels and the petrochemical industrial complex.[32] In postwar metropolitan regions, Fordist production and consumption took a particular geographic form dominated by

functionally and spatially dis-aggregated suburban neighbourhoods, single-storey industrial plants, office parks and automobilized transportation systems. Symbolizing a new stage in the subsumption of human and non-human creativity under the logic of capital,[33] this energy-intensive and spatially extensive mode of accumulation crystallized in urban form and has led to massive ecological costs which cannot be multiplied indefinitely or extended to a planetary scale.

If indeed ecological degradation is produced socially and deeply enshrined in
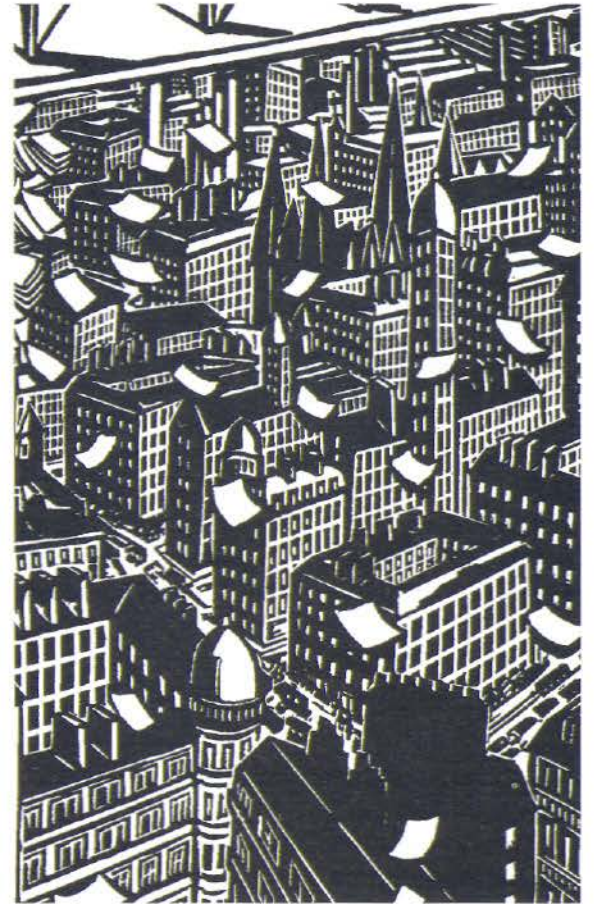
urban space, then oppositional, transformative urban ecological politics could adopt a use-value perspective of the city and aim at, for example, protecting the built environment from the pressures of real-estate speculation, integrating agricultural and industrial production systems in a new food regime, reversing the functional separation of living, working and recreation, and building non-hierarchical social relationships in households, workplaces and communities. Such an alternative urban ecological project cannot help but confront the urban capitalist aspects of the societal relationships with nature which are geared towards maximizing exchange values.

In the long term, trans-formative strategies of ecological politics can only be successful if they exploit the dependence of capital on the production of urban space by resisting the expansion of commodified spaces and preventing capitalist social relations from stabilizing in urban space.

4. Politics, hegemony and the regulation of urban ecologies

How can we find a way out of this structural narrative back to considerations of
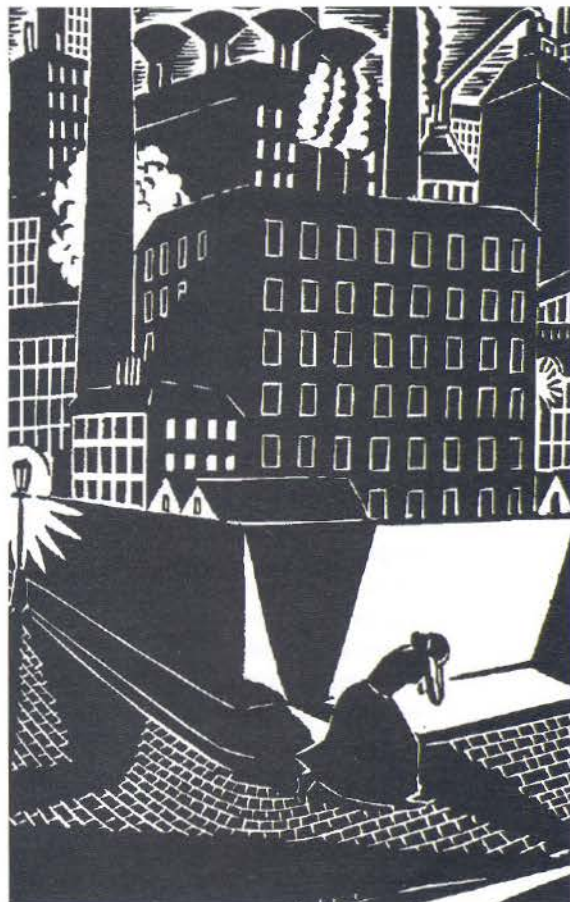
political action? As already indicated, capitalist development pre-supposes the mobilization of the conditions of production and therefore the production of space. Since capital does not have the means to ensure its own reproduction and is furthermore built upon relationships of exploitation in the spheres of production and reproduction, the rule of capital is never complete and in its partiality remains contingent upon political organization. Politics is thus a formative element in "the basic regulation [stabilization and routinization, S.K.] and symbolic constitution of societal relationship with nature".[34] Given the social, ecological and spatial limits to capital, an

analysis of urban ecology necessitates a discussion of local politics.

Neo-Gramscian theoreticians of capitalism have highlighted the role of agency and the politics of hegemony in the constitution of historical capitalism. These analysts have pointed out that the laws of capital are not underlying constraints which operate behind people's backs and are hidden beneath popular consciousness.[35] Instead they become generalized, if at all, through collective practices which are congealed products of social conflict and condensations of the balance of power among organized political forces.[36] Ultimately, laws of development are no more than historical configurations of social relations tied together by what Gramsci called hegemony: (1) constellations of dominant and subaltern political forces which are bound together by alliances, ideological formations and the institutions of state and civil society; (2) the cultural practices of everyday life which constitute people's political subjectivities and routinize conflict to *temporarily* immunize social relations from direct political challenges in a space of *normality*. By extension, one can suggest that the (structural) societal relationships with nature are "bound together with a relationship of hegemony and compromise."[37]

Similarly, the materialization of capital in urban space is negotiated through a complex constellation of political conflict and compromise among urban political forces which construct the particular ways in which urban space is organized, controlled and commodified. The mobilization of the conditions of production and the constitution of the structured coherence in the Fordist city, for example, was facilitated by the practices of urban growth coalitions (developers, real estate agents, boards of trade, state agencies, politi-

cians, local newspapers etc.). In locally specific forms, these growth coalitions unified the interests of urban elites, tied certain subaltern groups (construction unions, for example) to a vision of unlimited growth, and sustained what appeared to be a "natural" (inevitable and apolitical) process of urban expansion.[38] Thereby, these growth coalitions politically and symbolically unified the material flows and infrastructures of the Fordist city and temporarily cemented the structured coherence of the postwar city. The latter would disintegrate under the combined pressures of spatial restructuring and movement mobilizations which *rendered visible* the historical contingency of postwar (dys)-urbanization and dis-engaged political subjectivities from the constraints of normal everyday life.
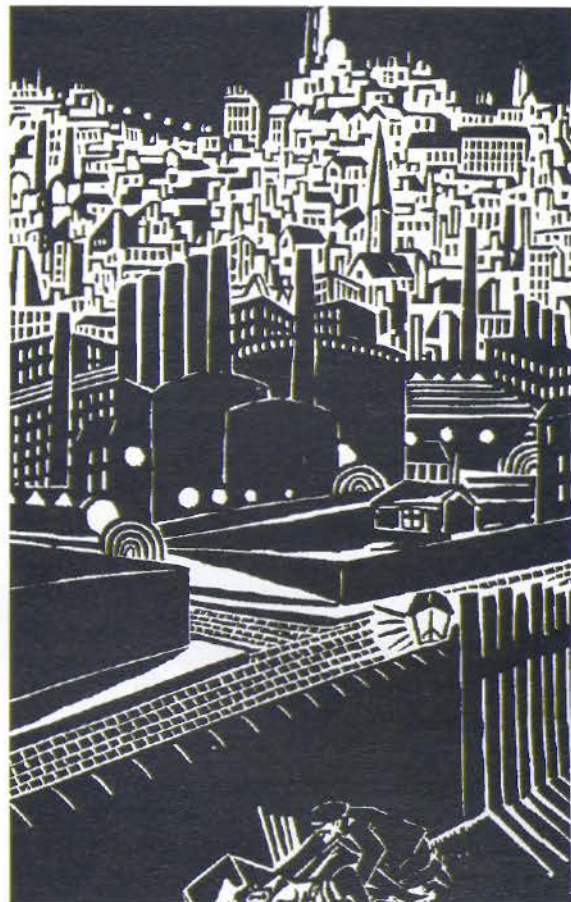
For urban ecological politics, two conclusions follow from these observations. First, strategies aimed at the construction of an alternative urban ecological future are inevitably bound up with issues of protracted cultural change. Given the multiple dimensions of the societal relations with nature, the task here would be to combine the variegated strands of the cultural politics of nature with the search for collective political subjectivities

which are not fully captured by the economistic culture of the capitalist city. Second, urban ecological activists should continue to be active players on the more "traditional" terrain of the state and civil society to engage the dominant actors which clustered in and around the local state have removed the regulation of societal relationships from democratic control. Such a two-pronged urban ecological politics could play a role in tilting the balance of political forces in a reformist direction or, conversely, disrupting the ties among dominant and reformist subaltern groups to construct a broader counter-hegemonic bloc in support of socio-ecological change. This is no easy task. The struggles of social movements in Western Europe have demonstrated the difficulties of simultaneously nurturing a culture of resistance in alternative institutions and articulating counter-cultural milieus with state-centred strategies of radical reform.

5. It all comes together in global cities: transnationalization, urban ecology and local politics

Since the 1970s the spatial configurations and social forms of capitalist development have been progressively reorganized. The multi-national and neo-colonial divisions of labour, which had embedded the national Fordist economies of the postwar period, are being superseded by *transnational* constellations of production, finance and class structure.[39] The formation of a network of global cities such as New York, Tokyo, London, Los Angeles and Toronto has thrived on the selective integration of nation-states into a transnational capitalist regime. As headquarter cities, nodes of financial transactions, milieus of a transnational managerial and professional class, and destination points of new immigration movements, global cities are integral to the organization of transnational capital, financial and labour flows and the production of a "global post-modern" consumer culture.[40]

Just as ecological considerations have become central to the modernization of contemporary capitalism,[41] the problematic of urban ecology has become a crucial aspect of urban transnationalization.[42] Through their ties to transnationally dispersed hinterlands, global cities connect urban with global ecologies by binding together capitalist societal relationships with nature which operate at local and global scales. First, the financial

institutions, producer service networks and telecommunications infrastructures agglomerated in global cities manage the financial conditions under which non-human ecologies and human bodies are transformed into manageable resources on a transnational scale. The current global financial regime of high interest rates, short-term investment horizons and debt enforcement has led to accelerated rates of exploitation of minerals, forests and agricultural lands in those (mostly Southern) countries which are forced by structural adjustment regimes to generate foreign exchange and maximize export production.[43] As spatial bases of transnational financial flows, global cities are central moments in the subjugation of human and non-human creativity to the imperatives of global finance.

Second, in global cities urban trans-nationalization means a new round of local-regional ecological degradation. While global cities embody global societal relationships with nature in the medium of money, the formation of global cities presupposes the production of space and the reorganization of urban ecologies on a regional scale. Global cities operate in office complexes, bulky telecommunication systems, vast data banks, international airports, railway stations for high-speed trains, gentrified residential districts and spectacular places of cultural consumption. The requirements of global cities thus imply processes of spatial expansion which tend to increase pollution levels and exert mounting pressures on water and energy sources. In the case of Zurich, Switzerland, for example, global-city formation has been related to the construction of a multi-nodal urban region of spatially dis-aggregated suburban residential areas and ex-urban business districts which are connected through multi-directional commuting flows and growing car-traffic volumes.

Third, while global cities depend on the mobilization of non-human ecologies to sustain the intensification of land use and the absorption of increased pollution levels, these processes of ecological degradation in global cities are refracted through relationships of power and exclusion which Friedmann and Wolff[44] have tried to grasp with the terms "citadel" and "ghetto." The operation of global cities cannot rely on the aforementioned spaces of power alone, it also depends on armies of low-paid workers who are employed in those precarious and gender-segmented sectors (ranging from data-processing to personal

services) which maintain the citadels of control and upscale living.[45] While high-income professionals and executives have access to "nature" as an amenity and symbol of power in exclusive, lush and green neighbourhoods, these workers are disproportionately exposed to smog, toxic emissions, and water shortages in populous or immigrant neighbourhoods which are often segregated along ethnic and "racial" lines. The degradation and re-constitution of urban ecology in global cities is mediated by processes of spatial polarization and fragmentation.

The Los Angeles rebellion in 1992 has indicated that the transformation of urban ecologies and the production of urban space in global cities is permeated with politics. Indeed, one might suggest that the urban is the central mediating instance which unifies urban ecologies with transnational capitalism.[46] Transnational processes are transmitted, modified or challenged depending on the particular balance of power among locally-connected political forces who negotiate the control of urban space and struggle for cultural hegemony. The *particular forms* in which urban ecologies are transformed is influenced by organization of growth coalitions in state and civil society and by the intersection of urban development with the politics of identity and everyday life. Looking at the very different examples of Zurich[47] and Los Angeles,[48] it seems that socio-ecological change and political conflict have fractured the hegemonic cohesion of global cities, making it more difficult to sustain the structured coherence of urban space in hegemonic (non-coercive) ways.

In global cities, no purely local ecological politics is possible, for urban ecological strategies are part and parcel of the struggle for the modalities of world-market integration. Urban ecological politics could thus engage in two-pronged strategies of transnationalization itself. First, given the segmentation of global city populations along lines of class, gender, ethnicity and "race," the construction of an alternative urban ecological future depends on the possibility of transnationalizing counter-hegemonic politics *locally*. A politics of articulation (most notably considerations of anti-racism and environmental justice) is absolutely central to bridge and partly transform the real differences among subordinate groups and engage them in solidarity actions against the strategies of capital and the "anti-cosmopolitanism" of neo-fascism.[49]

Second, the cross-cultural linkages of immigrant communities also provide an opportunity to build transnational alliances with movements in areas of the world whose socio-ecological characteristics are already connected to the control points of the global economy.

Conclusion

Urban ecologies dialectically unify human and non-human processes and spatially mediate the (physical, social and symbolic) societal relationships with nature. In structural terms, the production of urban space in the modern city is one of the main means through which capitalist social relations instrumentalize the ecological conditions of production and externalize costs on human and non-human communities. Politically, the mobilization of urban ecologies for the purpose of capital accumulation is problematic and thus mediated by the politics of hegemony: the processes of contestation and compromise in state, civil society and everyday life which regulate societal relationships with nature and stabilize or disrupt the structured coherence of urban regions. The case of global cities has indicated that at this point in the history of capitalism, local political-ecological strategies are connecting points at which urban ecologies become intertwined with global eco-systems and transnational capitalism.

If local politics fuse urban ecologies with extra-local scales of ecological reproduction and human interaction, then cities constitute strategic sites for oppositional ecological activism as well. Such activism should accommodate an articulatory politics of identity and difference not just because societal relationships with nature are multi-dimensional but also because recent socio-spatial transformations continue to fragment the life experiences of city dwellers. If one were to foreground considerations of capitalist urban development in a discussion of urban ecology and hegemonic politics, as this paper has tried to, the main challenge lies in combining the cultural politics of everyday life with a critique of capitalist modernization on the one hand and the state-centred strategies of socio-ecological reform on the other. In this light, an alternative urban ecological vision would include use-value forms of production and urban living, democratically coordinated human relationships with nature and webs of solidarity spanning across cultures and continents.

● ● ● **Stefan Kipfer** is a graduate student in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University, Toronto. He is currently completing his Masters thesis on local politics, urban change and global-city formation in Zurich, Switzerland. . . . .

Notes

1 David Pepper, *The Roots of Modern Environmentalism* (London: Croom Helm, 1983).
2 Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, *Die Dritte Stadt* (Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp, 1993).
3 Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology – Marxism without Guarantees." in *Marx: A Hundred Years On.* Betty Matthews (ed.), (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1983) 57-86.
4 Robert Park, E.W. Burges., and R.D. McKenzie (ed.), *The City* 2nd. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925); for a critique see Manuel Castells, La Question Urbaine. (Paris: François Maspero 1972); and M. Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Urban Space* (Austin: University of Texas Press 1988).
5 The Royal Commission on the Toronto Waterfront, *Watershed* (Ottawa 1990).
6 Roger Keil, "The Environmental Problematic in World Cities." in *World Cities in a World System,* Paul Knox and Peter Taylor eds., (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1995) forthcoming.
7 David Harvey, "The Nature of Environment: The Dialectics of Social and Environmental Change" *Socialist Register* 1993: 1-51.
8 Noel Castree, "The Nature of Produced Nature: Materiality and Knowledge Construction in Marxism," *Antipode* 27 1(1995):24; Franz Hartmann, "Towards a Socio-Ecoligial Theory of Urban Space," (Paper presented at American Association of Geographers Annual Conference, San Francisco April 2, 1994).
9 William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991).
10 Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1984).
11 Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1973).
12 According to Redclift, "external

nature such as wildlands, is every bit as much a social construction as 'second' nature, although transformed in the process of consumption rather than production" (1987, 228). Shopping malls are good indications for this point. Although they are sites where the commodified and abstracted products of concrete human and non-human "natures" are admired, sold and recycled into ecological reproduction processes, shopping malls are generally seen as symbols for the complete separation between "nature" and the city. Michael Redclift, "The Production of Nature and the Reproduction of the Species," *Antipode* 19 2.(1991): 222-230.
13 Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991).
14 Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).
15 p.m. *bolo'bolo* (Zurich: Paranoia City).
16 Pachlke argues that high density urban living has the advantage of saving energy by *a.* reducing average residential space per person; *b.* reducing the reliance of private car transportation; *c.* minimizing the need for individual ownership of domestic appliances *d.* reducing the energy intensity of heating and cooling systems by minimizing the number of exterior walls per residential unit; *e.* reducing birth rates in non-agricultural settings; *f.* increasing the reliance on collective modes of transportation; *g.* reducing the daily
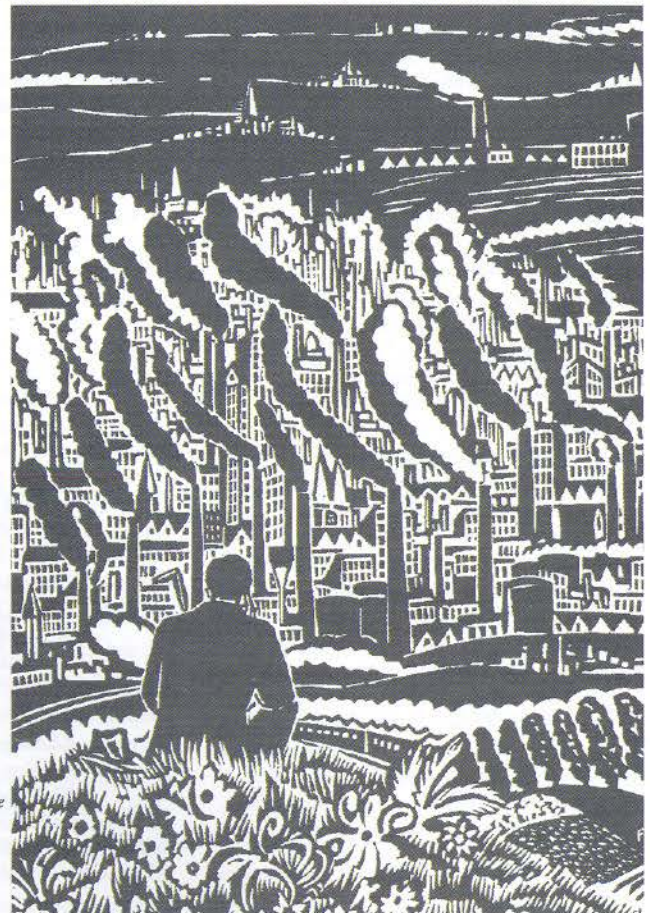
distances travelled per capita; *h.* reducing urban pressures on agricultural areas *i.* achieving the critical population mass for recycling, re-using and repairing systems. Robert Paehlke, *Environmentalism and the Future of Progressive Politics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989) 247-9.

17 Walter Prigge, "Metropolitanisierung" Kommune 3 20.(1989).

18 Claus Offre, "Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics" in *Changing Boundaries of the Political: Essays on the Evolving Balance Between the State and Society, Public and Private in Europe* Charles Maier ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 63-106.

19 In the mainstream environmentalist discourse of jobs vs. the environment, Keil detects as "deep-seated class prejudice" of middle class suburbanites who mobilize notions of clean, healthy, smart, consumption and service-oriented modes of economic development against the 'dirty' and 'productivist' world of blue-collar workers. Roger Keil, "Green Work Alliances: The Political Economy of Social Ecology," *Studies in Political Economy* 44 (1994). In non-metropolitan countries, such a brand of anti-urban environmental politics often reifies nature in calls for wildlife preservation and clashes with those oppositional forces for whom ecological concerns are not separable from social justice and economic survival. In areas of wildlife conservation of tropical rainforests of Amazonia and Central America, voices in support of the preservation of the "virgin" nature, which in many cases have come from local middle classes and metropolitan environmental organizations such as WWF, have sometimes been at odds with the politics of peasants, forest dwellers and native populations for whom there exists no ecological politics separate from concerns of social justice and economic survival. Daniel Faber, "The Ecological Crisis of Latin America: A Theoretical Introduction" *Latin American Perspectives* 19.1(1992):3-16; Suzanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers and Defenders of the Amazon* (London: Penguin 1992).

20 Thomas Jahn, "Ecological Movements and Environmental Politics in Germany" *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 4 1(1993):7-8.

21 This point can be illustrated with reference to democratic theory. It is commonplace in environmentalist circles to criticize the "Enlightenment tradition" of Western culture for constructing a dualism between reason and nature as a discursive strategy for man to objectify nature. However, until very recently, the status of 'reason' (i.e. political maturity) has been reserved for men of prosperity which could be entrusted with the responsibilities of controlling nature and managing social affairs. Workers, peasants, women, and slaves (in that order) were for a long time excluded from the sphere of rational politics because they were considered closer to nature and thus unable to conform to the standards of propertied political rationality.

22 Keil, 1995, forthcoming.
23 Robert Fishman, 1987.
24 David Harvey, 1993, 31.
25 Robert Bullard, *Confronting Environmentalism Racism: Voices from the Grassroots* (Boston: South End, 1993).

26 Kate Sandilands, "Ecology as Politics: The Promise and Problems of the Ontario Greens" 157-73; Laurie Adkin, "Counter-Hegemony and Environmental Politics." 135-56. Both in *Organizing Dissent: Contemporary Social Movements in Theory and Practice.* William Carroll ed., (Toronto: Garamond, 1992). On the politics of articulation, see Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London: Verso 1985).

Following Laclau and Mouffe, Adkin defines counter-hegemonic politics in the following terms: "I will consider as counter-hegemonic those discourses critical of capitalist accumulation, or productivism, of science as domination of nature, of the prevailing ideologies of science and technocracy, of relations of subordination-domination (gender, racial, heterosexual), and of the institutions and social practices that underpin such relations, including the restricted nature of liberal democracy and the separation of the personal and the political, or the private from the public. A counter-hegemonic discourse is formed by the re-articulation of elements of existing identities, values, and conceptions of need" (136).

Note also Andrew Ross' description of what he calls the politics of nature: "any broad understanding of the "environment" and the "politics of nature" must also include the full range of issues that have come to be known as the politics of the body: health care rights, reproductive rights, the politics of the immune system, concerns about diet and nutrition, sexual politics, the ethics of bio-technologies, the politics of skin colour, the politics of workers safety, and so on. It is in the contexts of these environmental issues that people experience limits to their social growth, and these are the areas where individuals invest their strongest political passions and feel that their opinions and actions can have the most effect." Andrew Ross, "Getting the Future We Deserve," *Socialist Review,* (1991): 148.

27 Thomas Jahn, 1993, 7.
28 James O'Connor, "Capitalism, Nature, Socialism: A Theoretical Introduction" *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism,* 1.1 (1988): 11-45. On the colonial and patriarchal dimensions of the conditions of production, see Mies, 1986; Faber, 1992.

29 David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).
30 see Harvey, 1989.
31 Frank Beckenbach, "Social Costs in Modern Capitalism." *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 2 (1987):109-122.
32 Barry Commoner, *Making Peace with the Planet* (New York: New Press, 1992) 46-55.
33 Elmar Altvater, "The Global Order of the Societal Relationship with Nature" Trans. Stefan Kipfer, *Political Ecology: Global and Local*

Perspectives, David Bell, Leesa Fawcett, Roger Keil, Peter Penz eds. (McGill-Queens University Press, 1995) forthcoming.
34 Thomas Jahn, 1993, 6.
35 Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology – Marxism without Guarantees." *in Marx: A Hundred Years On.*
36 Robert Cox, Production, Power and World Order (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987). Alex Demirovic, "Die Hegemoniale Strategie der Wahrheit: Zur Historizität des Marxismus bei Gramsci" *Argument Sonderband* 159 (1989): 69-89.
37 Alex Demirovic, "Ecological Crisis and the Future of Democracy." *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism,* 59
38 John Logan, and Harvey Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley: California Press, 1987).
39 Stephen Gill and David Law, "Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital." *International Studies Quarterly* 33(1989):475-499.
40 Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: London, New York, Tokyo,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology – Marxism without Guarantees." *Marx: A Hundred Years On,* 57-86.
41 Elmar Altvater, "The Global Order of the Societal Relationship with Nature" *Trans. Stefan Kipfer, Political Ecology: Global and Local Perspectives. David Bell, Leesa Fawcett, Roger Keil, Peter Penz (eds). (McGill-Queens University Press, 1995) forthcoming;* Alain Lipietz, "A Regulationist Approach to the Future of Urban Ecology." *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 3.3(1992).
42 Roger Keil, 1995, forthcoming.
43 Elmar Altvater, *The Future of the Market: An Essay on the Reproduction of Money and Nature after the Collapse of Actually Existing Capitalism,* Trans. Patrick Camiller, (London: Verso, 1993); Philip McMichael, "The New Colonialism: Global Regulation and the Restructuring of the Inter-State System" *A New World Order? Global Transformations in the Late 20th Century.* Jozsef Böröcz and David A. Smith, eds. (Westport: Greenwood, 1995) forthcoming.
44 John Friedmann and Goetz Wolff, "World-City Formation: An Agenda for Research and Action" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 6 (1982):309-44.
45 Saskia Sassen, 1991.
46 Roger Keil, 1995, forthcoming.
47 Kipfer, Stefan, "Globalization, Hegemony and Political Conflict: the Case of Local Politics in Zurich, Switzerland" *A New World Order? Global Transformations in the Late 20th Century,* Jozsef Böröcz and David A. Smith eds. (Westport:Greenwood, 1995) forthcoming.
48 Roger Keil, *Weltstadt – Stadt der Welt: Internationalisierung und Lokale Politik in Los Angeles* (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1993).
49 Roger Keil, 1995, forthcoming.

Images from *The City* by Frans Masereel, originally published in Germany as Die Stadt in 1925 by Kurt Wolff Verlag AG, Munich.

10...

(there's no space like home, there's no space like home, there's no space like

fiona heath
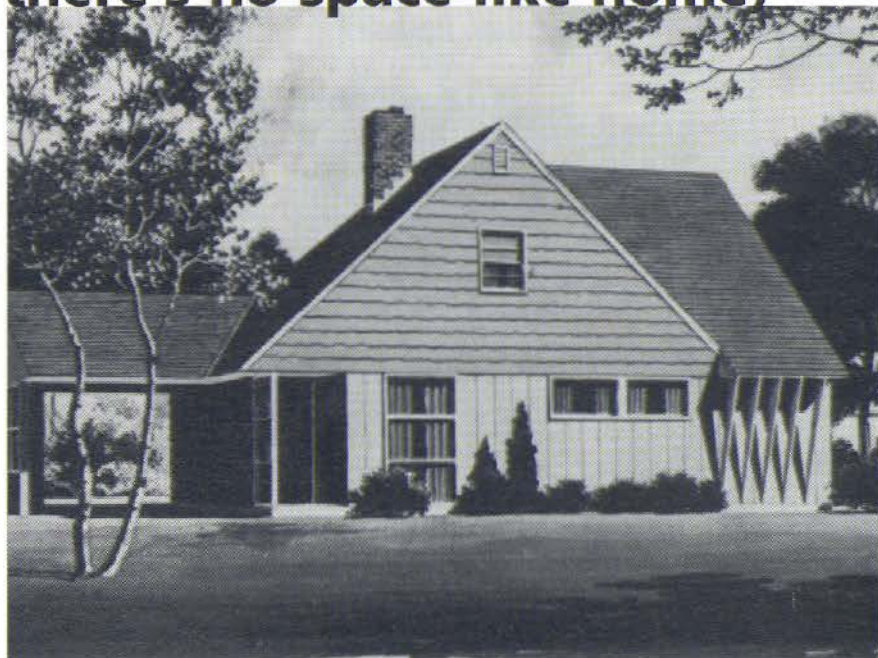
Ranch-style home, Levittown, New York, about 1950. National Archives, from Housing: Symbol, Structure, Site, Lisa Taylor (ed.)

i'm a culture hugger, a city hick, a suburban chick. (i've driven through algonquin park.) i'm visiting a heart-friend in cottage country. snow, ice, lake, trees, sun, birds, clean air. we walk across the singing lake, smiling at the sun, each other, the trees, until our faces hurt with pleasure. here is beauty. but cottages crowd every inch of shoreline. snowmobiles snort by. electric giants hum as they march along the horizon. cars whine along the not too distant highway. is this nature? is it home? what feels like nature? what feels like home?

Home. What do I mean when I use the word home? Is home where the heart is? East, west, is home best? Wherever I lay my head, is that my home? Does it feel good to be back home again? Is it where the deer and the antelope play? It's hard to clearly define home – sometimes I think cliches have more truth than these cynical times will allow us to admit. But I'm also sure we have utterly misunderstood the meaning of home. Whatever home is, it isn't a split level in the burbs, and it isn't privacy and security, at least not in the sense of burglar alarms and car phones. In much the same way as Neil Evernden has described the social creation of nature,[1] home, for North Americans, is also a social creation. The meaning of home is now a constructed (imposed) ideal and manifestation, both of which are meant to represent an intangible meaning, but don't. What was home before?

I use the word "home" to describe a particular web of relations between self and environment.[2] These relations are between a core-being and other beings, both human and non-human, and between the core-being and place, rooted in the past and continuing into the future. But what isn't a series of relations? What makes home feel like home? Home is an *experienced* meaning which orients and identifies the core-being. Home arises out of intimate, meaning-full relations between beings; other beings and places are autonomous *living* entities, and these relations grow through the process of non-cognitive knowing. What I mean is home-making is a closely lived experience, a development of feeling and orientation, not a conscious mental construction. Obviously mind is involved too, body, emotions and mind can not be separated that easily, but the sense of home arises first from feelings. People do not think they are at home somewhere, they feel it. The power of home arises out of the knowing of the body and the emotions. Home is what/where/who the body and emotions know best. Experiencing home necessarily takes place in the immediacy of the lived world.

How does the body know the world? I like Joseph Grange's use of the term "flesh", *whose sensuousness shocks us into remembering the fundamental activity of the human body; to feel the world and to house the environment in our being. Flesh speaks of the living, not the dead.*[3] The flesh-being is alive and passionately involved in the other, directed outside itself, inextricably entangled in existence.[4] The flesh is involved in the immediate world through movement in space; it

nothing! After a few minutes I seemed to live in every inch of my body as fully as I usually do in my head and my hands and my heart. I had the fascinating feeling that I could think as easily with my limbs as with my brain...

The feeling being also has to be engaged in the world, it's knowing is temporal, it moves from one moment to the next. The feeling-being is the emotional response to the other, it is the felt sense of our interaction with the environment.[5] Feelings are not simply internal states, they are avenues through which being is expanded out into its lived world. Feelings are an expected response to the world, allowing meaning and value to be discerned in others and in place, disclosing time by emotional movement and perception. This is closely aligned to the idea of the self as a field of care, where the self is not limited to the boundary of the body, but has a gradient of involvement in the world; recognizing other beings as intimate parts of itself.[6] To care is to feel, to be vitally involved, caught up in the messy and passionate ways of life that surround each being. In *Postcards from the Edge* Carrie Fisher writes: *Sometimes... I'll be driving, listening to loud music with the day spreading out all over, and I'll feel something so big and great – a feeling as loud as the music. It's as though my skin is the only thing that keeps me from going everywhere all at once.*

The knowing of flesh and feeling may require familiarity, but it doesn't mean control or domestication. Knowing may not even be equated with understanding. It may have more to do with acceptance and letting things be. I know the dog that I share my house with. I mostly know when he's hungry and when he wants to go outside. I can tell if he likes someone. But I certainly don't know how he experiences the world, or what he knows; the vacant lot down the street is flat and empty to me but is clearly full of exciting information for him, given how much time he spends sniffing about the rocks and mud.

If home is based on the knowingness of the being of flesh and feeling of the living other, where does place come in? Can't we just relate to beings wherever we are? Home, as I have said, takes place in the lived world of flesh and feeling. The web of relations of home requires a centre – the core-being. Home must be localized, grounded, and take place in lived space and time in order for flesh and feeling to develop knowing. Places contain centres. Places particularize relations, giving them a spatial dimension. Places serve as anchors for memories, for continuity. And, most importantly, places can be experienced as alive.

So home is place bound, immediate and lived, bringing us back to dwellings. Most people first think of their houses or apartments when home is mentioned. As in, "I've got to get home" or "I left it at home". I do that too, but most of the time I don't really mean I have to return to the place in which I feel at home, I mean the house where I keep my stuff. But sometimes, when I've had a bad day out in the rest of the world, when the bus is late, and it's really cold, and my clothes are itchy, and I have a headache, and the forces of evil and darkness are running all the institutions, I think, no, I feel: *I want to go home.* And when I finally get to my house and stop for a moment outside and just look at the crumbly old and messy place then I feel glad that in another moment I'm going to be inside and everything will seem better. Of course, then you're inside and it's the same as it ever was and the dishes aren't done and the answering machine is blinking furiously but you do actually manage to get some perspective and know you'll feel better in the morning. Unless, the bad day happened inside the house and then you need to get out.

I have said home is a web of intimate relations between the core-being and living others, organized in space over time. These relations are first established non-cognitively,

The Canadian Home: From Cave to Electronic Cocoon by Marc Denhez

knows by incorporating the world into being so that the flesh may act without conscious cognitive direction. Touch, which is essentially intimate movement through space, discloses primary information on a being's surroundings. Dodie Smith, in *I Capture the Castle*, writes: *What a difference there is between wearing even the skimpiest bathing suit and wearing*

through flesh and feeling. How does flesh and feeling relate to the other as alive? What does alive mean? What is the difference between the experience of home and the dwellings we identify as home. Flesh and feeling do tie houses to home, since dwellings are typically where our most immediate bodily and emotional needs are met; but the way in which needs are expressed and met by private dwellings is a distortion of the authentic experience of home.

Relationships between the core-being and others can only exist in time and space, but have no material expression in time and space. There is no embodiment of a relationship that exists distinct from the beings involved, although there may be symbols, such as the wedding ring, which indicate a type of relationship exists but is not the relationship itself. Relations are continually in process, intangible occurrences that cannot be examined directly, only form may be glimpsed through symbols and actions.

The process of relating may be best described as communication. For home, this communication can be best described as conversation or dialogue. I don't mean the "did someone feed the cat?" spoken word, but conversation as a transformative exchange between beings. Conversation must be lived. It develops through the rhythms of moving from nearness to distance, from openness to closure. Dialogue brings other beings toward the core-being, and sends the core-being out to other beings. If there is a me and there is a you and we enter into conversation . . . as it continues, if we've both participating and giving of ourselves, we're both more defined but also more together, a bond has been created. In making the relationship between us clearer, we are also defined. Conversation involves at least two *living* beings, another that can converse right back at you, a reciprocal process. It has to involve beings that are alive and self willed. If you have continual control over other beings' responses, or view the other as an object, communication is simply a monologue.

This is where nature and natural spaces comes in. How can non humans participate in our experience of home if we view them as objects? As well, there are just less and less living non-human beings about, both physically and conceptually; more and more species are extinct, more and more end up as representations, subject to our control. There are lots of human beings, but we all say the same things after a while. Mostly

everything else seems to have become an it. The control of nature, its categorization as "it" denies anything but manipulative relations of dominance. "Its" require external forces for change. Home, requiring conversation between living beings, can not be developed with a natural "it". The experience of home becomes inauthentic, trying to replicate a meaning without recourse to the full spectrum of the living other.

What does authentic home mean? *Authentic meaning cannot be created through the manipulation or purification of form, since authenticity is the very source from which form gains meaning.*[7] Over the years, in North America where we live in the future before we live in the present, we have been able to plan ahead, building places before anyone actually lives there. The suburban model of "home" along with its symbiotic nuclear family model has become the conceptual ideal of home. These dwellings are replications, economic and technological creations, places of consumption with only limited production, that can only partially act as a structure for experiencing home. Home is not suburban developments such as the Credit Valley Estate in Mississauga, whose advertising billboard trumpets: "You've Arrived Home". Home doesn't consist of wall to wall carpeting and central vacuum. This concept/manifestation of home is fundamentally inauthentic for two reasons: it is a purification of form, both physically and in the ideal it is identified with; and it limits the experience of the flesh and feeling beings. I don't mean people who live in cookie cutter houses and apartments can't experience home, I only mean what is socially created as home isn't, and in fact, limits your ability to create authentic home. The houses-are-homes mentality prevents relationships with living non human beings, and limits relations with places.

If you buy a 'monster home' in the Credit Valley ultimate housing estate you get a really big house, a big garage, asphalt driveway and some monoculture domesticated grass. That's it. There are no living others on the property, except perhaps for some unrepentant dandelions. You can bring in others, but given local by-laws and vigilant neighbours, you know only certain others are allowed in. Pleasant flowers and shrubs and trees and nothing that looks messy or looks like it is growing without your express permission – or is that control? Inside, you have to work to create spaces that reflect the individual time and

space rhythms of your being. Everything already has a place. Every room already has a definition. You know which room is the master bedroom, the kitchen, the family room or the dining room. And don't you immediately feel like you'd better be a double income heterosexual couple with a kid or two? It's all planned for convenient living. Just not yours, unless you happen to be June and Ward Cleaver.

Home is when me and my surroundings are defined by our relationship, a necessarily close relation, so no matter which you looked at, you'd see us both. Home is the inseparability of self and circumstance.[8] Home overthrows the distinctions between self and environment, it denies the arbitrary labels society uses to quantify and box the world. Home also refutes the division between inside and outside and between nature and culture. The world made, in which function is embedded in form prior to use, restricts "home-making" – developing a sense of your way of being at home through your own experiences. Douglas Coupland, in *Life After God*, writes: *I have never really felt like I was from anywhere; home to me... is a shared electronic dream of cartoon memories, half hour sitcoms and national tragedies. I have always prided myself on my lack of accent – my lack of discernible regional flavour. I used to think mine was a Pacific Northwest accent, from where I grew up, but then I realized my accent was simply the accent of nowhere – the accent of a person who has no fixed home in their mind.* When lived places turn into conceptual spaces, both home and nature lose.

We have re-conceptualized home in such a way that precludes an authentic experience of home. We have "naturalized" the socially constructed home so that it has become the accepted, rarely questioned standard. But this solidified concept forgets that experiences can only be *experienced*. The only way for flesh and feeling to know the world is to live within it, move through it. I have bodily and emotional rhythms that resist the imposed rhythms of the house. My rhythms may be "natural", they no doubt follow some more subtle social constructions, but they arise out of my own orientation to the world. The prefabricated lifestyle of the house resists my involvement, my engagement with the world. It is simply a setting for activities, rather than a participant. Just as we have "naturalized" nature into objects, we have done the same to our dwellings. We continue to offer our flesh and feeling beings less and less avenues to knowing. We deny them on the

basis of comfort, efficiency, and economics. How can we experience home in our houses or in nature?

Home and nature are increasingly separated because nature as a social category, and nature as a physical entity, has less and less beings and more and more "its" inside its tenuous, but nonetheless currently there, borders. You can not have a conversation with an it. How can circumstances be part of you if you are alive and they are not? It used to be that nature was mechanical, thanks to Descartes, and we were just a mind and a machine. Now that we have seen fit to construct nature as utilitarian object, we are human resources. The term 'natural space' follows this detached management orientation. Is a forest a natural space? A river? Are parks? Parks are, that's my point. Natural space is a term used by those with socially sanctioned control. Do you decide to go take a hike through a natural space on a beautiful day? What images does the term "natural spaces" create? It is essentially meaningless – you have no physical referent for such a term. More accurately (sadly), you do. Parks and all those other "green spaces" which are non-places. Just as we have the generalized home, represented in physical form through the suburban house, we have generalized nature – grass and a few trees – manifested in parks and other socially designated "natural spaces". I am not implying that any human intervention in the natural world necessarily removes its authenticity, just that North American planning practices tend towards a fundamental alteration of places, be they "natural" or human. Places are lived, immediate, experienced. Space is just something you move through, it is empty, a setting for your interactions with other more important beings. "Natural space" implies a space to move

through which was here before humans. As more and more of the beings who lived in places (making homes) disappear or come under human control, the underlying conceptual framework becomes disconcertingly apparent. The term "natural space" is the logical linguistic extension of the conceptualization of nature as resources, as objects, as without particular meaning-full value. Natural spaces are no more natural than the Credit Valley. Natural space has replaced wilderness. Where did all the wild go?

We have dis-placed (spaced?) wildness. By wildness I mean that which is ungoverned, uncontrolled. Gary Snyder defines wild behaviour as that which is *artless, free, spontaneous, unconditioned. Expressive, physical, openly sexual, ecstatic.*[9] Isn't this also a description of life? As meaning and value disappear through domination and control, life, in the human made world of predictable permanence, may become synonymous with wild. We can only weave our webs of home through the process of relating to beings and places that are alive, or wild.

The meaning-full relations that I develop with living beings form my experience of home. But when I'm only offered dead things to work with, both conceptually and concretely, any home I develop will inevitably have little do with nature or even "natural space". The web of home becomes more and more dependent only on other people, and in a society based on unequal and destructive power relations, only certain people. The trend in North America is towards an increasing purification of form, denying the possibility of authentic relationships, both in the category "nature" and in the category "home".

I once read a science fiction short story set in a manly man's world where man and spaceship were as one moving through the universe. Faster then fast responses were required to operate the ship and so man and machine were mated for life. One man ends up with another's ship through misfortune and he has to work with it in order to prevent thousands from a dying a horrible death. But as it isn't his ship, he can't function normally. He tries to learn the new ship, but he can't do it in time to save the people. Finally, he redecorates the bridge in his own ship's image, so that his body feels like this is his ship. This saves the day. We tend to do the same, redecorate our surroundings in order to persuade ourselves that this is where we live. We believe

Christopher Fry: *Margaret: She must be lost. Nicholas: Who isn't? The best thing we can do is make wherever we're lost in look as much like home as we can.* But looking isn't the same as feeling. The underlying organic structures simply no longer exist, having been replaced by plastics, asphalt and circuitry. The lights are on, but nobody's home.

I can't offer any definitive ideas about the role of nature in experiencing home, or the role of home in experiencing nature, I can only suggest they are mutually beneficial. Positing nature as living, with beings that have their own will to change, broadens our (and their) opportunities for being at home. The opportunities for home are increasingly limited in North America as locatable, particular, lived nature is obscured by general, unspecific natural space. As Rainer Maria Rilke noted, the shrewd animals notice that we're not very much at home in this world we've expounded.[10] It's too bad there is no space like home.

. . . **fiona heath** has recently completed a Master's in Environmental Studies at York University. She finds herself at home in Waterloo, Ontario. . . . .

Notes

1 Neil Evernden, *The Social Creation of Nature*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1992).

2 For a comprehensive model of home, see Kimberley Dovey's "Home and Homelessness" in *Home Environments*, Irwin Altman & Carol Werner, eds., (New York: Plenum Press, 1985).

3 Joseph Grange, "Place, Body and Situation" in *Dwelling, Place and Environment*, David Seamon & Robert Mugerauer, eds., (Boston: Nijhoff Publishers, 1985), 72.

4 Carol Bigwood, *Earth Muse: Feminism, Nature, and Art*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 50.

5 Joseph Grange, "Being, Feeling, and Environment," *Environmental Ethics*, 7, 4 (Winter 1985), 361.

6 Neil Evernden, *The Natural Alien*, 2nd Edition. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 64.

7 Kimberly Dovey, "The Quest for Authenticity and the Replication of Environmental Meaning," in *Dwelling, Place and Environment*, David Seamon & Robert Mugerauer, eds., (Boston: Nijhoff Publishers, 1985), 33.

8 Neil Evernden uses this phrase to describe the concept of environmentalism, but I believe it applies equally well to home. Evernden, 1993, 142.

9 Gary Snyder, *The Practice of the Wild*, (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990), 10.

10 as quoted in Neil Evernden, 1993, 144.

Image: *The New York Times Complete Manual of Home Repair* by Bernard Gladstone (New York: The New York Times Co., 1978)

S(t)imulate Me:
A Loose Manifesto

Tres Fromme

Abandoning the concept of nature as it has stood for centuries dissolves the corresponding idea of culture as it has stood as well. Subsequently, ideas of subjectivity, epistemology, and normality ("the natural") become questionable. Doing away with nature as an epistemological ground for everything from sexuality to recreational wear ruptures the alibi that culture employs to disguise its workings as absolutes.

However, if as is often portrayed, the environmental problem hinges on a corrupt and decadent western culture, then perhaps it is culture rather than nature, itself a construct, that needs to be called into question.

The need, the morbid desire if you will, on the part of landscape architects to play with the cadaver of Nature, to prop it up as a transvestitic effigy, to continually s(t)imulate themselves and this dead thing, might be said to result from a pathological reaction to the underlying realization that there is no Nature. Landscape architecture enters into a state of "panic environmentalism" (following Arthur and Marilouise Kroker's work with "panic sex") where the natural is hysterically produced and reaffirmed to disguise the fact that there is no longer a natural. In this, nature is no longer a basis for culture as we have known it since the Renaissance.

Western culture fears nothing more than the reversal of that which it employs as its source of power both materially and symbolically. The s(t)imulating signs of the aestheticized hyper-nature of landscape architecture exists to cover the disappearance of the nature on which Western culture founds its privileged discourse. The socio-cultural system thus co-opts, indeed encourages, the supposed radical challenge of the environmental movement to an anti-environmental culture.

The tumescent sign system of nature distracts activism and critique. It allows a consumer culture to voraciously deplete limited resources while replacing them with simulations; environmental "restoration", the weekend camping trip, the "100% natural" foods replace the models of the "real" which once ex-

isted in the untamed wilderness. These aestheticized and fetishized products become more natural than the natural. The materialist/semiotic recuperation however serves as an alibi for something more insidious than merely destruction of pristine ecosystems.

The concepts of nature, the natural, and the naturalized constitute a major source of oppression. If nature stands as an unquestioned category, then the identities and cultural roles of women, non-traditional families, lesbian/gays/bisexuals, etc. remain grounded in oppressive concepts of the "natural". Consequently, the "unnatural" exists and functions as a categorical term of exclusion. Should this particular conception of nature fall, the shadow of nature perverted would collapse in step. Needless to say, the status quo can not afford to allow nature to collapse for most of its dichotomous structure rests upon a matrix of culture/nature/un-nature.

The role, then, of radical landscape architecture becomes one of rupturing the he(d)gemonic discourses of nature, of deconstructing the basis of culture to open a new realm of play. Cultural studies, women's studies, and queer studies, among other fields, have attempted this dismantling within their spheres of academic influence. However, these interrogations have by and large rarely influenced the layperson or the practitioner (the theorist even) of landscape architecture.

Part of this hesitation results from the rugged anti-intellectual tradition of landscape architecture. I would argue though that the strongest resistance derive from fears of losing the traditional raison-d'etre and privileged realm of the profession, nature. Despite this, landscape architecture might be one of the few disciplines situated strategically

enough between theory and practice, the academic and the popular, the professional and the layperson to attempt a rupture of the onerous nature/culture dichotomy.

Landscape architects might be able to insinuate themselves and their work within these economies of a hypernature and critically question the hundreds of magazines, products, media spectacles that constantly and frenetically (re)produce the signs of nature. The field as a multidisciplinary matrix seems well positioned to unravel and subvert the concept of nature within the s(t)imulation machines of glossy magazines, conferences, and research, to break the code, to reverse the natural. As Baudrillard has pointed out, the one thing totalizing systems fall prey to (for they do not take it into account) is their own reversibility and death.

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every design (re)enacts an originally

hostile occupation

On EMBODIED KNOWING AND RESISTANCE In Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space

Rose Cullis

Now I a fourfold vision see/ And a fourfold vision is given to me/ Tis fourfold in my supreme delight/ And threefold in soft Beulah's night/ And two-fold always/ May God us keep from single vision and Newton's sleep[1]

A narrow and desiccated rationality of this kind overlooks the core and foundation of space, the total body, the brain, gestures, and so forth. It forgets that space does not consist in the projection of an intellectual representation, does not arise from the visible-readable realm, but that it is first of all heard (listened to) and enacted (through physical gestures and movements)[2]

When I was a child I was a fierce animist. As a result, I have a vivid memory of the way the tenets and practices of the society I opened into required me to constrain my sense of the whole world as wildly alive and responsive. My attachment to this kind of sensibility was so pronounced and extended that my friends took to teasing me about it by kicking discarded potato chip bags down the street for the sheer pleasure of seeing me care. And so I engaged the process of learning to care a little bit less – of learning that *that* kind of being in the world is not only unnecessarily tortuous – but also epistemically suspect in its appeal to a kind of ecstatic subjectivity. In this manner the narrative that aligns dispassionate analysis with rationality in western approaches to knowing engaged my physical being.

And this truncated sensibility was further produced and supported by the spatial texture of the material world I inhabited. The suburbs where I grew up were a bleak excuse for a landscape, for instance. It felt like a world of flattened affect – and the industrial parkland, hydro fields, corner plazas designed for cars, and rows of houses with aluminum siding and burnt lawns, offered me a geography that was as implacable and unyielding as the rules that our society employed to manage "reality".

In the following essay I want to draw on Henri Lefebvre's contemporary critical theory of the production of space in order to explore his suggestion that recovering aspects of our embodiment might serve to challenge the aggressive spatial practices of contemporary capitalism. In his text, *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre contends that social space is socially produced. Space has texture and content, according to Lefebvre – it is not an empty "void" awaiting content.[3] He differentiates between three "moments" in the production of social space: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space. In our contemporary spatial practice, Lefebvre suggests, *representations of space* – that is, planned space, the built environment – steadily encroach upon and seek to dominate *representational space* – the lived space where we actively make meaning through the production of art, symbols, temples, rituals, etc.

It is in representational space that a robust fecundity is located, according to Lefebvre. Here our shared experience creates a kind of erotic economy in the production of space. We engage in a constant process of making new meaning together. We co-mingle and spill over in a manner that challenges and destabilizes any fixed and finalized experiential parameters.

The following discussion will proceed by leaps and bounds. My primary intention is to map out some of the concerns and issues that emerge around the politics of embodied knowing in Henri Lefebvre's approach to the production of space – and to use them to roughly fashion a way of imagining how our embodied agency might function.

REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE AND REPRESENTATIONAL SPACE

At times the body, which we have yet to explore, gets covered up, concealed from view, but then it re-emerges – then it is as it were resuscitated. Does this suggest a connection between the history of the body and the history of space? (196)

I want to begin this discussion of Lefebvre's account of how embodied knowing aligns itself with emancipatory activities in the production of space by drawing some analogies between his project and theoretical approaches in the philosophy of language. My intention here is not to conflate the two areas of study – rather, I want to tease out certain striking and shared problematics in order that they can "play" together. In particular, I want to suggest that "correspondence theories of meaning" – where language is understood as a user-neutral tool that provides transparent access to real entities – betray an urge to master meaning in a manner that is analogous to Lefebvre's description of how the space produced by capitalism ultimately functions (and seeks) to constrain lived (transgressive) space. On the other hand, Wittgenstein's "network theory of meaning" – where meaning in language emerges in the social practices and activities it is embedded in – shares with Lefebvre's approach a sense that our lived experience has a productive, constitutive function.[4]

Correspondence theories of meaning assume that terms in language can be made to correspond directly to representations/entities in the "real world". Language is ideally *transparent* in these accounts where "to know the truth requires that general notions be broken down into their component parts, which are the *reflections of reality itself*".[5] In the 1920s and 30s, for instance, the logical positivists sought to strip language of its subjective aspects in order to gain access to "pure objective reality". The idea was that it might be possible to describe phenomena directly without reference to any corrupting concepts or ideas.

An observational report would consist merely of descriptions of experienced colours and shapes (for example, a brown rectangle with four protrusions in each corner) but the object as such would not be classified (as a table). The purpose of the method was to eliminate from scientific observation any contamination by metaphysical assumptions.[6]

Wittgenstein was originally part of this project to master language by fixing the conditions of its meaningfulness. In his *Tractatus Logico Philosophicus* he attempted to

develop a "picture theory of language" that would serve to establish certain *a priori* axioms for meaning in language.

Eventually Wittgenstein completely abandoned this effort – identifying and rejecting in the process some key problematic assumptions with it. In particular, Wittgenstein suggested that realism and idealism are expressions of the same pernicious notion that "reality" exists in some fixed and finalized way outside of its expression – and that we can seek to represent it "accurately."[7] In his later work Wittgenstein instead grounds the emergence of meaning in the *bodiliness* that makes social exchange possible. The meaning of a term is determined by its usage – by the gestures and activities that accompany its application. Furthermore, that usage's coherence is embedded in "forms of life" that provide the conditions that both constrain meaning and make its *emergent* expression possible. Thus, the terms in any given language will drift associatively and their meaningfulness will reflect (and effect) the network of relations (material and linguistic) that inform them.[8]

Contemporary theory is full of examinations and interrogations of the manner in which meaning (the subject, experience, gender, nature, sex, the body etc.) is constructed.[9] In many senses, Lefebvre's examination of how we produce space is another in a series of a collective project of identifying and understanding new sites of cultural artifactuality.[10] What Lefebvre shares with Wittgenstein's philosophy of language is a particular way of thinking about the production of meaning as something grounded in material relations that exhibit emergent possibilities. Under these conditions any attempt to fix and finalize meaning prior to its expression betrays a misunderstanding of the constitutive part of the equation – of the way that we not only find, but also make new meaningful spaces together.

In Lefebvre's critique of capitalism's project of domination, for instance, he describes the way an attempt is made to capture space and hold it fast for the purposes of supporting relations of production that have been naturalized as "real" (and by that

process, concealed from awareness). But because new spaces emerge in practice, this project is continually threatened by contradictions – by the creative fertility of what it needs to possess.

The bourgeoisie and the capitalist system thus experience great difficulty in mastering what is at once their product and the tool of their mastery, namely space. They find themselves unable to reduce practice (the practico-sensory realm, the body, social-spatial practice) to their abstract space, and hence new, spatial, contradictions arise and make themselves felt. Might not the spatial chaos engendered by capitalism, despite the power and rationality of the state, turn out to be the system's Achilles' heel? (63)

I have already introduced what Lefebvre describes as three key (always interconnected) "moments" in the production of space – but they need some additional "fleshing out" here. A society's *spatial practice*, according to Lefebvre, is the concrete, material expression of the way that any particular society negotiates the relations between representations of space and representational space. This is the space that we perceive – the fleshy, windy, rocky (in our case polluted, depleted) "is-ness" of our world – the texture of the space we occupy.[11] According to Lefebvre, spatial practices reflect a society's mode of production, and tend to reproduce the particular social relations that support them.[12]

Representations of space refer to a space that is *conceived*, and constructed on the basis of that conception. This is the space of "scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers" (38), and includes the production of that society's "physical plant" – its buildings, roads, bridges, etc.

Representations of space must therefore have a substantial role and specific influence in the production of space. Their intervention occurs by way of construction – in other words, by way of architecture, conceived of not as the building of a particular structure, palace or monument, but rather as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which calls for "representations" that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms. (42)

Like the project of the logical positivists there is a certain stolidity – a sort of impervious determination to be in a particular way – in the way representations of space operate.[13] Lefebvre suggests that this "moment" tries to fix itself in time – that representations of space are acutely impositional over time under a capitalist mode of production which

"begins by producing things and by 'investing' in places" (219). Eventually capitalism functions to *reduce* time in a manner that interrupts the development of those social relations that make new meaning possible.

The relationship between space and time is critical here. "Time is distinguishable but not separable from space" (175) Lefebvre tells us. But under capitalism representations of space predominate in such a way that an "abstract space" is created that "relates negatively" to the way time destabilizes and reconstitutes fixed meanings. Abstract space functions instead to absolve any subtle and disturbing distinctions in our lived experience – and to recategorize them under "a sort of super-signification that escapes meaning's net". It reifies rigid and crude distinctions, and mines lived experience only to pickle those "parts" which subvert critical awareness.

Abstract space functions "objectally", as a set of things/signs and their formal relationships: glass and stone, concrete and steel, angles and curves, full and empty... A symbolism which is derived from that mis-taking of sensory, sensual and sexual which is intrinsic to the things/signs of abstract space finds objective expression in derivative ways: monuments have a phallic aspect, towers exude arrogance... A characteristic contradiction of abstract space consists in the fact that, although it denies the sensual and the sexual, its only immediate point of reference is genitality: the family unit, the type of dwelling (apartment, bungalow, cottage etc.) fatherhood and motherhood, and the assumption that fertility and fulfilment are identical. (49)

So purposive is the urge under abstract space to overwhelm and manage all aspects of spatial practice that even the "everyday" emerges as a category or an area of study – and subject as such to the incursions of expert judgments and summaries. In the name of public health, public education, or "human resource management" the social sciences have steadily defined new study parameters for observing human behavior, for instance. Theories of "optimal lifestyles" are painstakingly defined and articulated and ultimately function to align themselves with relations of power in the production of space.

Representational space, alternatively, is *alive* – it "embraces the loci of passion, of action, and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time" (42). It is the site of lived space – the locus of our symbolizing activities – the space where we find and

make meaning together. This is the space of lived experience – the space where our embodied awareness (interpenetrated with spatial practice and representations of space) is expressed in works of art, temples, childhood memories, dreams – all those "products" of our sensuous/imaginative engagement with the world that elude abstraction and tidy categorizations.

Representational spaces, on the other hand, need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history – in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people. Ethnologists, anthropologists and psychoanalysts are students of such representational spaces, whether they are aware of it or not, but they nearly always forget to set them alongside those representations of space which co-exist, concord or interfere with them... (41).

How does our embodiment relate to these moments in the production of space? Lefebvre suggests that our bodies – our living, breathing bodies with their polyphonic sensual expressiveness – function within representational space to insist upon that kind of emergent meaningfulness that cannot be reduced to abstract laws with their causal generalizations. In representational space a shift occurs "from the space of the body, to the body in space" (201).

But what is the nature of this shift, and how does it reflect our body's "radical potential"[14] under the thrall of abstract space? In Lefebvre's work our embodiment exhibits and inhabits a fertile and contradictory space that cannot be reduced to parts – it eludes the detached incursions of abstract space because its fluid emergent living operates differently. In recovering our embodiment as a source of knowing, we engage in a practice that is revolutionary because it is *participatory*.[15]

THIS BODY OF MINE THAT ISN'T

Indeed the fleshly (spatio-temporal) body is already in revolt. This revolt, however, must not be understood as a harking-back to origins, to some archaic or anthropological past: it is firmly anchored in the here and now, and the body in question is 'ours' – our body, which is disdained, absorbed, and broken into pieces by images. Worse than disdained – ignored. This is not a political rebellion, a substitute for social revolution, nor is it a revolt for freedom: it is an elemental and worldwide revolt which does not seek a

theoretical foundation, but rather seeks by theoretical means to rediscover – and recognize – its own foundations. Above all, it asks theory to stop barring its way in this, to stop helping conceal the underpinnings that it is at pains to uncover. Its exploratory activity is not directed towards some kind of 'return to nature', nor is it conducted under the banner of an imagined 'spontaneity'. Its object is 'lived experience' ... there can be no question but that social space is the locus of prohibition, for it is shot through with both prohibitions and their counterparts, prescriptions. This fact, however, can most definitely not be made into the basis of an overall definition, for space is not only the space of 'no', it is also the space of the body, and hence the space of 'yes', of the affirmation of life. (201)

In the second section of this paper, I will very briefly consider some concerns that have been articulated among various cultural theorists and feminist scholars about whether "embodied knowing" is predicated on notions of essentialism and individualism that have been employed to "naturalize" constructed categories and subvert critical analysis. These theorists question the politics of appeals to the "essential" or "innocent" identities suggested by "spontaneous" experience. In light of these critiques it is important to consider whether Lefebvre's notion of the role of embodied experience in the production of space addresses any of these issues.

In Michel Foucault's seminal texts the body is "inscribed" by regulatory practices that the "enlightenment fiction" of the autonomous self-aware individual only serves to help conceal.[16] Unproblematized accounts of personal experience can support existing power relations by failing to acknowledge the way that subjects and their bodies are constructed by the regulatory regimes and discursive practices of that society. Similarly, early feminist practices that strove to link the personal with the political by relying on accounts of personal experience are being challenged by textual approaches that seek to uncover how gender is produced without postulating alternative ideal subject identities.[17] Thus in Judith Butler's theory of "gender performativity", for instance, fissures and cracks in the body politic (such as parodic or "obsessive" behaviours) constitute a set of actions that are shaped and made possible by the very regulatory social practices their resistance highlights.[18]

Such studies of how identity is produced and reproduced by socio-economic conditions are of critical importance – but perhaps we need to be wary of the way that these activities can also function to support

our society's tendency to conflate self-knowledge with dispassionate analysis, so that,

The space of this body is reduced to that of two measurable but problematic tropes, sexuality and observability, conflated through the critique of representation. These bodies remain in an abstracted space, a philosophical space, rendered as a space of surfaces, which is to say, no space at all[19]

Is this an example of representations of space encroaching upon "lived, representational space" in the production of knowledges? "The body" becomes a site to be studied from the outside in; even critical analysis inexorably aligns itself with this activity.

Suppose we think instead of the body with/in space, as Lefebvre does. A relationship is disclosed that reveals a fertile tension where "each living body *is* space and *has* its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space" (170). This generative "give and take" between what shapes the body, and what the body shapes is both analytically accessible and discursively irreducible. It is analytically accessible because we can describe and seek to understand the particular codes and practices of a given society. But our bodies are also discursively irreducible because studying those codes and practices presupposes and depends upon an embodied context that makes that activity meaningful and that we can never be fully aware of.

In Lefebvre's account then, the body is characterized by a rich assortment of symmetries and surfaces that inform one another, and that cannot be collapsed without losing "tensive aliveness". As such, our bodies provide a kind of "site in process" where the unity of time and space serves to preserve "difference within repetition" (203). And this living being is productive, according to Lefebvre – it accumulates and discharges energy to produce new spaces and contexts for ways of knowing.

A body imagined like this – simultaneously occupying space and occupied by space – subverts appeals to essential identities. Thus Lefebvre's formulation of bodies in space is of critical interest, and it suggests that any abstract analysis of the subject needs to be supported by testifying from that multifaceted awareness that is our embodiment. When the subject is produced by and productive of a space that is held open by a tension attributable to all that it simultaneously is and is not – then we need to spend time attending to how we feel as well as interrogating possible sources of feeling.[20]

CONCLUSIONS

Ruby. Leonard's just one of those people for me. When I'm with Leonard I'm stupid, needy, insane...

Charlie. ...That's OK. When I'm with Leonard...

Hm!

(she pauses to think about it)

Ruby. ...You know how some people make you feel like a particular kind of person? Even my body feels different with some people. Like sometimes, with some people, I feel bony and awkward...

Charlie. ...No, I know what you mean. But when I'm with Leonard...

Ruby. ...And with other people, I feel wiry, more energetic...

Charlie. ...I guess I feel like Leonard.

Ruby. (getting it – she's sensed it) Oh yeah...?

Charlie. It freaks me out actually... You know what I mean. It's like I'm blending into him. It's like a sort of... I don't know... possession. When I feel something, I feel like it's Leonard feeling it. When I walk down the street – I feel like it's Leonard's body that I'm wearing. When we have sex, I can't tell whose desire I'm feeling – his, mine. I mean, he pokes it into me and I get lost – you know?[21]

Ultimately, since all bodies are (similarly) situated (but differently), the localized, contingent quality of our embodiment makes our engagement with each other "erotically" charged in the sense that our encounters function to create new spaces. We find and make meaning together through complicated and historically contingent gestural systems, for instance (215). By becoming aware of our embodied responses we can make these codes more palpable.

I have tried to suggest here that embodied knowing has an emancipatory potential, and that it is possible to appeal to and speak from experience as a site of knowing without presupposing the existence of any autonomous individual subject. An embodied being is by definition situated, contingent, historically embedded in material processes, unfinished, wide open, etc., etc.[22] To posit embodied knowing it is not necessary to appeal to any innocent, preconceptual, politically neutral origin or space of experience – and Lefebvre's critical geography offers us a way of imagining this. It offers a theoretical approach to the body with/in space which has analytic appeal for imagining embodied agency differently.

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Notes

1 William Blake. "Letter to Thomas Butts, 22 November, 1802" *The Complete Prose and Poetry of William Blake* ed. by David V. Erdman, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) 722.

2 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* transl. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 200. ALL PAGE NUMBERS IN THE BODY OF THIS ESSAY REFER TO THIS TEXT.

3 See Lefebvre, 15. "To speak of 'producing space' sounds bizarre, so great is the sway still held by the idea that empty space is prior to whatever ends up filling it."

4 I am referring here to Wittgenstein's later work in the philosophy of language.

5 Donald Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988) 25. (ITALICS MINE)

6 Polkinghorne, 25.

7 See Fergus Kerr, *Theology after Wittgenstein* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986) for a fascinating discussion of Wittgenstein's concerns regarding "truth as representation" in general.

8 See Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* trans. G.E.M. Anscombe, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972). See also, Lefebvre, 193. "We also know that symbolism and praxis cannot be separated." Also, Lefebvre, 214. "Are not such gestures, articulated and linked together as they are, more likely than drives to lie at the origin of language? Bound together outside the realm of work as well as within it, could they not have contributed to the development of that part of the brain which 'articulates' linguistic and gestural activity?"

9 See, for instance, Judith Butler, "Contingent Foundations: Feminism and the Question of Postmodernism" in *Feminists Theorize the Political* (New York: Routledge, 1992) 3-21; Joan W. Scott "The Evidence of Experience" *Critical Inquiry* 17 (Summer 1991) 773-797.; Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies and Knowledges: Feminism and the Crisis of Reason" in *Feminist Epistemologies*, Linda Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter eds., (New York: Routledge, 1993).

10 See Elaine Scarry, "The Made-Up and the Made-Real" in *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 5, 2 (1992) 239-249, where she introduces this idea of a "collective intellectual project". She comments that "The energy that in an earlier age was directed toward the investigation of 'truth' has been redirected toward understanding the nature of inventing, making, creating..." (239).

11 See Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 226e. "What has to be accepted, the given, is – so one could say – *forms of life.*"

12 See Lefebvre, 50, "In *spatial practice*, the reproduction of social relations is predominant."

13 See Lefebvre, 188-9. "Identifying the foundations upon which the space of each particular society is built... is only the beginning... representations of space, which confuse matters because they offer an already clarified picture, must be dispelled."

14 In my conversations with Rose-Marie Kennedy on emancipatory practices, she spoke of supporting the "radical potential" of any given situation rather than seeking specific goals. Her use of that phrase has spilled into my thinking on embodied awareness.

15 See, for instance, Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor* trans. Robert Czerny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) 247. "Yet feeling has an ontological status different from relationship at a distance: it makes for participation in things".

16 See Michael J. Shapiro, "Language and Power: The Spaces of Critical Interpretation" in *Language, Symbolism and Politics* Richard M. Merelman, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992) where he suggests that "the politics of discourse is inextricably tied to a politics of space" in Foucault's work (273).

17 See Susan David Bernstein, "Confessing Feminist Theory: What's 'I' got to do with it?" *Hypatia* 7, 2 (Spring 1992) 121-147, where the author explores the political and epistemological implications of an appeal to personal experience and the use of confessional anecdotes in scholarly feminist writing.

18 Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

19 forthcoming in Jody Berland, "Bodies of theory, bodies of pain: some silences", *Theory Rules: Proceedings of the Art and Theory Conference*, J. Berland, David Tomas, Will Straw, (eds.), (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

20 Paul Ricoeur introduces the idea of an ontological space that is created by tension between what is and is not in his discussion of metaphoric truth. See "Metaphor and Reference" in *The Rule of Metaphor*.

21 From my play, *Pure Motives*.

22 See Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges", *Simians, Cyborgs and Women* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1991), where she employs and discusses these sorts of terms.

Images

The Joy of Signing by Lottie L. Riekehof (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1978)

Towards a Poor Theatre by Jerzy Grotowski, © 1968 Jerzy Grotowski and Odin Teatrets Forlag
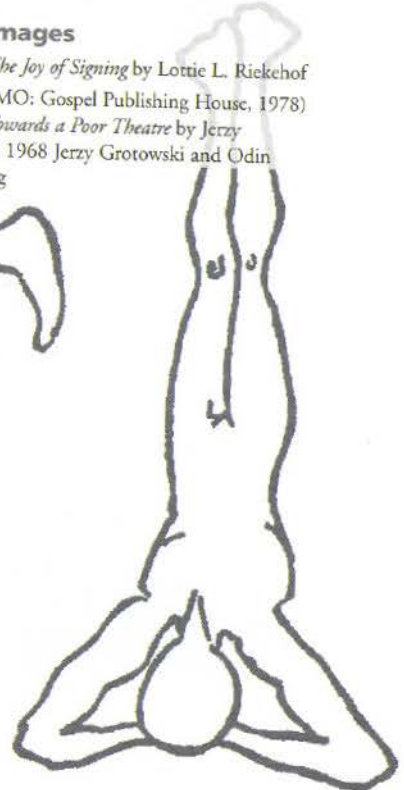
Installation Report:
Re Marks on Parks*

John Graham

Harbourfront Centre:York Quay parking lot

Re Marks on Parks: Parking maze

"You ruined a perfectly good parking lot!"
(Review of *Re Marks* from a Queen's Quay resident to the artists, June 1994)

Parking Lots and Re-building the Public Realm

Within the form and structure of North American cities, parking lots physically fragment social space and are mainly characterized by their utility and relation to commodified land practices. Like other "under used" urban sites, integrating these open spaces with both the natural and social features of urban environments potentially offer desirable opportunities for modest community based redevelopment projects.

Building on the efforts of many urban activists to re-construct parking lots as community gardens, performance and exhibition sites, informal markets and skate board parks, and since the advent of postmodernist design practices, "integrated car parks" are now appearing through mainstream planning and development processes – reflecting, among other things, a more self-conscious, "institutional" view of structured open space. One such project was recently built in Burlington, Ontario, as part of a commuter transit station. In addition to 712 parking spaces, the lot contains 260 trees, 1068 shrubs and, eschewing typical methods of storm water drainage, retention ponds for plants and wildlife. Similarly, in Georgia, the Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta and the Architecture Society of Atlanta (ASA), as part of their joint "civic improvement program", sponsored an international design competition inviting participants to make proposals for public art/mixed use projects on a number of Olympic sites – including an active parking lot. This sorely needed endeavor (Herculean, Sisyphean or Trojan?) is ostensibly aimed at "re-constituting a system of public open space in the new American city."[1]

Formed as they are in the structure of the modern metropolis, these two projects instead of re-constituting the public realm, might simply represent "product differentiation" in the production of exclusive forms of consumptive space.[2] Since "parts of [social] space, like parts of discourse, are articulated in terms of reciprocal inclusions and exclusions," a critical test of any mode of spatial practice, especially integrated parking lots, focuses on the "meanings" and "social relations" of material forms.[3] The Burlington project, for instance, does represent an interesting, small scale effort aimed at integrating uses on an active parking lot, yet nature in the carefully constructed commuter parking lot also belies its broader relation to suburban and exurban forms and the historic razing of agricultural and wild landscapes. Moreover, this rare example stands apart from common municipal practices that tend to disregard parking lots as open space in the context of their local areas and urban and regional systems. In the Atlanta case, recent Olympic place-making schemes evidently privilege non-local designers and international spectacle, effectively excluding local communities, hard-pressed for meaningful development, from the effort to re-make the city. Even with their "exclusions", these two parking lot conversions nevertheless represent early examples of an emerging effort to variously diversify the modern metropolis.

* Re Marks on Parks was co-designed by Claire Ironside and John Graham and installed at Harbourfront Centre in Toronto during June 1994.

Re Marks on Parks: Installation detail

Re Marks on Parks

Paradoxical representations and park practices have existed since their 16th century origins in English language to represent and produce bounded space. Initially used to describe an agricultural pasture or tillage (1581), park was subsequently applied to describe both ornamental and recreational landscapes of towns and cities (1661), as well as enclosures for military armaments and equipment (1683). The nineteenth century national parks movement in North American was presaged by English Crown Acts that designated large scale land enclosures for "keeping beasts of the chase" (1715).[4]

Contemporary extractive and agricultural land use practices on perimeters of national parks continue to threaten enclosures of the sublime, the mythologized North American national park, challenging the logic of fetished representations of parks as "viable preserves" of natural heritage.[5] Reed Noss's recent discussion paper on "ecological integrity in representative reserve networks," part of the World Wildlife Fund's [WWF] Endangered Spaces Campaign, is covered with *Radarsat's* now famous "handgun" photo of Manitoba's Riding Mountain National Park. This image of the park provocatively conveys the stark reality for some species caught inside competing land and social practices, and closed reserves of natural ecosystems.[6]

The development of *picturesque* form and function in the construction of nineteenth century urban parks and landscapes belies more than mere visual counterpoint or physical relief from the blighted conditions of the industrial city. Frederick Law Olmstead's reflections on social order,[7] public

recreation and the obligation of the "gifted and educated classes toward the weak, the witless and the ignorant" suggests his benevolent design practices were equally about mollifying class antagonisms, imposing a common morality and spatializing "relief" in the industrial city.[8] Urban parks in the late twentieth century mark, among other issues, paradoxes in the spatialization of identity. The women's movement and the gay community have concretized parks as sites of conflict in sexual politics. For example, in Toronto parks, "morality lights", still a common descriptor in the City's parks department, function within the practices of surveillance and intrusion, while only providing a degree of nighttime safety.

Following the adoption of mass production methods for cars and commodities in the early twentieth century a number of other signifiers and park practices emerged. Parkways and parking lots (1925) became a social necessity in order to encourage and accommodate automobile use. Technocratic practices in modern land use and transportation planning and development appeared around the same time, becoming potent instruments in city-building processes and the production of suburban and exurban (industrial parks!) forms. The ascendancy of car parks in urban land use is clearly just one legacy of the "Fordist City".[9]

What forms, functions and meanings parks will assume in the new millennium remain unknown – although some clues exist. First, is the WWF's "Endangered Spaces Campaign" to establish 400 natural reserves across Canada by the year 2000, which would redefine numerous national park borders. This ambitious program, however, has a long (log filled?) road to travel before the boundaries of these parks are reconfigured into systems of representative ecological networks. Next, "theme parks" reveal another, though much less appealing, trajectory for other future park practices. *Disney Land*, the world's most famous theme park, recently marked its thirtieth (still going strong) anniversary, suggesting "variations" of simulated urban, and other environments will continue to define the public realm into the new century.[10] Last, in a perverse refrain of an original modifier of park (1603), is Richard Misrach's proposal for a new national park on the site of Bravo 20, a weapons range illegally used by the American Navy in Nevada since World War II. Bravo 20 National Park would commemorate one story on the ever-growing document of Cold War "assaults on nature" by preserving this "pulverized" desert landscape.[11] Visitors could stay and camp, tour an interpretive centre, stroll the "Boardwalk Of The Bombs" or cruise "Devastation Drive", which together form a large axiometric target on the twisted surface of the flat volcanic playa.[12] The land could be returned to the public domain by an Act of Congress when the Navy's fifteen-year withdrawal expires on November 6, 2001.

Installation and Materials

Re *Marks on Parks* should be seen in the effort to highlight the problem of parking lots in the social and natural space of urban landscapes. Using the surface of the York Quay parking lot in the festivalized, waterfront landscape of Toronto's *Harbourfront Centre*, it iconographically exhibited various social constructions of "park" across time and space. Given the impossibility of

Installation detail

representing all its meanings and significations, icons were selected to identify major institutions that have mediated variations of park in land use, as well as significant junctures in the development of its meaning. The iconography of the "parking maze" was arranged to show that meanings of park, while linked, have never been fixed or removed from multiple questions of social power. A short publication accompanied the installation, providing an audience "map" to the project. The map included a time-line to demonstrate the before and after of various representations of park, and that present meanings dominate both past and future ones.[13]

Typical of our various projects, *Re Marks on Parks* was produced through the simultaneous and shared activities of doing research, gaining approvals and funding, and constructing ideas and designs. Actual implementation happened slowly over the month of June, 1994, usually involving two or more people.[14] This process was cast in the "hyperplanned" mix of consumptive land uses at the downtown waterfront site, originally donated by the federal government as a park to the citizens of Toronto in 1972.[15] The mix includes the select shops, restaurants, offices, and residences of Queen's Quay, the popular cultural and recreational facilities of *Harbourfront Centre*, and their commercial parking lot. The busy lot generates(ed) necessary revenue for Centre staff and programs in two ways:[16] parking fees, and its function as a "new car lot".[17] Consequently, a condition essential to implementation was that impacts on parking flows and the new car displays be minimized. The temporary installation will remain until the paint wears out or the surface gets re-paved.

The materials used in *Re Marks on Parks* were appropriated from the vocabulary of local pathway and road sign systems. For example, the parking maze was painted in Coning Green, commonly used to de-mark bicycle/pedestrian lanes on a popular Toronto waterfront recreation trail. The familiar "park" icons were painted in Highway Hazard Orange and accented with light reflecting beads usually applied in surficial highway markings. The blocks surrounding the "institutional" icons across the middle of the maze were highlighted with various coloured headlight road reflectors. Finally, the third dimension of the installation was activated by vehicles – suppressing, reconfiguring and dominating other representations of park within the maze.

Installation detail

Notes

1 Architecture Society of Atlanta & Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta, *"Public Space in the New American City/ Atlanta 1996"* (Competition Package 1994) 4. The anonymous writer of the competition package explained that the 1996 Olympics Games offered Atlanta an opportunity to "expand the paradigm of the "new American city" [see endnote 10], and in so doing explicitly address new possibilities for public space (ibid)." Considering that these "new possibilities" will be framed in the hardened structure of the 12th largest, "multi-centred" metropolitan area in the US, and the frenetic, boosterish forces of Olympic style urban renewal understanding what "expanding the paradigm" means idicates a number of problems. For example, conflicts between Olympic authorities and community groups over basic development strategies suggests that the new American city still excludes democratic politics – especially in the predominantly Black districts of south side Atlanta where current Olympic development has evoked bitter memories of previously imposed urban renewal schemes (18-20).

2 See David Harvey, 'Postmodernism in the City' in *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell 1990) 77.

3 Henri Lefebvre, *The Social Production of Space* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell 1991) 131.

4 Shorter Oxford Dictionary (Third Edition), s.v. 'Park'.

5 See Reed Noss, *Maintaining Ecological Integrity in Representative Reserve Networks* (Washington and Toronto: World Wildlife Fund Discussion Paper 1995) Chapter 3 'Indicators and Correlates of Ecological Integrity'; and Chapter 4 'Landscape Design' .

6 Relief workers built Riding Mountain National Park and its landmark structures, including their own camp, during the 1930s depression – it was proclaimed in 1932 and opened 1933. Power, production and the local economy still factor significantly in defining area ecology. The Province of Manitoba recently approved Louisiana Pacific's application for clear cuts in an area that covers the north east border of the park- -the American conglomerate is preparing to remove, for pulp production, approximately 400 semi-truck loads of Boreal Aspen each day over the duration of their lease. Moreover, Bear-baiting practices on the perimeter of this is-

land ecosystem also pose a threat to its "ecological integrity". Local guides and outfitters regularly advertise their "high success rates", something short of a guaranteed kill, to solicit big game clients. Each year on the border of the park an estimated 300 Black Bears follow their noses to oblivion. Interview with Dave McArthur, archivist and programmer, Riding Mountain National Park, March 1995.

7 See F.L. Olmstead 'The Uses and Abuses of The Park by the Public' and 'The Park Keepers Force: Managing the Public', in F.L. Olmstead (Jr.) and Kimball T., eds. *Forty Years of Landscape Architecture: Central Park* (Cambridge Mass: MIT Press 1973).

8 Galen Crantz, *The Politics of Park Design* (Cambridge Mass: MIT Press 1982) see chapter 8 'The Role of Parks in the City' p.236; chapters 5 'The Powers that Be'; and chapter 6 'Users: Class and Classification'. The construction of New York's Central Park included the 1855 expropriation of 'Seneca Village', a "thriving community of Black property owners at a time when few owned land". Of the 71 Black property owners in New York City 24 lived in Seneca Village; See Douglas Martin, The Globe and Mail (13/5/95) A19.

9 One startling example is Atlanta, where the ASA recently calculated that 60-70% of their "downtown" is devoted to surface parking or parking decks. Architecture Society of Atlanta & Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta, (1994) 18. See Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso 1987) chapter 7 'The Historical Geography of Urban and Regional Restructuring' and chapter 8 'It All Comes Together in Los Angeles'.

10 Michael Sorkin, editor, *Variations On a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Hill and Wang 1992).

11 Mike Davis, 'Dead West: Ecocide in Marlboro County', New Left Review (1993) 56-7.

12 Richard Misrach, *Bravo 20: The Bombing of the American West* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990) 99. Bravo 20 occupies 64sq miles, only a fraction of the American military's 4 million acre inventory in Nevada; in his preface to the short history of Bravo 20, his collection of "neo-pictoralist" photographs (see Davis, 56-7) and the national park proposal, Misrach observes what visitors would visually experience on "this" Nevada site: "After several miles of nothing we came upon the first bomb. Then a crater. Then more craters and more bombs. As 'Lone Rock' [a volcanic 'plug' on the centre of the playa] turned from a bump to a mountain, the playa transformed from pure desert wilderness to the post-apocalyptic landscape of a Mad Max scenario. Soon after that there was not an area of land that was not riddled with crater upon crater, shrapnel, and bombs (practice and live). As far as the eye could see in any direction was man-wreaked devastation *(ibid)."*

13 Henri Lefebvre, (1991) 131.

14 At various points during the process we were kindly helped by Michael Bresalier, Kristjan Vitols and *Harbourfront Centre's* grounds crew and production staff.

15 See Edward Relph, *Rational Landscapes and Humanistic Geography* (London: Croom Helm, 1981) 84-100.

16 In late March, 1995 the Federal Government announced their decision to end support for Harbourfront Centre - resulting in the decision by the Harbourfront board of directors to close the popular facility by September 15, 1995. Racked by years of jurisdictional and political struggles over funding it seems an unlikely end to one of the most efficiently operated cultural organizations in the country (among other things their corporate funding levels exceed most other institutions in the country).

17 Ford of Canada's sponsorship agreement with *Harbourfront* includes prominent display space in various precincts of the 94 acre festival site.

Re Marks on Parks: Selected icons

BODIES NATURES ORIGINS

Simians and the Biopolitics of the African "AIDS Belt"

Michael Bresalier

IN A SHORT, PRESCIENT DISCUSSION towards the end of the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*, Michel Foucault considers the appearance of biopolitics within the domains of Western modernity.[1] He begins by suggesting that the conditions of possibility for the biopolitical are located at precisely the moment when life enters into history.[2] Biopolitics finds its articulation at the point where biological existence is reflected in the domains of the political.[3] This is a moment marked by a concern on the part of the state and civil apparatuses with taking charge of the conditions of life and with distancing the contingencies of death. Situated directly within the grids of modern institutional and social technologies, biopolitics might be read in terms of the intertwining of the exigencies of discourse with what traditionally constitutes the "natural" – germs, viruses, anatomies, the biological environment. As Foucault insists, biopolitics is defined and shaped by an intensified focus on the "species body", the body that provides the basis of biological processes affecting, among other things, mortality, health and reproduction.[4] What is critical here is that as the biological is placed into language and history, it is not only inscribed into particular "orders of power and knowledge, a sphere of political techniques," but through this inscription the bodies of individuals and populations come to be prime subjects of medical, scientific, pedagogical and bureaucratic concern.[5] As the biological interferes with the political, as it is written through regimes of power/knowledge, it at once opens access and is inserted into the tight spaces of the body. Mapping life into history, biology into politics, nature into discourse, biopolitics in effect constitutes and invests the body as the site of modern power relations.

To a large extent, the medical sciences have provided the terms and definitions by which modern forms of life are to be administered. Indeed, in the contexts of the late twentieth century, where conditions of life and death, notions of health and disease, categories of race, sex, and gender, and distinctions of the normal and the pathological are increasingly determined on the surfaces of cells and through genes, medical scientific

discourses configure biopolitical regimes as apparatuses of power and knowledge that are now inextricable to and constitutive of social and biological existence. Within these apparatuses, the body has become a critical site where a multiplicity of discourses of nature find their anchor, are configured and worked out. It has become impossible, I would argue, to speak of the politics of nature without speaking of the politics of the body.[6]

...

For us, the human body defines, by natural right, the space of origin and of the distribution of disease: a space whose lines, volumes, surfaces and routes are laid down, in accordance with a now familiar geometry, by the anatomical atlas.[7]

My thinking of biopolitics as a concept that insists on the linkages of the politics of nature with the politics of the body comes from a serious concern I have with how questions of disease, illness, and epidemic, and the subjects who are said to embody these, get dealt with in the midst of the emergency of AIDS. I am particularly concerned with how specific biomedical discourses of nature (which take and produce entities like a virus or a disease as "natural objects") come to be infused into the institutional, cultural and embodied terrains of the AIDS crises. Perhaps most importantly, I am worried about how these discourses are implicated in shaping the conditions and social meanings of life and death for a range of individuals and political constituencies in North America and indeed across the globe.

The concerns I have here with the politics of nature, and the questions I ask, are in no way merely academic: lives are at stake in what gets to count as "nature" in the semantic and material frameworks of biomedical science. One point should be made very clear. As much as HIV/AIDS might be said to be always already in discourse, it also exceeds matrixes of intelligibility. Discourse alone does not break down immune systems. As an anchor of discourse and power, the body is also a limit: the brute facts are, people *still* die.

While my work is focused on certain material arrangements of AIDS discourse – some of its formations, articulations and investments in social and scientific apparatuses – it is the (still) inextricable attachment of death to AIDS that at once makes this work possible and impossible. Possible because death is a condition of language; it is, as Alexander Duttman evinces, the "'always already' of all history and of all discourse."[8] And impossible because death cracks apart the smooth surfaces of signification. It appears meaningless, and thus puts into question the very ability to speak or write of AIDS – at least to do so with any transparent claim to know.

Yet as much as AIDS calls into question the possibilities of language and its elusive power to represent and explain social and medical "realities", and as much as the biological complexities of HIV alone make impossible neat epistemological narratives, the will to know AIDS – its cause, origin, epidemiology and possible prophylactics – *outside*

cesses the truth and the rationalities of life, and thus also the truths of death. It evokes and is driven by the possibility that "in fathoming the secrets of nature, [it] will fathom the ultimate secrets (and hence gain control of)... mortality."[13]

With AIDS, medical scientific practices have been drawn together into a figure that Cindy Patton has termed "AIDS science." A tension-filled, intensely competitive, and also always socially contested amalgam of microbiology, biochemistry, virology, immunology and epidemiology, "AIDS science" has been instituted as *the* apparatus of knowledge that establishes the nature, and thus the meanings of HIV and AIDS.[14] One group of discourses in particular, organized through the burgeoning and influential discipline of virology, and whose object of concern is the study of retroviruses, has set in place a series of protocols – codes of practice – which in many ways govern approaches to research and the construction of "medical facts" of AIDS.

In an article, which appeared in 1988, and significantly named "The Origins of the AIDS Virus", two leading American retroviral researchers, Max Essex and Phyllis J. Kanki, outline some key questions asked of AIDS by North American virology:

> The sudden appearance and rapid spread of a previously unknown infectious disease such as AIDS raises a series of compelling questions. What is the causative agent, what is its structure and how does it function and – in the case of a previously unknown agent – where did it come from?[15]

Essex and Kanki's questions represent a prevailing epistemological structure of North American medical scientific investigation into the problem of AIDS. At the base of this structure lies the isolation of a virus and its designation as cause. In narratives of medical scientific discovery, the reduction of the appearance of AIDS to a single agent holds particular teleological promise condensed around the possibility of finding a 'magic bullet' to direct at HIV. By mapping the structure and function of HIV, part of this promise, or rather, hope and desire of medical science, is invested in the potential of defining the origins of AIDS. Why this concern with origins? Perhaps because beholden in the origin is the facticity of life, and the death that threatens it; because beholden in the origin is the truth and nature of AIDS: the specificity of its cause, the key to its genetic code, the site and the body from where it has been born and transmitted, the grounds of its containment and cure.

the conditions of history has been a critical desire and demand of the constituencies of medicine and science. Indeed, the very structures of knowledge that AIDS has in part rendered impossible (like a knowledge of origins) are precisely those which the logics of medicine and science continually attempt to recuperate.

There are particular (and perhaps obvious) reasons here for directing attention at medical and scientific mappings of AIDS. As Paula Treichler and others have so convincingly argued, the violence with which the epidemic has punctuated social lives and histories is, in its immediacy, traced through the seams of language, "and in particular through discourses of medicine and science."[9] Biomedical discourses not only code how a disease is spoken of, but increasingly, they configure how a disease will be lived. Any glance at the crises of AIDS cannot help but notice that biomedical language shapes "the unequal experience of sickness and death for millions."[10] Indeed, we might agree with Foucault who suggests that with an epidemic "medical space can coincide with social space, or rather traverse it and wholly penetrate it."[11]

Epidemic conditions get defined when a proliferation of medical techniques and practices can quite freely intervene in and constitute social existence. Not only have rhetorics of "contagion" come to be voluminous. But at the same time, individual and collective bodies are increasingly subjected to various forms of administration in terms of their health, safety, sero-status, or level of risk. The medical space of the body, which has been especially connected to the bodies of gay

men and Africans (but also women, and particularly women of colour) is now synonymous to specific social geographies – sites where HIV finds its anchor and where the very "nature" of AIDS is investigated.

Even as the very limits of medical science are put into relief by the AIDS epidemics, medical scientific representations and knowledges that tie nature to bodies have gained particular hegemony in the West, and continue to establish normative and often deeply pathologized corporeal boundaries based on the "differences" of race, gender, nation, sexuality and species. Although certainly not uniform in the meanings they avail, medical scientific practices not only take "nature" as a privileged object of concern, but also project it as a place where particular "truths", "origins", "foundations", and "bases" can be discovered. The nature of an array of bodies, spreading from the human to the nonhuman, the micro – to the macroscopic, the terrestrial to the extraterrestrial can now be coded and decoded under the governing auspices of scientificity and truth. "We reach the end of the twentieth century," writes Cindy Patton, "not so much as 'technological man,' robbed of our emotionality and cultural depth, but as cyborgs for whom science is our culture, our mode of constructing identity."[12] Discourses of medical science are privileged to classify and order the compositions of the epidemic – its etiology, epidemiology, pathology, cultural borders, risk groups – and to translate its "nature" into bodies. Unlike other discourses, medical science becomes empowered because it is repeatedly positioned as that which ac-

If the promise of this conceptual order is the discovery of the truth of AIDS in the origin of HIV, then it is critical to begin to think about the genealogy of what is decided as "the origins of AIDS". As much as it is possible to speak of AIDS as an "epidemic of signification,"[16] one place where this epidemic has found its most generative articulation is precisely in the struggles over what counts as an origin. Indeed, to speak of the conditions of "living with AIDS" is to almost always confront the exigencies of the question of origins. AIDS not only calls into question the very fabrics of social existences around the globe,[17] but (perhaps in doing so) it has also incited an intense will to know that insistently asks about how or why, from whom or from where, and for what reason has AIDS entered into the interstices of life.

Origins

"The 'return to origins'", writes the historian Michel de Certeau, "always states the contrary of what it believes, at least in the sense that it presupposes a distancing in respect to a past (...by which one makes a "past" the "object" of study), and a will to recover what, in one fashion or another, seems lost in a received language."[18] Certainly this framing of the contradictions of the West's concern to simultaneously distance and recover origins, and to constitute them as objects of study, resonates deeply with how social understandings of the crisis of AIDS are configured. To ask about the "origins of AIDS" is not simply to think of "why AIDS" at this particular juncture. But, as I have already said, it is to elicit a search for a cause. The cause is that which the origin holds in its density, waiting to be discovered. To find the cause of AIDS is to begin to situate its essence, to map its truth. As the structures of medical scientific investigation insist, if "we" can reveal the cause of the "AIDS virus", "we" can locate its origins and ostensibly contain its contagion. But the very act of revelation is more like a production: the search for origins constructs a *space*, a *body*, and an *identity*. Concerns to discover or to return to origins produce particular structures of intelligibility which persistently rely on and create practices that work to differentiate and contain certain bodies from others. This is a necessary dynamic for turning bodies into identities. Indeed, the performative tropes of the search for maintenance of origins might be under-

stood as the always negotiated and symbolically overburdened reproduction of a self from the raw material of another.[19]

Examples of this production of origins abound. Over the almost fifteen years of the epidemic, particular social subjects – gay men, Haitians, Central and West Africans, prostitutes, IV drug-users – (the still standardized if not deeply contested "risk groups")[20] have been constructed as distinguishable bodies from where human immunodeficiency viruses and plethora of other diseases are said to originate. The bodies that are constructed through these designated spaces of origins mark a particular convergence of the biological into the political, a biopolitics of origins with serious effects. In what follows I want to consider now narratives of origins are put together in the frameworks of biomedical discourse, and how this discourse naturalizes the bodies and spaces of origins it produces. I then turn to a particular example of the epistemologic and signifying spaces they organize in order to indicate how a specific set of origin stories constitute both subjects and objects of AIDS.

Narratives of origins have gained powerful semantic and material force, spreading beyond the bounds of their own specificity and becoming in themselves contagious, insofar as they claim to define for entire populations the contours of the pandemic. The insistent reconstructions of origins by dominant popular and scientific discourses provoked by AIDS in North America are an example of such globalizing gestures. In particular, the sense of rupture that AIDS has elicited in the already unstable formations of white Euro-American heterosexuality – the rupture of a disease and an epidemic of "others" into the workings of its business as usual – has effectively called up a distinct set of originary sites that serve to explain the intrusion of a viral entity into the social body which has thought itself to be immune. As de Certeau suggests, such motions of returning to origins configure particular "objects of study" which act as points of destination and distinction. These reconstructions of origins allow various social constituencies, but especially those organized in institutions of science and medicine, to know AIDS and to define its borders.

"The desire to locate the origin of disease," notes Sander Gilman, "is the desire to be assured that we are not at fault, that we have been invaded from without, polluted by some external agent."[21] As the logics of epidemic gain currency globally, the assignment

of "disease" to a particular location, a foundational place, or some originary subject, has been taken up with a striking sense of urgency. Perhaps because they are defined by a concern to find meaning in the face of an epidemic which often defies or exceeds meaning, narratives of origins continue to be called upon and incited as regulatory fictions with which to mark out "somewhere" to return and "somewhere" to distance and contain.

This desire for origins overdetermines scientific questions and assumptions. It shapes what will be asked of a given disease and what will be the possible outcome of these questions. The kinds of hypotheses of origins that a particular scientific knowledge relies upon will be reflected in what its prescribes as research, practice, conduct and ways of understanding.[22] Origins provide the ground, critical referent point for the composition of medical scientific practices and programmes.

As foundations for powerful apparatuses of knowledge, and always already marked as naturalistic sites, those discourses that narrate origins organize particular discursive spaces, "narrative fields", that are intersected by a range of histories and practices, and constructed as the "body of nature."[23] These narrated spaces constitute natural objects of knowledge, a field of different and already inscribed bodies, which can become the focus of Western biomedical and popular attention. Origins act then as powerful and productive spaces of signification and as ordering devices upon which are based critical scientific conceptualizations of AIDS.

As an example of both the bodily and natural productions narratives of origins create, I want to take a short, rather impressionistic tour through a specific set of origin stories that have been organized within a field of discourses concerned with what one influential biomedical researcher has called the *"interspecies 'communicability of viruses'.*[24] This formation of transmission discourse (what I will call here narratives of the interspecies origins of AIDS) was most prominent and powerful in the mid-to-late 1980s. Yet even now, these narratives remain an essential explanatory ground of much medical scientific knowledge production.

Based on the assumption that a particular virus can be transmitted between species, narratives of interspecies transmission have gained circulation in the contexts of the epidemic as a result of biomedicine's configuration of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) as a retrovirus, a type of RNA virus

that uses an enzyme called reverse transcriptase to genetically reproduce itself in human immune cells, including T4 cells (T-helper cells) and macrophages. Reverse transcriptase is said to allow HIV to translate its genetic information into a form that can be integrated into the host cell's genetic code. As a retrovirus, HIV thus takes the host cell's genetic material and recodes it into a viral form that is capable of reproducing itself using the host cell's mechanisms of cellular mutation. Because it changes the host cell's genome, including those proteins which would allow the immune system to detect the virus, HIV becomes a very difficult entity for the immune system to respond to or detect. At the same time, HIV attacks and depletes the very immune system cells it enters, which in turn undermines the body's mechanisms of immune recognition, protection and balance.[25]

Explanations of HIV infection have become part of very effective virological stories of AIDS, none of which are innocent. As Lee Edelman has recently suggested, such scientific explanations "have no 'warrant' in nature," but are instead "metaphoric designations that determine the way we understand the operations of the body."[26] The kinds of designations medical science makes available not only shape understandings of the body, they effect practices *upon* the body, including therapeutics. To consider the configurations of medical discourse is not to elide the very "literal" effects of this "thing" called AIDS on peoples lives. Rather, it focuses concern on the epistemological or conceptual grids into which HIV is placed and the effects of the meanings such a placement accrues.

Both HIV and AIDS have, from almost the outset, been inserted into frameworks of North American virological conceptions of retroviruses. Initially immersed in oncological research into virally-induced human cancers, retrovirus research has been shaped by an historical combination of germ theory, which imagines disease to be the result of an invasion of a self by pathogenic microbial bodies defined as "other", and a late twentieth century genetic logic which codes and decodes matters of life through the genetic structures and proteins of cells and viruses. No less immune from the contagions of language and history than other scientific practices, retroviral discourse has configured HIV as the site of truth and origins of AIDS. In its configurations of HIV, North American virology initially attached the virus to pre-existing understandings of human retroviruses.[27] An important part of these understandings had

been outlined in the definitions of the first human retrovirus, HTLV-1 (Human T-Cell Lymphotropic Virus), discovered in 1980 by U.S. researchers at the National Cancer Institute. HTLV-1 initially offered a guide from which to look into the morphology, function and phylogeny of HIV.[28] Although this guide was displaced as the make-up of HIV came to be classified as highly distinct from other HTLV's, HTLV research did provide a discourse of origins that was easily mapped onto HIV. As evident below, this discourse tied together simians, Africa and Africans in its trajectories.

The ancestral origin of HTLV is obscure, but we think it is very likely that this virus entered a wide range of Old World primates from an undetermined source.... Because of the widespread infection of Africans and because of the presence of Old World primates in Africa, we think Black Africans had the greatest opportunity for early infection. It seems likely that the origin of HTLV in the Caribbean, the US, and South America was from entry of infected Africans to the Americas.[29]

The schemata of the origins of HTLV that was drawn by some U.S. researchers in the early 1980s established an epistemological framework that (for many) could be easily translated into narratives of the origins of HIV. In these medical scientific equations, simians occupied a critical position as the "natural host" of HIV disease. Throughout the 1980s, and into the 1990s, one species, African Green Monkeys, were constituted by the AIDS science establishment as the bodily sites from where the "AIDS virus" was transmitted to humans. A prevailing theory of transmission maintains that the virus traversed the species border at a recent point in history, perhaps thirty or forty years ago, by way of the cross-species exchange of blood or semen.[30] To this I will shortly return.

Making the body of the monkey a "natural host" is a critical semantic manoeuvre. It consolidates a point and place at which to aim science's silver bullet. Simians are the bearers of a death that threatens not just Africa, but the borders of the West. As a "natural host" of the "AIDS virus", the monkey is a foundation and a reservoir from where viral pathogens can not only be transmitted to other nonhuman and human primate species, but necessarily analyzed and extracted by Western biomedical science. Like all modern bodies, the bodies of simians that enter into Western accounts of the origins of AIDS

might be described as "the inscribed surfaces of events."[31] The simian is a multiply-inflected site of signification. The green monkey is a critical object of scientific and social knowledge that emerges at the intersection of imprinted scientific histories of powers, discourses and natures. It is from these scientific practices and discourses that concepts of race, sex, gender and nation have been worked into and pried from simians.[32] Already deeply invested, the body of an African primate that enters the contexts of the global AIDS pandemic is turned into a particularly potent communication device: the monkey is produced both as the "raw material" of origins and as a body of signification, the natural and symbolic viral reservoir from where flows already encoded signs of disease.

Resulting from the scientific discourses that constituted and were constituted by the "discovery" of HIV a series of narrative moves immediately began to surface in the mid-1980s, seeking to trace points of viral transference between human and nonhuman primates. What becomes readily apparent as we move into the early 1990s is that an entire apparatus of knowledge has been established around "disease monkeys", and by extension, around the natural, geographical, cultural and social spaces of Africa in which these nonhuman primates are situated.[33] These moves exemplify the convocative power of constructs of difference involved in the reification and isolation of a unitary instance of origins.

Interspecies Transmissions

The suggestion that there exists a single logic underlying AIDS is always potentially productive of a series of hazards. These might be called the hazards of knowledge and power when they converge around an originary point or naturalistic entity. Narratives of interspecies origins create these kinds of hazards, but in not so easily discernible ways. One reason for this is that these narratives emerge from a discourse of "nature" that makes the meanings they produce seem without history. While it could be said that origin stories in general tend to function to naturalize the subjects they narrate, narratives of interspecies origins not only naturalize but appear to be embedded in a place already designated as the body of nature. In this way, the logic of discourses of origin is the logic of teleology.

Discourses of interspecies transmission attempt to tell not the social but the natural history of disease. In doing so, they create a space within which a series of different signs of disease are chained together: viruses that leap species boundaries; Old World African primates who are the nature to what is human; and a geographical and symbolic place called "Africa" that biomedical science, in its desire to have a stable "natural" site of return, sees at once as the Garden of Eden and as the "heart of darkness" of colonial lore.

Tracing the natural history of disease is a constitutive part of contemporary virological and epidemiological practice. The concern with a disease's natural history is quite simple and specific: it involves the delineation of its origins and its immediate relations to other disease entities. In the case of AIDS, where the causative agent is a virus, the focus of concern is with the natural history of viral entities (HIV) traced through the bodies they occupy and from where they apparently emerge. Following a number of lines of pursuit, including tracking the sero-status of various human and nonhuman populations, the familial relations of HIV and different viruses (the phylogeny of human and nonhuman retroviruses), and epidemiological patterns, the *modus operandi* of natural history is the revelation of the unmediated essence, the nature of the disease object. Suggesting it to be a totalized "description of the visible", Foucault has noted that natural history has been deeply implicated in projects of systematizing and classifying the world it sees.

By virtue of structure, the great proliferation of beings occupying the surface of the globe is able to enter both into the sequence of descriptive language and into the field of a mathesis that would also be a general science of order.[34]

While the form of natural history Foucault describes concerns the systematization of the surfaces of the world, with the problem of disease, natural histories of medical science travel between surfaces and depths of global bodies. As Bryan Turner suggests, in medical science the surfaces and the depths of human bodies come to be cultural objects of classification.[35] Subjected to classificatory operations, disease and the body are ordered and inserted into the grids of a number of different apparatuses of knowledge: not only medicine, but compulsory education, the state, and academia have each come to discipline bodies marked as sick and unhealthy.

Natural histories rely upon the concept that the contingencies of a disease, and its origins, can be represented transparently by objective scientific disciplines and languages. Indeed, as Evelyn Fox Keller suggests, if there is one thing specific to modern scientific discourse, "it is precisely the assumption that the universe scientists study is directly accessible, that the 'nature' they name as object of inquiry is unmediated by language and can therefore be veridically represented." Not only does this claim to transparency of language effectively support forceful claims of truth, but "language assumed transparent, becomes impervious."[36] Removed from the social conditions of discourse and power – the possible contexts of its appearance to science – a disease narrated through modern formations of natural history have represented "the origins of AIDS" as a naturally-encoded biological problem of the interaction of pathogens and hosts – a problem of an infectious agent that warrants scientific isolation and codification.[37]

The natural history text of AIDS arranges itself and the narratives it provides through a set of interconnected assumptions regarding questions of

1 origins,

2 etiology,

3 the biological and genetic make-up of the so-called "AIDS virus",

4 its pathogenesis,

5 its modes of transmission,

6 its epidemiology.

The interpretive arrangements of natural history define what will count for AIDS science and the knowledges it might avail. And what counts most for natural history is the discovery and presentation of the origin of AIDS.[38]

What makes notions of the interspecies communicability of viruses particularly treacherous as explanations for the emergence of AIDS is both their authorization by biomedicine and their ability to make natural and pathological the often raced, sexed, gender and nationalized subjects of knowledge they produce. They indicate a distinct and always dangerous moment which reveals the mythologized boundaries of science/social, nature/culture, human/animal to be intensely permeable and consistently blurred. While the focus of increasing critique and contestation, any look at these "boundary-breaking", cross-species envisionings of the origins of AIDS, suggest that they have designated what subjects of knowledge get to be explored and defined as objects of concern for North American scientists and publics alike.

An account given by two British medical doctors, John Green and David Miller, in one of the earliest "AIDS" books, *AIDS: A Story of Disease*, neatly typifies the structure and spaces organized by narratives of the interspecies origins of AIDS:

Overall, the best suggestion as to the origins of HTLV-111 [HIV] is this. HTLV-111 was originally a monkey virus, either STLV-111 [Simian T-Cell Leukaemia Virus-111], now Simian Immunodeficiency Virus, or SIV], or a very similar virus. Some monkeys seem rather resistant to possible ill-effects for many years. This virus spread to people in some way. Studies of another monkey virus, monkey pox, have shown a number of intriguing facts. Monkeys are often hunted for food in Africa. It may be that a hunting accident of some sort, or an accident in the preparation for cooking, brought people into contact with infected blood. Once caught, monkeys are sometimes used as toys by African children.[39]

Written in 1986, this fantastic explanation raises serious questions about the implications and logics of the confluence of humans, monkeys, infected blood and retroviruses into a turbulent space of African origins.

Discourses of the interspecies intercommunicability of viruses rely upon dialectics of species evolution and perhaps eugenics, as they move through the great chain of being, from the figure of the monkey to that of the human. By mapping origins onto a single "natural host" one evolutionary (or genetic) step removed from specific humans, such narratives provide as their trajectory the transmission of a nonpathogenic virus found in African green monkeys to humans. Indeed, these narratives are intimately involved in redefining what is animal and what is a human.

If these stories of origins initially produce the green monkey as an object of knowledge, in the moves to explain transmission they project the virus-ridden simian body as a representation of an entire geographical and cultural space called "Africa". This historically repeated metaphorical extension is exemplified well in a map offered in the prestigious science journal, the *Review of Infectious Disease*. Drawn in an attempt to discuss the African contours of the epidemiology of the "AIDS virus", the map outlines the geographical distribution of *Ceropithecus aethiops* (African green monkeys or Vervets). The map is clearly intended to trace green monkeys over the regions of central Africa, the supposed prime area of HIV infection on

the continent. As the accompanying text explains, "this opportunistic and ecologically adaptable primate species is spread widely, if discontinuously, through areas of HIV seropositivity."[40] While the map attempts to draw a correlation between simian distribution and HIV, the discontinuities of Vervet populations across central Africa are never shown. This absence forms the grounds of an anatomy lesson that re-creates the discursive boundaries between "nature" and "culture", between Africa and the West, while at the same time linking together the human and the animal to construct the sick body of the Other.

A particularly potent expression of this transposition of animal onto human appears in the same article from where the above Vervet map is found. In a medical anthropological investigation into the relation of cultural practices in central Africa to HIV transmission in African populations, Daniel B. Hrdy, an anthropologist and AIDS researcher at the University of California, Davis, remarks that as a site of viral infection, and as its point of transmission, the African green monkey provides an important natural object through which to make sense of the epidemiology of "African AIDS" for a very simple reason: it provides a model of African sexuality.[41]

This conflation is a prosaic trope in the erotics of Western science's search for origins in the non-Western body of nature. It is a critical part of nearly all comparative biomedical politics, including the politics of interspecies transmission.

In his investigation, Hrdy notes that the existence of the simian immunodeficiency virus in wild vervets "may be relevant to the situation in humans" because "there is a striking analogy between *promiscuity* as a risk factor in humans and the 'promiscuous' behaviour of [wild green monkeys]."[42] By way of a discourse of cross-species transmission, the codes of an already racialized and diseased monkey are collapsed together with specific sexualized codes marking the "nature" of the "African". Imprinted on the simian, race and sexuality are linked together and communicated "between species" through a chain of transmission which explicates a history that has constantly animalized the black body.[43] Reading primate sexual behaviour through a well-entrenched anthropological gaze, Hrdy traces the "promiscuous" vervet body onto the figure of an African woman, a slippage deeply implicated in colonizing medical practices which take black sexuality as both pathological and naturalistic.[44]

Typically, female vervets, unlike baboons, are sexually receptive for long periods (many weeks) and during that time mate with multiple male partners, sometimes engaging in dozens of copulations on a single day – activity that may lead to traumatic lesions of the vaginal or perineal area. Although vervets do not exhibit the large and fragile "sexual swellings" common to other ceropcithecine monkeys (like baboons), vervet perineal skin is slightly edematous during breeding season.[45]

Drawing on medical understandings of heterosexual routes of transmission related directly to pathologized female anatomy, the corollary of this description is obvious: Hrdy reads the female vervet as an African prostitute. This correlation is locked into place by Hrdy's concluding remarks, where he suggests that

Exposure to multiple sexual partners may be a factor in the spread of [SIV]agm through vervet populations.[46]

The analogy that Hrdy drafts in his comparative modeling of sexuality hooks into a variety of colonial histories of sex and disease wherein images of animality, primitivism, blackness and femininity become located in the body of the prostitute.
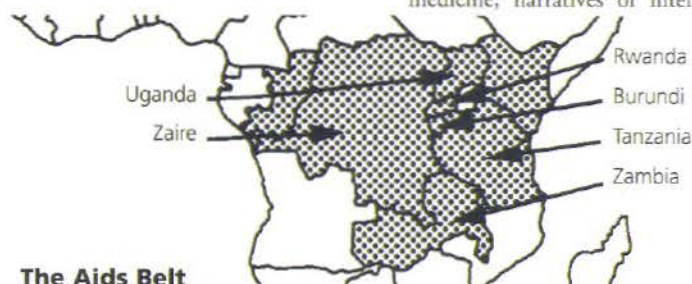
Returns – "The AIDS Belt"

More than reflecting the realities of the situation of AIDS in Africa, Western medical scientific descriptions of the origins and transmission of HIV are powerful semantic productions of a Euro-American heterosexual self. As the mythic embodiment of racial and sexual difference, as well as the pathologies of disease, the African prostitute represents the Other against which a Euro-American body can be defined and normalized.[47] Narratives of origins provide a point of reference for a society to both contain and refuse the very existence of AIDS. As such, these narratives instantiate a kind of border patrol predicated as much on effects of knowledge as on the effects of ignorance – a will to know that in fact does not want to know.[48]

Discourses of transmission naturalize normative raced, sexed, and gendered arrangements in the space of monkey origins. This could not be more evident than with the powerful construct of what Western observers now call the "AIDS Belt". The figure of the "AIDS Belt" might be read as the telos of simian origin stories. For here, the image of the monkey reservoir slides directly into a metaphor for the African continent – an insidious slippage that creates a fully naturalistic site composed of the inter-minglings of bodies all marked as "dangerous". The "AIDS Belt" ties together a series of projections that reflect the desire to distance, recover and to isolate an object of study for an observant white Euro-American biomedical eye. It establishes a place from where to explore and to order the bodies of others.

To begin with, the "AIDS Belt" makes almost completely irrelevant all geographical, cultural, religious, social, linguistic and political diversities of Africa. Africa is constituted as internally boundless, and as space from where there can be distinguished a whole range of borders between the uninfected/infected, healthy/diseased, polluted/cleansed, culture/nature, unshaded/shaded, white/ black. us/them, between self and other. A homogenized Africa becomes a crucial marker of the organization of difference in the throes of a global AIDS crisis.

The spatialization of AIDS and its "subjects" thus produces Africa as a particularly delimited object of study: it becomes a place where the natural history of the epidemic can be seen to run its course. This biopolitics of origins constructs particular bodies and natures through the crises of AIDS that are to be ordered and known. The human and the animal bodies that populate this boundless yet scientifically managed space are all marked with the signs of disease and death. It is as if HIV/AIDS were simply a disease of Africaness.[49] By way of a strategic act of displacement, which reveals the deeply entrenched connections of colonialism and medicine, narratives of interspecies origins

The Aids Belt

Uganda
Zaire
Rwanda
Burundi
Tanzania
Zambia

constitute Africa as that originary "somewhere" to which Western scientists and observers can return to and constitute as a natural AIDS laboratory – a place where African bodies and lives can be explored and the virus discovered. And at the same time, a place where certain Western bodies can be re-constituted as clean and immune.

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Notes

1 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Volume 1, (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

2 ibid, 143.

3 ibid, 142.

4 ibid, 139.

5 ibid, 142.

6 As Andrew Ross has recently suggested, following Foucault and feminist historians of science such as Evelyn Fox Keller and Donna Haraway, any discussion of the politics of nature must include the politics of the body: "health care rights; reproductive rights; sexual politics; ethics of biotechnologies; the politics of the immune system; the politics of skin colour; militarism safety; diet; state surveillance; penal repression; concerns of worker and nutrition" see Andrew Ross *Strange Weather: Culture, Science and Technology in the Age of Limits*, (New York: Routledge, 1991) 191.

7 Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1963) 3.

8 Alexander Duttmann, "What Will Have Been Said About AIDS: Some Remarks on Disorder" *Public* 7 (1993):103-4.

9 Paula A. Treichler, "AIDS, Homophobia, and Biomedical Discourse: An Epidemic of Signification", in Crimp, D. *Aids: Cultural Analysis/Cultural Activism*, (MA: MIT Press, 1988) 32.

10 Donna Haraway, "Biopolitics of Postmodern Bodies: Constitutions of Self in Immune System Discourse", in her *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, (New York: Routledge, 1992) 204.

11 Foucault, Birth of the Clinic, 31.

12 Cindy Patton, *Inventing AIDS*, (New York: Routledge, 1990) 53.

13 Evelyn Fox Keller, *Secrets of Life, Secrets of Death: Essays on Language, Gender, and Science*, (New York: Routledge, 1992) 39.

14 See Stephen Epstein's discussion of the contestations of medical scientific knowledge by U.S. AIDS activist organizations. Stephen Epstein, "Democratic Science? AIDS Activism and the Contested Construction of Scientific Knowledge", *Socialist Review*, 21 2(1991): 35-64.

15 Max Essex and Phyllis J. Kanki, "The Origins of the AIDS Virus", *Scientific American*, 259 4(October 1988):65.

16 See Treichler, "AIDS, Homophobia and Biomedical Discourse", 1988.

17 Linda Singer, *Erotic Welfare: Sexual Theory and Politics in the Age of Epidemic*, (New York: Routledge, 1993) 30.

18 Michel de Certeau, Michel, Trans. Tom Conley; *The Writing of History*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) 136.

19 See, for instance, Ann Game, *Undoing the Social: Toward a Deconstructive Sociology*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

20 As of 1989 Haitians were formerly removed from the U.S. Center for Disease Control "4-H" (Haitians, Homosexuals, Haemophiliacs, Heroin Addicts) list of "risk groups". But the chains of signification have already been set in place and continue to circulate around Haiti as a site of disease. See Paul Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation: Haiti and the Geography of Blame*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

21 Sander Gilman, "AIDS and Syphilis: The Iconography of Disease" in D. Crimp, ed. *Aids: Cultural Analysis/Cultural Activism*, (MA: MIT Press, 1988) 100.

22 Keller, *Secrets of Life*, 1992, 27-31.

23 See Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race and Nature in the World of Modern Science*, (New York: Routledge, 1989).

24 Robert Gallo, *Virus Hunting: AIDS Cancer, and the Human Retrovirus – A Story of Scientific Discovery*, (New York: Basic Books, 1990) 73-75.

25 See, for instance, *AIDS 91: Summary: A Practical Synopsis of the VII International Conference*, (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Sciences Group, June 16-21, 1991); Robert Gallo, "AIDS in 1988", *Scientific American*, 259 4(October 1988):41-48.

26 Lee Edelman, "The Plague of Discourse: Politics, Literary Theory, and AIDS", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 88, 1(Winter 1991):315.

27 Grmek offers an insightful critique of the positioning of HIV into the "family" of HTLV. For AIDS researchers, there have been very high stakes (in terms of funding, epistemological commitments and prestige) in precisely how HIV is encoded. see Mirko D, Grmek, *History of AIDS: Emergence and Origin of a Modern Epidemic*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

28 In retroviral phylogeny, HTLV-1 is positioned as a distant relative of HIV in the family of retroviruses. This long and complex history of naming and classifying retroviruses, with its particular inflections of "family", cannot be considered in this paper. For discussion of retroviral phylogeny, see M.B. Gardner and P.A. Luciw, "Simian Immunodeficiency Viruses and their relationship to the Human Immunodeficiency Viruses", AIDS 2(suppl.1,1988):S3-S10; G. Myers, et al., "The Emergence Simian Immunodeficiency Viruses? Human Immunodeficiency Viruses" *AIDS Research and Human Retroviruses*, 8 3(1992):373-85.

29 Robert Gallo, et al., "Origin of Human T-Cell Leukemia-Lymphoma Virus", *The Lancet*, (October 22, 1983), 963.

30 See, for instance, P.M. Sharp and W. Li, "Understanding the Origins of AIDS", *Nature*, 336(24 Nov. 1988):315-16.

31 Foucault, *History*, 148.

32 See Haraway, 1989.

33 It is not coincidental that there has recently been an explosion of stories centering on the emergence of new viruses in the heart of Africa. Discourses of origins constructed around AIDS have, in many ways, made possible for present discussions of "emerging viruses" pouring out of Central Africa and invading innocent American lives. The film "Outbreak" is but a popular rendering of a dangerous proliferation of viral discourse. See, for instance, Robin Marantz Henig, *A Dancing Matrix: How Science Confronts Emerging Viruses*, (New York: Vintage, 1993).

34 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, (New York: Vintage, 1970) 136.

35 Bryan S. Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory*, (London: Blackwell, 1984) 208.

36 Keller, *Secrets of Life*, 28.

37 Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992) 5.

38 ibid, 33.

39 J. Green and D. Miller, *AIDS: The Story of a Disease*, (London: Grafton Press, 1986) 66. HTLV-111, the Human T-Cell Leukaemia/Lymphotropic Virus, was the name given to the virus isolated by Robert Gallo and his co-researchers at the National Cancer institute in 1984. As I have suggested, by naming it as such, Gallo placed the virus into a specific family of retroviruses – the HTLV group – of which his laboratory had first identified.

40 Daniel B. Hrdy, "Cultural Practices Contributing to the Transmission of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus in Africa", *Reviews of Infectious Diseases*, 9 6(November-December 1987):1116.

41 ibid., 1116.

42 ibid., 1116, (EMPHASIS MINE).

43 Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, "Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in Comaroff and Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

44 Gilman *Difference and Pathology*, 88-89.
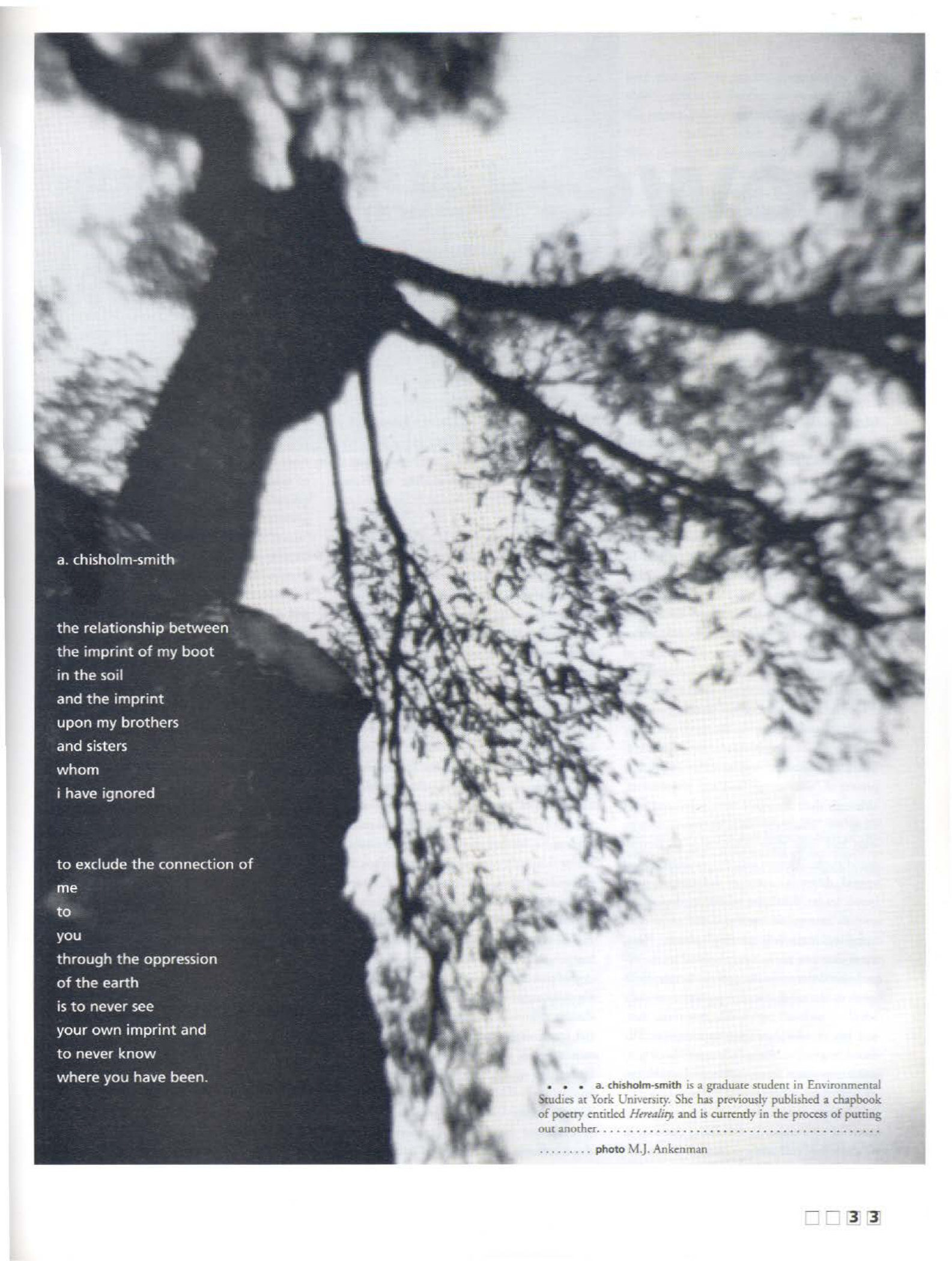
45 Hrdy, 1116.

46 ibid., 1116.

47 Simon Watney, "Missionary Positions: AIDS, 'Africa' and race", *Critical Quarterly*, vol. 31 3(Autumn 1989): 47; also see, M. Cerrillo, M. and E. Hammonds, "AIDS in Africa: the Western Imagination and the Dark Continent" *Radical America* 21 2-3(March-April 1987):17-23.

48 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 5.

49 Watney, *Missionary Positions*.

a. chisholm-smith

the relationship between
the imprint of my boot
in the soil
and the imprint
upon my brothers
and sisters
whom
i have ignored

to exclude the connection of
me
to
you
through the oppression
of the earth
is to never see
your own imprint and
to never know
where you have been.

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. . . . **photo** M.J. Ankenman

Power in the Spatialization of the American Landscape:

INCLUSION & EXCLUSION

Kelly Carragee

The "expedition" is an event which reveals the extent to which the development of scientific disciplines, particularly geographical and anthropological modes of representation which developed during the so-called "Age of Exploration", was a corollary of such projects of domination as European imperialism and later American expansionism. In this paper I describe the process by which the American West was construed as a "natural" space.

The exploration of the West was a military project of domination overlaid with a veneer of scientific discovery. The project of science itself posits the scientific observer as rational and impartial. It masks its function as the servant of the dominant ideology – while simultaneously obscuring the mechanisms by which that domination is extended. Scientists, however, were not the only interpreters of "discovered" land and phenomena, although their accounts were privileged over those of "amateurs" such as travel writers, who had only their subjectivity to recommend them. Western expeditions consisted of several different strata of informers – the heroic leader, the native guides, mythologizers such as newspaper reporters, and creators of imagery, including photographers. Thus, there were two narratives generated by the expedition – the scientific and the heroic. Both work to the same ends: to portray a country which is rich in exploitable resources, vast, and empty, and thus open to conquest. The moral imperative of the "advanced" society to transform space from useless and worthless, populated by natives and sagebrush, to a capital resource which will further the advancement of civilization is, I believe, the way in which a "natural" space is created.

The relatively recent intellectual phenomenon variously called the "sociology of space,"[1] cultural or human geography, attempts to place human activity in its spatial context, from which, according to Henri Lefebvre in his *The Production of Space*, was artificially separated during the Enlightenment; the human as both subject and object was removed from his/her environment, which, then served as a mere background against which human actions take place. Contemporary studies of modern forms of spatialization, the process by which the physical environment is created and imbued with meaning, is precisely an attempt to rectify the rationalized separation of self from environment (which denies awareness of the social processes that simultaneously give rise to and are modified by the human-modified physical world). Two of the most influential models of the philosophy of spatial production have been those of Michel Foucault and Henri Lefebvre. In some ways, Foucault's history of space is a natural extension of his history of the body. The body is the cellular unit of production; therefore, the extension of the capitalist system necessitated accumulation of bodies, and new means of subjection of those bodies, achieved under capital not through "traditional, ritual, violent, costly" means,[2] but through the technology of power: power as exercised on the body for purposes of subjection and maximum productive efficiency. The generation of new spatial forms and practices is one form of this technology of power – the grid of power and knowledge within which the human body is explored, broken down and rearranged.[3] Thus a study of the spatialization process would reveal the underlying order of generative discursive practices.

A second model of spatialization, expostulated by Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space*, is in some measure a critique of Foucault's model: Foucault's theory of space could be read as somewhat deterministic, abnegating as it does a "reality" of space in the Cartesian sense and positing "space" as merely an arena with no meaning outside of the structuralization of discursive practice. Lefebvre perceives that Foucault has created an artificial schism between discursive practice as generative factor and the social space in which discursive formations become actualized.[4]

Lefebvre, on the other hand, posits a *triplicité* – a threefold dialectic of space – consisting of spatial practice (or territorialization – division of the land into units of property); discursive representations of space, cultural images or ideologies which generate the physical manifestation; and, "spaces of representation" – the structuring of space as it exists in the popular imagination. Historical analysis, therefore, instead of dealing exclusively with temporal phenomena, should ideally consist in charting the relationship of changing modes of production to space as a *commodity* – both a product in itself and a reflection of a given society's system of ordering and of accruing value to "nature" – that which is not yet useful to humans (a relation which has varied throughout history). Lefebvre's vision of the science of space, therefore, is one which is simultaneously able to represent the political use of knowledge, to reveal the ideology designed to conceal that use, and therefore to provide for the possibility for change by belying the appearance of inevitability which the spatial exercise of power relies upon for its continued existence.
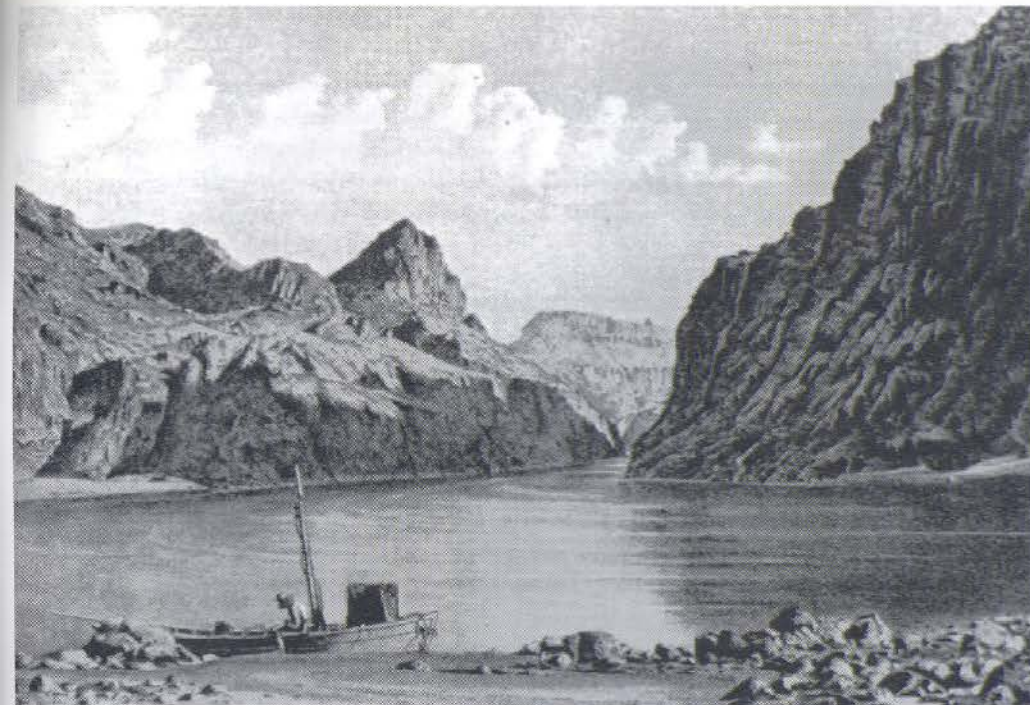
Fig. 1: "Black Cañon, Colorado River, from Camp 8, Looking Above", vol. I, *Geographical Report of the Wheeler Expedition* (1868), after a photograph by Timothy O'Sullivan.

The process of spatializing social relationships depends on making them seem as if they could not possibly be otherwise – by manifesting them physically, they become absolutized. The exercise of power itself consists not only of the political/legislative decision-making process which generates these relationships but in the fact that certain contingencies are prevented from being actualized, "whether through the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through individuals' decisions."[5] According to Steven Lukes, this form of exclusion is the result of the latent conflict between those who exercise power and those whom they exclude: "latent" because the excluded and disenfranchised are in most cases precluded from awareness of their status and of their "real" interests.[6]

In the spatialization process of the American West, this apparent inevitability of the exercise of power is most obvious in the doctrine of "manifest destiny," or the ideological imperative of the American "people," or rather, American state, to extend control laterally, from east to west (and potentially south, and arguably north), over the Americas. According to Richard Poulsen, manifest destiny is not quantifiable as an historical concept, because "[i]t is not a *thing* existing in time, but a projection into spaces which are clearly transcendent."[7] Attempts to grapple with the concept historically are elusive because it is an inherently political and ideological will to motion; description becomes propaganda:

it is [..] only within the context of a history, the past *for*, and not *of*, a group, that propagandizing is possible, that nationalism, politics, desacralized religion, and technology determine the thrust and meaning of past events.[8]

Instead of being a historical veracity, manifest destiny is a spatial projection map of a dominant ideology, one which drew from scientific, religious, national and popular discourses to legitimate itself.

The concept of a national destiny – that of subduing the entire continent – gained validity from Alexander von Humboldt's concept of the "isothermic zodiac" – a geological condition inherent in the northern hemisphere which, he claimed, favored the expansion of American capital industrialism. This corresponds to what Poulsen describes as the myth of Buenaventura – the great river which supposedly flowed from the inland West to the Pacific Ocean.[9] The cultural imagining of this river, which by identifying the unknown Western lands as a fertile drainage basin, politicized and accrued economic value to this heretofore "empty" space. The symbolism surrounding this river was so powerful that it was literally mapped into the popular spatial imagination, despite expeditions which failed to prove its existence.

In the mapping of Buenaventura and other spatial constructs, one can see the way value was assigned to this land through several channels. First, the geological theories of Humboldt theorized that minerals and other natural resources were deposited in the land through the process of geological cataclysm, which, he further speculated, created the natural beauty and sublimity of the West.

Second, value was accrued to the West through its potentiality as a conduit for greater wealth: the legendary "passage to India" – which, of course, was Columbus' goal – could finally be achieved through the railroad, which would channel goods from the wealthy ports of the Far East to the financial establishment on the eastern seaboard of the United States.

In addition, the imagined fertility of the West held potential wealth, as agricultural production would fuel industrial expansion. This dream of agricultural wealth by Eastern capitalists has been mythically linked to what Poulsen describes as the common man's search for "food, children, elbowroom" – space which the landless were regularly denied in Europe. This myth, of course, is just that. Instead, Poulsen argues that the immigrant-cum-pioneer was seeking not *more* space, but a redefinition of space; in the myth, "elbowroom" was transmuted into "the vast space of ownership" in which the illusion of freedom was created: the landscape became a manifestation of god-given rights – the right to reproduce, to accumulate land, and to transform the production of that land into wealth.[10]

This corresponds to Leo Marx' description of the way in which the pastoral model of expansion – here, Thomas Jefferson's "yeoman farmer" – is coopted by the process of accruing capital value to the land. This was a process understood by Jefferson himself. In Query 22 of "Notes on the State of Virginia," he writes:

The cultivators of the earth are the most virtuous and independent of citizens. But the actual habits of our countrymen attach themselves to commerce. They will exercise for themselves. [..] Wars then must sometimes be our lot.[11]

Not only does the figure of the yeoman become both signifier and signified of "America" in this image of the pastoral. But at the same time, the pastoral is translated into a doctrine of progress, in which nature's prime, if not sole, purpose is to serve humankind. "According to the social, political and economic ideology of capitalism the land is only valuable insofar as it can be incorporated into the economy."[12] This is clearly evident in the after-effects of the Land Ordinances of 1785 and 1862 (both based roughly on Jefferson's model), in which speculators and yeomen alike

bought up the land, "improved" it or let it sit, sold it at a profit and moved on. The intrinsic value of the land was not as a locus of human habitation and cultivation but as a commodity.

The act of surveying the West and generating a spatial projection of the land set up a nexus of power and hegemony by way of a generative spatial projection of the land. Predicated on forms of mimetic representation, these surveying practices assumed that both modes of projection (like photography) and images themselves were transparent representations of "the land," without conditions of history. This belied the cultural and historical contingency of, and the effects of power invested in, such practices of representation.

The responsibility for the generation of images of the West was itself the object of a battle for hegemony. There were four major land surveys during the period 1867-1879 – two directly under the aegis of the War Department (the Wheeler and King surveys), while the other two – the U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of Territories, under the direction of Ferdinand V. Hayden, and the survey of the Rocky Mountains, directed by John Wesley Powell, also a geologist – were directly funded by Congress.

After the Civil War, the U.S. Army sought exclusive access to Congressional surveying funds. The Wheeler expedition to the Colorado River (1871-73) was, for instance, as much an effort to get Congress to fund military surveys over civilian surveys. This mapping project functioned as a reconnaissance mission to gain information which would both aid the Army in exterminating the Indians and prove the navigability of the Colorado River, which had not previously been navigated. Photography taken by Timothy O'Sullivan, a member of the expedition and a noted photographer, showed a calm river with natural landings. In actuality, the river was an extremely turbulent and difficult watercourse. But the images were blatantly manipulated through overexposure in order to make it appear to be a river suitable for transport of people and goods.[13] The image shown here is from the Wheeler expedition report – a graphic reproduction of the O'Sullivan photo, which creates a double distortion [Fig. 1].

Motivated by the exigencies of industrial capitalism, including the search for new markets and material resources, the U.S. government deployed the military to further the demands and interests of capital. Such exercises of power were performed under the

guise of historical "necessity": it was the destiny of the U.S. to realize the dream of prosperity. Indeed, this was as much a moral mission as it was economic. And the popular press, with its own imaging techniques, was instrumental in portraying such military actions as moral and economic imperatives, mostly through racial rhetoric:

Shall this garden of beauty be suffered to lie dormant in its wild and useless luxuriance? ...myriads of enterprising Americans would flock to its rich and inviting prairies; the hum of Anglo-American industry would be heard in its valleys; cities would rise up on its plains and seacoasts, and the wealth of the nation be increased in an incalculable degree.[14]

The alliance of the state and capital was cemented by the willingness of the government to further the interests of big business, mainly by granting certain charters to corporations, particularly to railroads. Between 1850-57, 25 million acres of public land (acquired through military conquest) was given to railroads, along with millions of dollars in bonds.

The surveys conducted under the aegis of the Interior Department, and later under the War Department, had the express goal of finding sites most suitable for development by these corporations. Once surveying had been completed, the task of the military shifted to clearing the area of Native Americans in order to transform it into something "useful." This was done to insure that the land's transformation occurred in a way which was amenable to the capitalists (as evidenced by the Army's role in quashing the railroad strike of 1877). The action of "discovery" and "transformation" was made to seem not only ideologically inevitable – a matter of American "progress" – but, in fact, the only possible destiny for the land.

As Richard Poulsen explains, the transformation of that which previously existed is necessary in order for a landscape to be understood.[15] The displacement of pre-existing systems, whether of the native peoples or of aspects of ecosystems by the needs of industrial capital was a prerequisite for the creation of a homogeneous land system. Native Americans had no place within this system. Instead, they were thrust into a normative grid of power through which they were configured as objects of knowledge to be, for instance, classified and demarcated by the state, and thus subjected to political and military control.

The process of transformation can be seen in the photographs of William Henry Jackson, particularly his work of 1868 – prior to his joining the Hayden surveys. Jackson was one of the primary generators of images of the West; beginning as a portrait photographer in the East, he became acquainted with Ferdinand Hayden, who had been appointed Director of the U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey in 1867. His 1868 photos of Native Americans were "practice" photos taken while waiting to join the survey. Here, the native landscape is rendered as "occupied," and its inhabitants' images transformed and commodified.

In the imaginary frameworks through which the events of exploration were detailed, photography would play a central role. Geography, geology, anthropology, botany – all were means of accruing meaning to unknown phenomena in order to fit them into hierarchicalized scientific taxonomies. The encounter with previously unknown forms – animal, vegetable, or mineral – created a need for new descriptive languages. This positing of the scientific observer as mediator between the physical world and language was dependent on the assumption of the rationality of vision itself – a belief which stemmed from the Renaissance "invention" of linear perspective, an attempt to create a systematic means of producing a mimetic representation of the material world. Photography offers a perfect example of an apparently "objective" craft that could claim to be scientific and therefore able to access the "truths" of nature. It is a participant within, if not productive of, apparatuses of knowledge.[16] Indeed, photographic representations employed in expedition missions powerfully articulated and consolidated the capabilities of the U.S. government and various scientific disciplines (including geography) to order and control the land. Natural purpose was seen to conform to man's purpose.

Hayden's stated goal was to accumulate knowledge which would be valuable to Easterners. His party did not include a topographer, but a sixth of the party were visual artists. Hayden sought to visually create order within the context of the "beautiful plan of the physical growth of our continent." The visual images of the land were to portray its suitability for exploitation. Those areas not directly usable for industry were useful in other ways – the tourist industry, for example. As Peter Hales has noted, "In this scheme, all rivers were scenic, waterbearing or navigable; 'Indian

lands' were designated as 'sections [that]... to the agriculturalist [have] comparatively little attraction."[17]

The transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869, also played a critical role in constructions of the natural space of the West. In the practices of representations of U.S. explorers, the railroad marked a fundamental reconfiguration of the land. Indicative of the "progress" of civilization, the railroad bisected Western space, "gridding and demarcating, in a way no trail had previously succeeded in doing."[18] The importance of this event in creating a mental conception of spatial order cannot be underestimated. Instead of untamed wilderness and untapped potentiality, the West became – through land acts, (primarily that of 1862) – parceled into 160-acre homesteads that any American could purchase (if he had $200), and the value of which was enhanced by proximity to the railroad. In reality, of course, these lots were soon consolidated into huge corporate-owned tracts on which company towns were constructed.

The industry of creating images for popular consumption played a prominent role as disseminator of the ideology of progress embodied by the railroad. The precedent for this had been set as early as 1853, when the daguerreotypist S.N. Carvalho accompanied Col. Robert C. Fremont across the Great Divide. Fremont got the idea to utilize the daguerreotypist from Humboldt. Photography was often manipulated to achieve propagandistic effects to serve the interests of the railroads. Scientific experts and creators of images, such as O'Sullivan, William Henry Jackson, and Thomas Moran – whose sketches and drawings appeared frequently in the popular press back East[19] – were instrumental to the construction of this concept of progress.

The drawn image, in fact, was particularly apt for this kind of ideological work; this is most visible in the work of Thomas Moran, who accompanied the Hayden survey in 1870 and 1871, and worked closely with William Henry Jackson, collaborating on the framing of views and often reproducing and subtly altering Jackson's photos in graphic form. As Moran's rendering of photographic views of scenes of natural beauty show, the photograph was drawn, and often altered, to

elicit a sense of the drama and contrast of the "natural"; according to editorial demands, he would alter the vista accordingly, adding more vivid hues or more clouds to the sky.[20]

Like others, Moran's goal was to "convey to the American public of the 1870s the grandeur of their unspoiled continent. Pure information would not sway or uplift the nation."[21] As is evident, the surveys of the West were multivalent in function, as they conflated scientific and economic discourses with the accumulation of knowledge: the filling-up of the "emptiness" of the West with meaning; the "desire to establish the *truth* about the western terrain."[22] The images which were generated in the course of the surveying of the West were thus a potent force in the ordering of space in the American imagination.

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Notes

1 Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991) 50.

2 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1979) 221.

3 Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. 1 (New York: Vintage, 1980) 143.

4 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Trans. Donald Nicholson Smith (London: Basil Blackwell, 1994) 4. Foucault, however, at times acknowledges the hegemonic process; *Discipline and Punish*, 26-27.

5 Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: Macmillan, 1974) 24.

6 Which, Lukes says, are empirically identifiable. *Power*, 24-25.

7 Richard Poulsen, *Misbegotten Muses: History and Anti-History* (New York, 1988) 94.

8 ibid., 95.

9 Richard Poulsen, *The Landscape of the Mind* (New York, 1990) 32.

10 Poulsen, *Misbegotten Muses*, 103-104.

11 From *Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, eds., Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York: Modern Library, 1944) 285.

12 Leo Marx, interviewed by Carrie R. Wilson in *Modulus* 20 (1991):73.

13 Publisher's Notes, *Wheeler's Photographic Survey of the American West, 1871-73* (New York, 1983) vi-vii.

14 *Illinois State Register*, 1846, quoted in Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Southend Press, 1980) 152.

15 Poulsen, *Landscape of the Mind*, 36.

16 Although this is not strictly true, as could be deduced from the permissibility of photographs (and now videos) as evidence in a court of law, despite the ease with which images are manipulated and sometimes falsified.

17 Peter Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988) 69.

18 ibid., 40.

19 The polemic and iconic influence of the images Moran created cannot be understated; in fact, his 1872 painting "The Grand Canyon of Yellowstone" was instrumental in Hayden's successful campaign to have Yellowstone designated a public park in perpetuity, and his "Mount of the Holy Cross" was used in tourist advertising through the twentieth century. See Joni Louise Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1992).

20 This demand for "drama" is directly related to the trend, in "high" art landscape painting of the time, from Europeans such as Caspar David Friedrich to the Americans Albert Bierstadt and Frederic E. Church, towards sublimity – the insistence on terror and awe as necessary elements in the transformative aspects of art. See Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: The American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

21 Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock, *The Influence of Photography on American Landscape Painting, 1839-1880* (New York: Garland Press, 1977) 136.

22 ibid., 132. (EMPHASIS MINE)

Politics of Inner Place...

Gus Van Harten

What is place? A niche... a spot... a situation in time. Identity. Beliefs. A quiltwork of designs, a web of choices, a muster of visits to other places, and a need to dwell in one's own.

Place is in society: in the home, school, work, library, grocery store, mall. These are the places where I have been shown the pathways. They can be very simple: perhaps to believe in God, finish school, raise a family, find a job; perhaps to watch football and drink beer after church on Sunday afternoon.

Portrayed as that which is truly concrete, that which is part of the Real World: places that call and motivate us in our efforts to succeed by meeting society's standards. Taught to me, touched to me, shown, sung, and fed to me since my life began. Equality of opportunity for success is practically guaranteed, if only I obey a few simple rules. These are the outer places of my culture and society.

But place is also deep inside. True inner place is more elusive than those manufactured in society, those culturally-molded to fit me so snugly. And to avoid a schizophrenia of wills, I must question social rules of outer place.

This is a story about visits to different places: societal places, concrete places, places in the Real World. Most of all, it is about small steps at the beginning of the long journey to a place within where true identity emerges and where life becomes an expression of true meaning and purpose in an often untruthful world.

In *The Natural Alien*, Neil Evernden presents E. F. Schumacher's description of the confusion and misunderstanding that he experienced when confronted with the gap between his beliefs and what which was taught to him in societal places:

> All through school and university I had been given maps of life and knowledge on which there was hardly a trace of many of the things that I most cared about and that seemed to me to be of the greatest possible importance to the conduct of my life. I remembered that for many years my perplexity had been complete; and no interpreter had come along to help me. It remained complete until I ceased to suspect the sanity of my perceptions and began, instead, to suspect the soundness of the maps. [1]

Schumacher's difficulties arose from his inability to fit his true beliefs, motives, and commitments into the molds provided him by the outside world, the maps to the Real World. "The map is not the territory," writes Evernden, but "when a gap appears between what one experiences as real and what is officially recognized as real, conflict is inevitable."[2]

This is the deep conflict that has arisen in me as I try to reconcile my inner place with that which is often taught to me in outer places of home, school, work, and country.

■

Outer place should mean locality. Your home, your village, your neighbourhood. The place where you link identity to roots, to knowledge of the outside world, to your memories of the stages of existence. Al Purdy writes of the meaning of place as homeland in this excerpt from the poem "Man Without a Country"[3]

> I am a child fishing for sunfish in a river
> I am learning to skate under the town bridge in Trenton
> I am lost for two days in the northern forest
> I am going to school and failing at French and Latin
> I am learning what a strange lonely place is myself
> reflecting the present reiterating the past
> reconnoitering the future
>
> These are my history
> the story of myself
> for I am the land
> and the land has become me

But I stand on stolen land. My identity changes with growing awareness about the atrocities committed in the outer places where I have lived. The tragedy that continues to happen in the Americas, after more than 500 years, is splayed beneath me each time I step outside; the more I read and learn, the more visible are the stains of blood on the snow and in the soil. And voices of victims call to me in classrooms, conference halls, shopping malls: Anna Mae Aquash, the Lubicon Cree.

■

Anna Mae Aquash was a 31-year-old Micmac Indian from Nova Scotia whose murdered body was found beside a road on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, in February, 1976.[4] She was a well-known activist in the American Indian Movement (AIM). Seven months before, on June 27, 1975, a shoot-out had taken place on the reservation between FBI agents and Sioux members of AIM, in which two agents and one Indian were killed.

Aquash's body was delivered to an FBI medical examiner who carried out a rapid autopsy and sent the body for burial in an unmarked grave without a death or burial certificate, reporting exposure as the cause of death; her identity was not made public until after the burial.

Aquash's hands were not buried with the rest of her body. Instead, they were severed from her arms at the wrists, placed in a jar, and sent to the FBI. After learning of her murder, the friends and family of Aquash demanded that her body be exhumed and re-examined. The second autopsy determined that she had been shot at close range in the back her head. Execution style, it was said.

A body without hands exhumed from the soil, her murderers never identified. Originally buried without traditional Native rituals after being manhandled and violated by a man wearing gloves, who was obeying orders after many years of training.

Could the doctor have known her? Did he mourn her passing? Had he performed other autopsies on Indian bodies? Activists for AIM or enemies of the state?

Lubicon hunting area as in the previous twenty years. Animal numbers plummeted. The oil companies were soon producing revenues of $1.2 million a day, while the Lubicon hunting and trapping economy was for all practical purposes destroyed.[5]

The Lubicon Cree were an afterthought of Western expansion and genocide in the New World, a beleaguered holdout in the long war for privatized control of the land that meant annihilation of homeland.

As the white historian R. G. Robertson announced in 1969, demonstrating the dominant mindset of his society:

We all accept development as being good. Like motherhood, you don't have to argue about it. Any fool knows it is good.[6]

He was speaking at the Third Northern Resource Conference, held in Whitehorse.

Autopsies performed like modern ritual.

No burning of sweet grass or tobacco. No last weeping rites, family ceremonies. No placement with love in trees. Only the tilted lights, metal table, plastic bag, concrete floor.

Perhaps a cigarette.

■

Oil was discovered in 1979 on the homeland of the Lubicon Cree in northern Alberta. Soon, over 100 oil companies were searching for profit on the land where the Lubicon ate and slept, sang and danced, trapped and hunted; where they experienced their lives and tried to inhabit their place.

The Alberta government carried out no studies of the possible environmental impact of the bulldozing, blasting, and drilling. No controls were enforced. Why would there be a need to control economic growth? To regulate development? To monitor the creation of jobs?

John Goddard writes of what happened to the place of the Lubicon in their homeland, their real world:

the region became the most active exploration and drilling field in the country. Over the next five years, crews drilled more than four hundred wells within a fifteen-mile radius of the Lubicon community... Bulldozers buried traps and blocked animal trails, sometimes deliberately; other traps were looted. Fires raged out of control: in 1980 alone, fire destroyed as much of the

Soon after the conference, plans were announced for the construction of an oil pipeline through the Mackenzie Valley. From Alaska, through the Yukon and Northwest Territories, to southern Alberta. Across 3,800 kilometres. Through communities of Dene, Inuit, and Metis. Slicing the roaming grounds of herds of caribou, packs of wolves, flocks of geese.[7] A long, thin, black scar on the wide face of the land. For development, growth, jobs, and profit; for "motherhood," according to loud voices from the outer places I have inhabited in my culture.

For more than 500 years, we have accepted development as sacred, more sacred than the union between home and land to form a social place where people can live together with common purpose and commitment to each other in communities, villages, and neighbourhoods.

■

I have felt the aura of guilt and contradiction – of *misplacement* – described by Frederick Turner in *Beyond Geography*, as he wandered the hills of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota:

I saw myself there as both an inheritor of conquest and as an alien. I knew that both the Lakota and the Cheyenne had held sacred the Black Hills I could see in the westward distance, but I knew also that a belief in the sacredness of lands was not in my heritage. The distance I felt there was more than geographical. I could see the Black Hills. I was on a piece of aboriginal America. But I was estranged by history from them.[8]

As a visitor to spiritually distant Native places in the land, Turner's identity was divorced from his locale. He is part of a culture that finds it difficult to recognize deep meaning in place because of its failure to value closeness with the land, its denial of the need for roots, for common experience and feelings of intimacy, for commitment to beliefs. Denial of the need for homeland.

Souls more wise to the proper place of humans in Nature must shudder at deeds of the modern, industrialized world: a feeding frenzy of myopics intent on expanding forever and achieving victory in competition at any cost. Fixed on the next export contract, the next development project, the next TSE[9] dot, the next dollar.

■

New World Order. New era of Free Market Capitalism: freer trade, freer capital, freer profit. Even if the pursuit of this freedom degrades and destroys people's place in community and Nature, it must be maintained. Triumphantly we are told that there will be a new global village; I need only pay the tolls on highways of international information, trade, and finance for my business stake in the world of the future. Does this assume the obsolescence of local communities?

The triumph of the market has been consummated. But how can a system based on global competition recognize the sacredness of local relationships between people and local ties to the land? It becomes *necessary* for towns in northern Ontario to disappear when corporations depart, for indigenous peoples in Amazonia to be evicted from the forest, even for union organizers and human rights workers in Columbia to be murdered. This is the way the race must be run, these are the imperatives of the Real World.

Disrespect the Earth, steal the land, and discredit whatever is shared among the people. By any means necessary, lower wages, reduce costs, and maximize profit. These are the dictates of the market, forged on tablets of stone, guided by the Invisible Hand of God. Surely, the hand is gloved to insulate it from diseases of locality: common purpose among people, respect for the local land, sharing, justice, love.

Globalization causing the alienation and erosion of place.

■

Money comes before morality for countries and corporations that must by definition maximize profit to survive and cannot afford more than a token commitment to people and place. In *The Culture of Terrorism*, Noam Chomsky calls corporate freedoms of trade and investment the Fifth Freedom, which guarantees:

the freedom to rob, to exploit and to dominate, to undertake any course of action to ensure that existing privilege is protected and advanced.[10]

To drill 500 oil wells within a 15-mile radius of the home community of the Lubicon Cree. To lie and deceive about the murder of Native activist Anna Mae Aquash. To ensure freedoms of the market by violating the basic rights of human beings, and the sanctity of Nature. To murder opposition, assassinate dissent, and kill the potential for positive social change.

Motives and values. Science and conscience. Home and land. As these things are increasingly rent apart, what remains of the common place for people?

■

What will be my place, my niche, my spot; where can I transform rage into courage? Where can I return to beliefs, redefine my identity? To draw my own maps and navigate my own way. To find the strength to speak and the will to take action.

In *The Politics of Cruelty*, Kate Millet affirms the need for people to uncover the truth about state use of torture in the contemporary world so as to join in its condemnation:

The lesson of torture is this silence. Just as the torturer boasts – no one will ever hear you, no one will ever know, no one will ever discover.

For that reason, then, the silence must end, must be broken, the victim's voice be restored, since otherwise the torturers are never negated or defeated or even counterbalanced, they are merely in or out of power.[11]

The need to learn about political truth and advocate positive change in society. This is the process of finding an inner place from which to take political action.

Millet describes the importance of repelling despair and working for change. To truly believe in Amnesty International's motto, for instance, that it is better to light a single candle than to curse the darkness. As Millet states:

Ultimately, as individuals we are all helpless before the state, the collective power of armies and governments... But the knowledge of torture is itself a political act, just as silence or ignorance of it have political consequence. To speak the unspeakable is the beginning of action.[12]

Thus, awareness is liberating. It precedes understanding, action, and defiance. It allows one to break the conspiracy of silence that pervades cultural places and pathways.

■

I look to the courage of others for inspiration. Some who live and work under the constant, dripping threat of abduction, imprisonment, rape, torture, assassination. Many more who have been abused and intimidated, but remain defiant by returning to a place inside where they find the will to speak and the strength to carry on.

Colleen Beaumier, a Liberal Member of Parliament, spoke in the House of Commons on December 8, 1994 about being beaten and raped as a young woman. It was the first time she had revealed this in public, she had never told her children. Beaumier was responding to suggestions from a Reform MP that violence against women in Canada is overstated.

"Give them .32s" to defend themselves, one Reform MP had quipped; others guffawed. This in the wake of the five-year anniversary

of the Montreal Massacre, in which 14 women were brutally murdered because of their sex. This after several women were killed *that very week* by men, usually their "estranged" husband. With a machete, with a piece of wood; on a street in Hamilton, in a Toronto apartment.

Said Beaumier of her decision to speak about the past abuse:

It was something I had to deal with at the time. I dealt with it and put it away. But I couldn't sit and listen to it being so trivialized[13]

The way forward lies in the actions of those who are willing to break the silence and challenge the deceit. Those who reach out from their place to share wisdom with millions, to confront horrors of the past and bring them to bear on places in the present and pathways for the future.

■

Reflected in mirrors are billions of stars, leaving trails in the self, pointing to alternate routes, leading to knowledge disguised on journeys unscripted. The journey will be rewarding. Ideally, from experience emerges wisdom: finding one's true place, a philosophy of life that gives purpose and meaning to existence.

Inner place is where we take our stand. No culture is inherently evil. The greatest beauty in people is their capacity to speak, to act, to struggle together; out of hope, to make a better world.

Isabel Allende, the exiled niece of Chile's assassinated president Salvador Allende, describes the importance of the political novels she writes as a way to communicate ideas and raise her voice:

I feel that writing is an act of hope, a sort of communion with our fellow men. The writer of good will carries a lamp to illuminate the dark corners. Only that, nothing more – a tiny beam of light to show some hidden aspect of reality, to help decipher and understand it and thus to initiate, if possible, a change in the conscience of some people.[14]

To make a small difference as people, to trust our true nature, to inhabit an inner place.

Otherwise we are doomed to wander among places on mass-produced and pre-determined pathways, from home to school, school to job, job to mall. Transient workers on the map of spiritual identity. Forever seeking an inner place where belief leads to meaning and commitment grows from truth.

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Notes

1 E.F. Schumacher, *A Guide for the Perplexed* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1977) 1; in Neil Evernden, *The Natural Alien* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 26.

2 Evernden, *Natural Alien*, 25.

3 Al Purdy, "Man Without a Country," in *An Anthology of Canadian Literature in English* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990) 392-394.

4 All information about the murder of Anna Mae Aquash from Warren Allmand, "15 years later, few answers about the murder of Anna Mae Aquash," in *The Toronto Star* (31 August 1993) A13.

5 John Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991) 3.

6 R. G. Robertson, "Concepts in Northern Development: An Historical Review of the Political and Economic Development of Canada's North," In *The Developing North* (Whitehorse: Third Northern Resource Conference, April 1969).

7 Thomas R. Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland, The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry: Volume One* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1977).

8 Frederick Turner, *Beyond Geography* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1983) xiii.

9 Toronto Stock Exchange.

10 Chomsky describes further how the Fifth Freedom is pre-eminent in the dominant ideology of the West, and has therefore been "the operative principle that accounts for a substantial part of what the U.S. government does in the world" despite it being "overlooked when Franklin Delano Roosevelt announced the Four Freedoms that the U.S. and its allies would uphold in the conflict with fascism: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear." see Noam Chomsky, *The Culture of Terrorism* (Boston: South End Press, 1988) 1-2.

11 Kate Millet, *The Politics of Cruelty* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994) 301.

12 ibid, 296.

13 "Darts and Laurels," in *The Toronto Star* (8 December 1994) A12.

14 Isabel Allende, "Writing As an Act of Hope," in *Paths of Resistance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989) 48-49.

Photo by Anne Bell

Reclaiming territory through conservation areas: *Gwaii Haanas, Haida Gwaii, 1851-1993*

Gordon Brent Ingram

QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS.

In 1994, after 135 years of overtures from the Haida of the north coast of Pacific Canada, the Government of British Columbia finally began negotiations with the Council of Haida Nation (CHN) for a comprehensive treaty. In this chronicle, I frame the last two centuries of Haida history in terms of local/marginal versus centralized/metropole, rather than in some of the older dichotomies of Indian versus European, 'primitive' versus 'civilized,' and even traditional versus modern. Much of the discussion in the negotiations about the treaty, in the coming months and years, will focus on the remaining temperate rainforests, often referred to as "old-growth," on Haida Gwaii, formerly called the Queen Charlotte Islands. The conceptual framework and expertise to carry such site-specific yet, paradoxically, comprehensive negotiations derives from the successful 1974-1988 struggle to protect the southerly part of the archipelago, Gwaii Haanas,[1] from clear-cut logging through contentious, and yet to be resolved, notions of "parks."

This essay looks at the crucial theoretical and short-term political use, with their overlaps and contradictions, in the linking of sovereignty with conservation. The national park ideal was first articulated in the colonialism of the nineteenth century and still very much dominates conservation discourse and practice in this era of global environmental crisis. In this discussion, I highlight the colonial nature of the contradictions in the notion of "National Parks" in areas with indigenous communities. I also argue that the related notion of 'biological diversity,' with all of its own contradictions, provides something of vehicle for decolonising national parks, and for the articulation of local development priorities.[2]

The experience of the Haida provides an opportunity to examine the evolution of conservation frameworks based on joint and co-management of natural areas and resources in Canada. The Gwaii Haanas example is distinct, particularly compared with the United States, because of the use of sovereigntist strategies to stop unsustainable exploitation of the ancient temperate rainforests. Unresolved questions of control of territory and resources has provided the backdrop for unique alliances between non-native "environmentalists" and Native activists, some of whom are "sovereignists." The latter term can be differentiated from the terms "nationalist" or even "separatist" by a more subtle and analysis of the (postmodern) state. Thus, sov-

ereignist positions are more concerned with local control and management than with necessarily building the apparatuses of typical states. Linkages with neocolonial governments, under the rubric of broader confederations are considered inevitable but indefinitely provisional.

The remaining islands, with relatively intact mosaics of primary forests, are a tremendous resource in the Pacific Rim.[3] The timber from ancient rainforests, temperate and tropical, is extremely valuable. The values for recreation and cultural tourism are also very high. But extractive development and large tourist facilities can threaten many elements of local diversity, not to mention the food resources of traditional communities. Today, most of these remaining islands are in the eyes of storms from conflicting pressures for expansion of resource extraction versus tourist and service-based economies. Into this volatile formula is now being added linkages between sovereignty, land management, conservation, and the reassertion of priorities of traditional communities. Conservation has often been stymied by colonial land use frameworks that were more concerned with expediencies of short-term profit and state control than with the protection of vulnerable resources. Identification of such institutional obstacles becomes central to understanding the emerging linkages between "indigenous" environmentalism and new assertions of sovereignty. One 'decolonisation' process, of particular importance for the Haida, has been the exposing of the underlying frameworks of the notion of the "National Park" and its neocolonial biases towards central government.

The Haida and Gwaii Haanas

Until three decades ago, much of Haida Gwaii had relatively undisturbed island ecosystems with large tracts of primary temperate rain forest.[4] The present administrative boundary of Gwaii Haanas includes 138 islands with 1,470 square kilometres of land along with 3,400 square kilometres of marine zones.[5] Humans have occupied the Queen Charlotte Islands continuously for over ten thousand years. The Haida people were the sole inhabitants of the Queen Charlotte Islands until the Crown Colony of British Columbia annexed the archipelago. Traditional Haida society had a fishing-collecting economy, a ranking system based on hereditary status, and

sedentary villages. Haida settlements were on beaches near halibut banks and salmon streams.[6] Haida society had developed a sophisticated culture based on surplus, considerable knowledge of the natural world, and sophisticated artistic expression.[7] By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Haida were the most mobile and often the most aggressive of the northwest coast's "First Nations." Haida society was and is based on a matrilineal kinship system with two clans, their lineages, and villages forming the basis for economic relations, while matrilineal title regulated the patterns of land and marine tenure. Clans and lineages had some exclusive rights particularly for first choice as part of communal distribution of food and other resources.

Over the last century, Haida cultural change has embodied a series of losses, transformations, adaptations, and affirmations arising from epidemics, government attacks on traditional culture, removal of legal control over lands, the intrusion of the extractive economy[8] and the spread of globalized information and ideas. Contact with Europeans, whom Haida called the "iron people," began when Spanish ships arrived in 1774. A number of communicable diseases immediately ravaged Haida communities in that period. The first major smallpox epidemic was in 1862 with several outbreaks over the next thirty years reducing the total Haida population to 20 percent of its levels at European contact. By the 1890s, most Haida were consumers in an expanding mail-order economy. After nearly a century of sporadic but disastrous contact, the southern Haida sought medical assistance from Methodist missionaries. Nurses arrived on Haida Gwaii in the 1870s, began vaccinating against smallpox, and established a permanent mission at Skidegate in 1883.[9] These relatively liberal missionaries did not attack traditional culture, directly, but instead focused on providing services. But at roughly the same time, there began government assaults on traditional culture such as when the Canadian federal government outlawed potlatch ceremonies in 1884.[10]

Colonial Intrusions

In 1852, the Colonial Office in London formerly gave the Governor of the Crown Colony of Vancouver's Island, which was soon to be amalgamated into the Crown Colony of British Columbia, the approval to annex what was referred to at the time as

Queen Charlotte's Island. Originally, this was solely to limit territorial intrusions by the United States of America and the permission from London was not actually to colonise Haida Gwaii.[11] In 1871, the Government of British Columbia elected to join Canadian Confederation, but this was done without any consultation with the Haida. Even when British Columbia government officials began to draw colonial property lines, by Reserve Commissioner O'Reilly in 1887, the Haida considered it more an irritation than an immediate threat. The Haida remained emphatic about their ownership of Haida Gwaii and never formally surrendered any rights to the archipelago. But, by the 1880s, government policy limited Haida fishing to subsistence and by the turn of the century additional restrictions extended to salmon, timber, minerals, and use of off-reserve sites.

The British Columbia government neglected Gwaii Haanas during the Indian Reserve allotment process because of the area's remoteness, lack of population, and the uncooperativeness of its chiefs, and almost the entire area came under public ownership through "the Crown." This was the case for much of the British Columbia coast. But the disparities between the lands available for logging and settlement and the tiny Indian Reserves were to become most stark on Gwaii Haanas. Over the last century, various enterprises established logging, mining, whaling, fishing, canning, and mill camps on Gwaii Haanas, though few 'communities' lasted for more than two decades. Only a very small portion of camp workers have been Haida. After World War II, export of unfinished logs and fish products dominated the local economy.

By the late 1960s, three large forest products companies had obtained Tree-Farm Licenses (TFLs) for over 41 percent of the Haida Gwaii land area, and timber cutting had shifted from "hand logging" in small areas near waterways, where considerable vegetation remained, to increasingly massive blocks of "clear-cuts." The rapid rates of cutting brought increased pressure on the remaining areas of relatively accessible and marketable forests on the Queen Charlotte Islands particularly along the east coast of Moresby Island. At the same period, the "take" in the harvesting of the salmon, herring, and abalone fisheries increasingly ran at or above "carrying capacity" and that which could support "sustainability." The cumulative impacts of destruction of stream habitat, sedimentation,

and over-fishing, from logging and road building, became a central public concern.

The origins of the pre-1988 provincial framework for habitat conservation on Gwaii Haanas are rooted in colonial land controls established in London, Victoria, and Ottawa. At several times over the past century, the Haida Nation argued in provincial and federal courts that it retained ownership rights over the area. But the legal and sovereignty issues have yet to be formally resolved.[12] King George III's October 7, 1763 Proclamation, which required the colonists to recognize some Indian lands, did not mention the coast of modern British Columbia.[13] Early colonial governments of the region pointedly denied aboriginal title and governmental controls and ignored questions of Haida sovereignty. By failing to negotiate treaties for these huge and relatively rich parts of Canada, the colonists of British Columbia, many of whom moved on within one generation, failed to establish a viable legal basis for extinguishing First Nations' sovereignty, ownership, and rights to resources.

During the initial 1851-71 colonial period, British authorities could not agree on how to resolve land disputes with indigenous groups in North America.[14] A liberal position, held by most in the London Colonial Office, advocated recognition of native sovereignty and land rights, as contrasted with the attitude of contempt for Indians that settler governments, like that in British Columbia, often exhibited. The contradiction was that while London demanded some form of resolution of land claims, the local colonial governments were required to find the funds to buy the rights. But even in British Columbia, one of the wealthiest of the nineteenth century colonies, there was little money allocated and only limited Native interest in being bought off. By 1865, the Crown colony of

British Columbia contracted to transfer lands to private settler control without Haida consent.[15] From 1870, a year before joining Canadian Confederation, until 1991, it was de facto policy in the government of British Columbia to formally deny land title to Indians, aside from tiny Indian Reserves and tracts purchased or leased.[16] From the beginning of colonial authority in Haida Gwaii, governments viewed assertions of sovereignty as competitive threats, particularly in regard to the control of wealth from extraction of natural resources. One response to persistent ownership declarations by the Haida Nation was government eagerness to grant monopoly

control over forest lands to interests with the means to remove valuable resources quickly. Thus, the provincial government early on attempted to exert indirect control over large territories of land through ecological destruction. In turn, the provincial government reaped huge revenues by charging companies resource extraction royalties. In this way, native communities were often kept from harvesting, for commercial purposes, the natural resources on their traditional lands.[17]

Goals for habitat conservation, maintenance of biological diversity, and sustainability were first articulated publicly on Haida Gwaii, in the 1974-76 period, after clear-cut logging of ancient forests expanded and a proposal was made by a logging company to log Burnaby Island in the center of Gwaii Haanas.[18] The Haida began to articulate more public concerns for protection of subsistence resources, within the framework of hereditary title, while some settlers and government employees were preoccupied with broader ecosystem health. These goals, for more comprehensive conservation, became central to subsequent discussions about land use designations. The Haida have tended to be highly site-specific in their concerns for the cause-effect linkages between clear-cut timber harvesting and declining availability of traditional resources and threats to the viability of their traditional economy. National and global concern for Haida Gwaii ecosystems began to focus on old growth forest and the long-term impacts of clear-cutting.

South Moresby became a rallying point for ecologically and locally based approaches to land management, in the northward expansion of the modern Canadian frontier, and the struggle for conservation on Gwaii Haanas became popularly viewed as a prototype for coalitions between Native Peoples

and non-native "environmentalists." Given subsequent conflicts over logging and conservation in the region, with less successful alliances between Native and non-Native environmental advocates largely because of the lack of practical understanding on the part of non-Native activists, this vision was perhaps overly optimistic.[19]

A new era in forest landscape planning emerged around concerns for non-timber values such as for "biodiversity," with imperatives for more comprehensive requirements for habitat protection. New frameworks emerged with conceptual links between more global visions of stewardship and concerns of traditional communities for subsistence resources and cultural sites, notions that were central to the alliances to conserve Gwaii Haanas. For most insular traditional economies, the conservation of biological resources often has been intrinsic to harvesting and utilization patterns. But the Haida became active in heavily mechanized commercial fishing enterprises as soon as it was legal for them to do so and their priorities for the conservation of biological diversity has been increasingly framed against the backdrop of dwindling primary forests and fisheries. These conditions challenged them to expand their site-specificity and relate them to processes of regional environmental degradation.

Sovereignty and International Alliances

One of the most daunting and unpredictable aspects of the social conflict around Gwaii Haanas has been the efforts to expand dialogues between the Haida Nation and local, national, and international "environmentalists." In other parts of the region and at other times, such dialogue has barely occurred. First Nations groups have articulated needs and priorities for conservation and resource use that have often diverged with those of non-Native groups primarily concerned with wilderness, public control of resources, and global perspectives on environmental degradation. Yet the fluid alliance between the Haida and environmentalists was crucial to the successful creation of a framework for preserving Gwaii Haanas's old growth forests and in creating a framework for long-term negotiation between the Haida Nation and the Canadian government.

The Islands Protection Society acted as the primary local environmental or-

ganization. The Islands Protection Committee was formed in response to the 1974 proposal to move logging operations to Burnaby Island. The Skidegate Band Council was the first organization to oppose the proposed operations and the Islands Protection Society soon proposed some kind of wilderness status for Haida Gwaii south of the Tangil Peninsula in November of 1974. The subsequent years saw various moratoriums and deferrals on the proposed logging for Burnaby Island and instead operations were established to the north on Lyell Island. Environmental organizations sought total preclusion of logging and mining in this area. As the debate expanded, the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, based in Vancouver, and the Canadian Nature Federation, based in Ottawa, intervened to support protection of wilderness values by the state. These two groups encouraged the idea of creating a national park as a way to preserve Gwaii Haanas, but this occurred years after Haida and non-Haida residents had articulated a vision of a community-based conservation framework.[20]

As early as 1982, the CHN issued conservation regulations and announced fees for commercial tourism in Gwaii Haanas. In response to the lack of progress toward conservation, the CHN declared tribal parks and heritage sites in areas that were scheduled to be logged or where additional management was needed to help control the impact of tourism. Opposition to logging was the first successful Haida response to resource extraction that jeopardized their traditional harvesting patterns. Their tactics coalesced after a century of painful destruction of sites owned by well-identified lineages, families, and individuals. A vague sort of native-centred environmentalism allowed for this decolonisation effort to be better understood by non-Haida through adaptations of the native notions of wilderness preservation and the need for well-stewarded cultural landscapes. These ideals have come to represent and paradoxically be transformed by the cultural movements and political strategies associated with the revitalization of First Nations communities.

Several trends and events intersected in the mid-1980s to transform the local political economy and to link globalizing concerns for biological conservation with those for traditional local resources and sovereignty. The Haida grew more unified, organized, and sophisticated in asserting their case for sovereignty and land rights as they

watched the experience of Native corporations in Alaska. Logging output and cutting area increased while automation limited growth in the local forestry work force. Nature and cultural tourism increased substantially in the 1980s. Canada finally adopted its own constitution in 1982, precluding further possibilities of government embarrassment from Native groups in British Columbia demanding redress from Britain. But neither the provincial nor federal government was prepared fully to decolonise, especially since doing so might have meant they would be held financially liable to corporations whose leases might be extinguished if Haida sovereignty and ownership were finally recognized.

CHN organized several politically effective logging blockades in the 1980s.[21] In the autumn of 1985, seventy-two people, nearly all of whom were Haida, along with MP Svend Robinson, blockaded Sedgwick Bay, on Lyell Island, in a well-publicized attempt to stop the logging.[22] In the subsequent David and Goliath media "spectacle,"[23] the Haida finally had the upper hand. These blockades challenged the provincial government's ability to mediate competing social pressures on natural resources eventually forcing the Social Credit Party government to take a position that grudgingly accepted the need for conservation of old growth forest ecosystems.

After political demonstrations and media events spread to places as distant as Vancouver, Ottawa, New York, and London, federal-provincial discussions became earnest in 1987. Popular pressure to stop clear-cut logging, within the proposed boundaries of Gwaii Haanas, though clear-cutting was taking place on Lyell Island, intensified in 1987 and the Government of British Columbia finally was forced into allowing federal government intervention. The content of the federal-provincial memorandum was approved a year later in 1988 and clear-cut logging stopped soon after. But the CHN was still not involved formally in the decisions on these territories and the accompanying financial package limited government funds to compensate logging interests and to construct tourist facilities under the rubric of "western diversification"[24] rather than Haida-initiated conservation or tourism.

A vision of establishment of a national park for the area gradually emerged, often more from default, as the solution that

could minimize the negative impacts of large cut blocks with declining old-growth habitat and poorly engineered roads.[25] These activities are still occurring in the larger part of the Queen Charlotte Islands north of Gwaii Haanas. Clearcut logging stopped on Gwaii Haanas after a July 1988 agreement between the federal government and the provincial government.

The 1988-93 National Park Reserve as a Neo-colonial Solution

The 1988 memorandum, shifting control from the provincial government to the federal government, represented one of several potential strategies to conserve the biological and cultural resources of Gwaii Haanas. It was the option that minimized embarrassment for the provincial government and optimized the political options of the federal government. The about-face by the provincial government occurred after it had resisted creating a wilderness park for over a decade. While the CHN neither participated in the negotiations nor formally supported them, it ultimately supported the 1988 memorandum as a short-term tactic to stop clear-cut logging in this part of Haida Gwaii. The shift to federal administration ultimately resulted from the inability of the provincial government to resolve the nagging contradictions of the earlier colonial period. The Government of British Columbia was losing its credibility for making balanced decisions between extraction of timber, mineral, and marine resources and conservation and recreation; between expansion of logging and expansion of fishing; and between laissez-faire expansion of tourist facilities and more planned approaches. The South Moresby National Park Reserve was created in large part to appease the Haida and the general public after disillusionment with the ineffectiveness of provincial land use planning frameworks and well-publicized corruption of politicians. The 1988 Memorandum was a milestone in its commitment to principles of "sustainable development." One tenet of the 1980 World Conservation Strategy, that the Memorandum highlighted, was conservation of genetic diversity, though the implications to Haida subsistence resources were oddly downplayed. The framework for joint stewardship and conservation of biological diversity remained unresolved.

Co-management, 'Joint Management,' and Decolonisation

Neither status as a national park nor as a "National Park Reserve" can guarantee conservation of biological diversity. Without an agreement between the Council of the Haida Nation and Parks Canada, the huge gaps in the management necessary for conservation of biological diversity, with ongoing coordination and funding, persisted. Sites that had traditional importance remained vulnerable. Parks Canada moved slowly into Gwaii Haanas wary of unresolved ownership and protocol issues. But the CHN had already developed a protection and conservation service on its own with its young people, called the Haida Watchmen, which had already gained formal recognition from the Government of British Columbia. This programme was part of the Haida Nation's effort to regain its position as principal sovereign on Gwaii Haanas. While curtailing logging operations removed one threat, others emerged such as excessive harvesting of marine resources and tourism and more intrinsic ecosystem degradation from introduced deer, rats, and raccoons.[26] But with no accord, the federal government funded little biodiversity inventorying, conservation, and monitoring during 1988-93.

The 1993 "Gwaii Haanas/South Moresby Agreement" between the CHN and the federal government resulted after five years of discussions between the CHN, Parks Canada, and the Department of Justice of Canada. Avoidance of de facto recognition of Haida sovereignty, with the implications for subsequent relations, presented a major obstacle to federal government participation in an accord. But without a comprehensive agreement, continued confrontations between the Haida and the Canadian state over its weak conservation policies continued.

The CHN, through their growing involvement in conservation planning and management, established themselves as the major force challenging the legitimacy and value of federal stewardship. The 1993 Haida-Canada joint management agreement, intended as a partnership, became a milestone in First Nations history in Canada. The Agreement contrasts with several other "co-management" agreements between the Native government and of Canada in the equality between parties.[27] The Haida have provided one of the most radical of the anticolonial and sovereignist models for conservation in a large country with a federal system in the Pacific Rim. The recent strategies of the CHN worked in part because of little government repression with low levels of police and military coercion, and the solid Haida commitment to nonviolence. Other Native groups, with fewer numbers and resources, might not as easily pursue such an idealistic course. Gwaii Haanas may well remain the exception to new agreements for co-management on the British Columbia coast.

The determination of the Haida exposed both the Province of British Columbia's land management system and the priorities of Parks Canada as neocolonial. The years between 1988 and 1993 were a transitional period with unsuccessful attempts to subsume Haida concerns under the rubric of economic diversification and conservation. The CHN insisted on a joint stewardship accord structured around Haida sovereignty and the 1993 Agreement represented the fruits of more than a century of discussion around Gwaii Haanas. But it still only provided a partially effective basis for conserving local biological diversity. While the Agreement finally removed the major obstacles to building viable local conservation institutions, the little funding that is available is still controlled by Parks Canada and there are few new mechanisms for generating money for Haida-initiated conservation.

Conclusion

The Haida have been actively engaging their marginality since European contact. What is unclear is the extent of the colonisation that actually has occurred with the Haida. They have lost their language and much of their religion, have typical North American social problems, and live in hauntingly beautiful but spectacularly ravaged landscapes. If there is truly a difference between colonisation as cultural dissection and fragmentation and that from chronic assault, perhaps the Haida have been fortunate with the former. And there are always limits on how a small society can remake itself through political conflicts over land. In recent decades, conflict between proponents of extractive development and proponents of conservation of primary temperate rain forest has increasingly dominated and transformed the political economy of Pacific Canada. In the last decades, the movements for Native land and

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resource reappropriation intersected briefly with global concerns over conservation of primary forest and biological resources around Gwaii Haanas. For the Haida Nation, a notion of the locally managed protected area as a development alternative both to the negative aspects of resource extraction and the biases in government park programs emerged from a century of strategizing for some kind of recognition from Canadian federal and provincial governments.

The Haida renewed their own conservation institutions because federal and provincial government institutions reflected values, little changed since colonial times, that favoured unsustainable extraction and discouraged local Native resource management. A public perception that provincial government institutions threatened the region's biological resources, in combination with more political unity on the part of the Haida, allowed them to direct a coalition with non-natives to finally reassert control over their traditional lands.

Effective and sustainable conservation, particularly for biological diversity and island ecosystems, requires extensive allocation of human resources. Sustainable conservation also requires effective, informed, inclusive, and neutral institutions. Until very recently, conservation institutions in British Columbia have been managed to be the opposite. Efforts

to increase the effectiveness of conservation efforts, through joint management of protected areas, will continue to transform the regional political economy and local institutions while remaining provisional and indefinite. The moral of this chronicle is that, in the context of wilderness and resource frontiers, the longer the wait for decolonisation the more expensive it becomes – at least for the citizen taxpayer. While the extraction of the natural resources of Gwaii Haanas, before 1988, generated millions of dollars in wealth to private enterprises and the British Columbian and Canadian government coffers, the Government of Canada is now committed to paying out over CDN $100,000,000 at the time when it has become one of the most indebted of the developed countries.

The institutions that have now emerged have attained their credibility because they better resolve historically derived contradictions – but only for a time. When not genocidal, treaties with indigenous people have often functioned as pacts of new forms of colonisation and the nature of the renewed control over biological and genetic resources may prove to be a better indicator of the level of Haida political and economic development than the ownership of the territory itself. And the notion of the conservation area will continue to be transformed as quickly as do underlying and highly site-specific social alliances.

Notes

1 For the current status of the usage of "Haida Gwaii" versus the "Queen Charlotte Islands" see anonymous, "Haida Gwaii more appropriate name says CHN" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 11 March 1993: 1-2. The names for the southern part of the archipelago have changed over time. The term "South Moresby" only referred to the southern areas of Moresby Island and adjacent islands. By the late-1980s, most people in the region accepted the Haida name, *Gwaii Haanas*, as the geographic label.

2 Gordon Brent Ingram, "Rainforest Conservation Initiated by Traditional Island Communities: Implications for Development Planning" *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 15 n. 2 (1994): 193-218.

3 Gordon Brent Ingram, "The remaining islands with primary rainforest: A global resource" *Environmental Management* 16(5)1992: 585-595.

4 J. Bristol Foster, "The Canadian Galapagos" *Islands at the Edge: Preserving the Queen Charlotte Islands Wilderness* Islands Protection Society, ed. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984): 35-47; Jim Pojar and John Broadhead,

"The Green Mantle" *Islands at the Edge*: 49-72; Gordon Brent Ingram, "Planning District Networks of Protected Habitat for Conservation of Biological Diversity: A Manual with Applications for Marine Islands with Primary Rainforest" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1989).

5 Council of the Haida Nation, "Purpose and Objectives Statement" *Gwaii Haanas Newsletter* 1 (September 1993): 3.

6 Despite the fact that at the turn of the century, there were remnants of at least 10 villages on Gwaii Haanas, only those at the extreme southern end, at Ninstints, were large enough to attract much documentation. See George F. MacDonald, *Haida Monumental Art – Villages of the Queen Charlotte Islands* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983): 101-113.

7 J. R. Swanton, "Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida" *American Museum of Natural History Memoirs, (1893-1930)* 5 (1905): 1-300, and *Haida Myths and Texts: Skidegate Dialect* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 29, 1905).

8 As early as 1851, the Haida were claiming natural resources such as gold ore and obstructing its export. See "Extract of a Despatch from Governor Douglas to Earl Grey dated Victoria, Vancouver's Island, 29 January, 1852" on file Archives of the Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria (call no. NW971.35Q).

9 The various approaches of the missionaries were described by J. R. Henderson, "Missionary Influences on the Haida Settlement and Subsistence Patterns 1876-1920" *Ethnohistory* 21, no. 4 (1974): 303-316. On page 308, Henderson notes "the southern villages suffered from no fire and brimstone evangelists. The missionaries appraisals were reflected in the goals they pursued, which were practical solutions to the problem of survival in a changing and alien world. To the missionary, survival meant drastic changes in the cultural patterns of the Haida."

10 For a description of Haida potlatch ceremonies, see pages 119-121 of George M. Dawson's report recently re-edited as *To The Charlottes: George Dawson's 1978 Survey of the Queen Charlotte Islands*. Douglas Cole and Bradley Lockner (eds.) (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1993). For a discussion of the links between the suppression of traditional culture and loss of Haida control over lands, see Chapter 8, pages 90-113, of Norman Newton's *Fire in the Raven's Nest* (Toronto: New Press, 1973).

11 "Extract of a Despatch from Sir John S. Pakington, Bart. M.P. To Governor Douglas; dated Downing Street, 27 September 1852" on file Archives of the Royal British Columbia Museum (call no. NW971.35 G786).

12 Haida leaders protested the British seizure of the islands to the first governor of British Columbia. See *(Victoria) British Colonist* 23 April 1859: 1 (no author or title) which records a meeting where one thousand Haida, at least one-tenth of the total Haida population, arrived in eighty canoes, traded for gold, and insisted on political recognition. Refusal to deal with the Haida as a sovereign group shaped the formation of a number of provincial institutions, particularly the land reg-

istry, the land management branch, and ministries responsible for forests and minerals.

13 Norman Newton, *Fire in the Raven's Nest*: 90. The text of the 1763 Proclamation was reprinted in the January 1963 issue of *The Native Voice* XVII n. 1: 2.

14 Thomas R. Berger, *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991): 142-156. Berger notes, "The colony's [the Crown colony of Vancouver Island's] House of Assembly had at first acknowledged aboriginal title, but when the House realized that the money for the extinguishment of aboriginal title would have to be provided locally, it began to insist there was no such thing as aboriginal title and no obligation to compensate Indians for their lands" (143).

15 Kathleen E. Dalzell, *The Queen Charlotte Islands, 1774-1966* (Prince Rupert, British Columbia: Cove Press, 1968): 59-145.

16 The Government of British Columbia policy of refusing to negotiate over sovereignty, land, and resource ownership was not reversed until 1991, after the election of the New Democratic Party government of Michael Harcourt. On June 28, 1991 a framework for negotiating between the provincial government and First Nations was proposed in the following report: Chief Joe Mathias, Miles G. Richardson, Audrey Stewart, Murray Collican, Chief Edward John, Tony Sheridan and L. Allan Williams. BC Claims Task Force Final Report. on file Victoria, British Columbia Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, 908 Pandora Avenue, Victoria V8V 1X4. This report was not accepted by the Social Credit Party government of the time and was only made government policy after a provincial election by the new administration. See December 10, 1991 Government of British Columbia News Release, "Province accepts claims task force recommendations," on file, British Columbia Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Victoria.

17 Province of British Columbia, *Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia* 3 vols. (Victoria: Acme Press, 1916), esp. vols. 1 and 3. This work was popularly known as the "McKenna- McBride Report." For the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, First Nations communities in British Columbia were subjected to laws restricting voting, land ownership, cultural expression, and legal action to assert sovereignty and to counter settler incursions on traditional lands. The first formal protest of the Haida resources was sometimes between 1859 and 1861 by Chief Edenshaw (Norman Newton, *Fire in the Raven's Nest*: 102).

18 Chief of Tanoo, "Testimony, Chief of Tanoo," *All Alone Stone* (Spring 1980)4: 40-41.

19 For an example of an area on the British Columbia coast, where alliances between First Nations communities and non-natives have been more difficult to form and sustain, see my "The ecology of a Conflict" in *Clayoquot & Dissent* Ron Hatch (ed.) (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 1994): 9-71 and, in particular 15-16 and 57-59.

20 Islands Protection Society, "The South Moresby Wilderness Area (A preliminary proposal)" *Queen Charlotte Observer* 29 July 1976: 3-4.

21 M. Johnston and D. Jones, "Canada's Queen Charlotte Islands: Homeland of the Haida" *National Geographic* 172 (July 1987): 102-27; Elizabeth May, *Paradise Won: The Struggle for South Moresby* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990): 113-124.

22 Terry Glavin, "Indians Halt Lyell Logging" *(Vancouver) Sun* 30 October 1985: A1, A2.

23 Guy Debord (translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith) *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books, 1994) originally published in 1967: 12-19.

24 The accompanying "diversification package" may total more than one hundred million Canadian dollars by the mid-1990s. Almost all of the "western diversification" funds associated with the 1988 federal-provincial agreement went to subsidize non-Haida enterprises including compensation to logging companies on Gwaii Haanas. See Robert Matas, "In the beginning there was Moresby" *The (Toronto) Globe and Mail* 13 November 1993: D1, D3. Ottawa's commitment for establishing a national park is now $160 million dollars (Canadian), but Matas quotes Park Superintendent Roger Hamilton who stated that, so far, "Ottawa has spent only $52 million."

25 Residents of Haida Gwaii, including many Haida, discussed conservation in "the South Moresby" at a 1976 meeting. They explicitly rejected federal government control of the area, particularly in the form of a national park. See "The South Moresby Wilderness Area: A Preliminary Proposal" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 29 July 1976: 3-4.

26 For some contemporary Haida perspectives on mismanagement of marine resources by the Government of British Columbia, see Robert Davidson, "Why We Are Where We're At" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 30 January 1992: 14-22; and Gary P. Russ, "Overseeing the Rock" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 9 April 1992: 5-6. In recent years, there have been Haida demonstrations against excessive sportsfishing and an agreement to shift much of the provincial government management control to the Haida was signed between the Haida Nation and the Province of British Columbia in 1992. See Jeff King, "Haida, Province Agree/Joint Stewardship on Sportsfishing" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 6 August 1992: 1-2.

27 See Alex Rinfret, "Gwaii Haanas Deal Signed" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 4 February 1993: 1-2. Rinfret noted "the Agreement calls for all planning, operating and management decisions about Gwaii Haanas to be made by a four-member management board representing both Canada and the Haida Nation... The two governments agree to disagree on the issue of who actually owns the archipelago."

Images p. 42 *Queen Charlotte Islands: A Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the North Pacific* by Francis Poole.

p.43 *Sea monster* Qayae'i by Henry Young.

p. 44 *Haida Carvers in Argillite* by Marius Barbeau. Artist unknown.

p. 47 Burial posts in the recently abandoned village of Sga'ngwai Inaga'-i, Red Cod Town, Ninstints, 1901. Photograph by C. F. Newcombe. Courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum.

Clayoquot & Dissent, essays by Tzeporah Berman, Gordon Brent Ingram, Maurice Gibbons, Ronald B. Hatch, Loys Maingon, Christopher Hatch; published by Ronsdale, Cacanadadada, 1994.

Reviewed by Jill Thomas

The common element in this collection of essays, *Clayoquot & Dissent*, is an old growth forest ecosystem on Vancouver Island called Clayoquot Sound. Each essay in the collection examines the conflict surrounding the decision of the provincial government of British Columbia, to clear-cut log in Clayoquot through a different lens. Each author highlights different problems and proposes different solutions. In this way, the essays are a metaphor for the conflict itself for, the actual social conflict surrounding the Sound is a complex and diverse as the forest ecosystem itself.

Between them, the essays provide a detailed history of the conflict. In "The Ecology of a Conflict," Gordon Brent Ingram, opens his essay with a long, somewhat monotonous but crucial, list of the major events. His chronicle opens in September of 1979 with the founding of The Friends of Clayoquot Sound and ends a decade and half later in September of 1994. It's a distressing outline and basically goes like this – clear-cut logging, blockades, arrest, forestry yield increases, series of failed government tasks forces, more blockades and arrests, more government whitewash, inadequate compromise, escalated blockades, hundreds of arrests, national outrage, international boycotts, 'forestry reform' and finally, fifteen years later... "the continuing problems in Clayoquot Sound are temporarily out of the public's mind. Clear-cut logging continues at a rapid pace"(17).

Ingram outlines the complexity of the conflict and highlights government ineptness and bureaucratic dysfunction in finding a 'solution'. My advice is to grab a coffee and plod through this information because it highlights the diversity of the Clayoquot Sound ecosystem as well as the number and variety of interest groups fighting over what to do with the trees that live there. By forcing us to grapple with the complexity of this conflict, Ingram discredits the simplistic binary of the 'jobs vs. environment' debate which has been force fed to us by sensational and shallow media coverage and supported by industry propaganda.

Ingram urges forest activists to move beyond narrow green dogmatism and learn to listen to and work with members of the logging communities – yes, this means hanging out in Port Alberni for longer then it takes to put gas in your car on the way to Tofino. The simple fact that 20,000 loggers invaded Victoria last year to protest *any* decrease in cutting levels on Vancouver Island should make it obvious that it's time for 'forest protectors' and 'tree cutters' to sit down and chat.

Ingram provides us with a strong foundation for a political analysis of the conflict in Clayoquot Sound. However, he neglects the social and cultural dimensions of this crisis. By doing so, he fails to place Clayoquot where it should be, which is at the at the centre of the latest round in the valley by valley 'battle for the trees' in British Columbia. Ingram ignores the fact that 'saving' Clayoquot Sound will not end the forestry conflict in BC. or bring us closer to undermining the social and cultural assumptions at the root of our global 'ecological crisis'.

Loys Maingon, in his essay "Clayoquot: Recovering From Cultural Rape," examines the conflict from the cultural angle that Ingram neglects. He circumvents political analysis, totally ignores debates about "Forest Practices Codes" and insists that we ponder the culture that produced this crisis. Our culture, Maingon argues, has been "raped" by technology and "usurped by technocratic pseudo-culture" (158). He depicts radical environmentalists as cultural saviors battling to save us all from 'ecosuicide'.

The essay paints a naive picture of 'radical environmentalists' but otherwise provides a helpful critique of the technology dependent, progress worshipping culture we live in. Maingon links the mandates of powerful corporations with their sophisticated public relations campaigns to the passive compliance of the "mainstreaming" media. In doing so, he demonstrates how ecological values are misrepresented, marginalized and therefore, "raped" of their cultural meanings.

Ronald Hatch's essay, titled the "Clayoquot Show Trials," looks at the Clayoquot conflict from the perspective of stuffy rooms in the Supreme Court of British Columbia. This rigorously researched essay examines an important aspect of the conflict which until now has been sadly neglected. The only trees in this Clayoquot story have long since been converted into intimidating platforms built to elevate 'his lordship', the judge, above society's delinquents engaged in civil disobedience in order to save the forest.

In the summer and fall of 1993, almost a thousand protesters were arrested in Clayoquot Sound. It took almost a year for 'the authorities' to herd the 'arrestees' through the BC. 'injustice' system. Hatch points out that no one, including lawyers, judges, defendants, the police or government officials, was happy with the way the trials were conducted. I personally attended the majority of the "Clayoquot trials" and can only describe the trials as a joke – sometimes funny, but most often sad.

Hatch refers to the trials as "show trials" which is also a enlightening description. Judge after judge sentenced the Clayoquot protesters to excessive jail sentences and fines to "show" us the dangers of public dissent and discourage further "illegal tantrums".

Hatch also effectively highlights the absolute absurdity of the trials. In brief, Clayoquot 'arrestees' were denied their individual legal right to defend themselves and were often not given time to consult lawyers. They were charged with 'criminal contempt' of court for an act of civil disobedience, which 'coincidentally' saved Macmillan Bloedel the
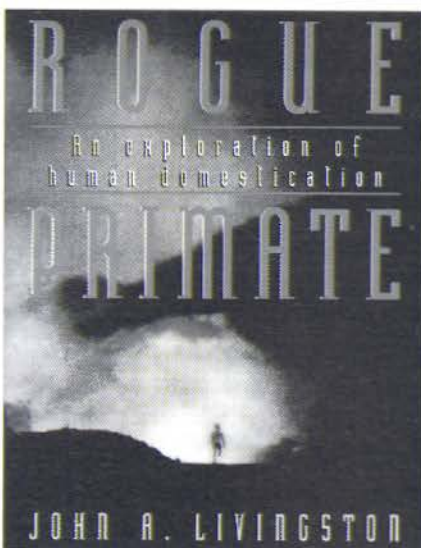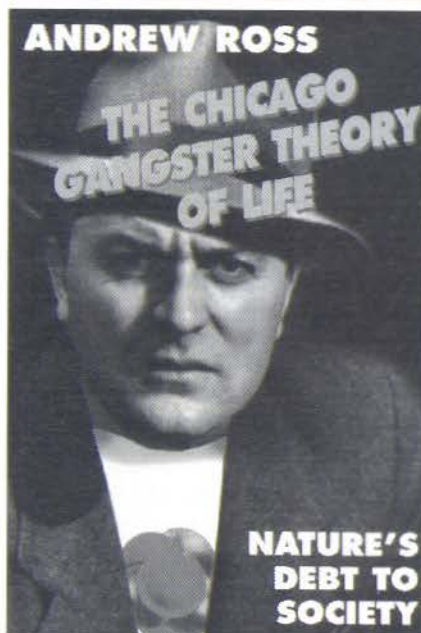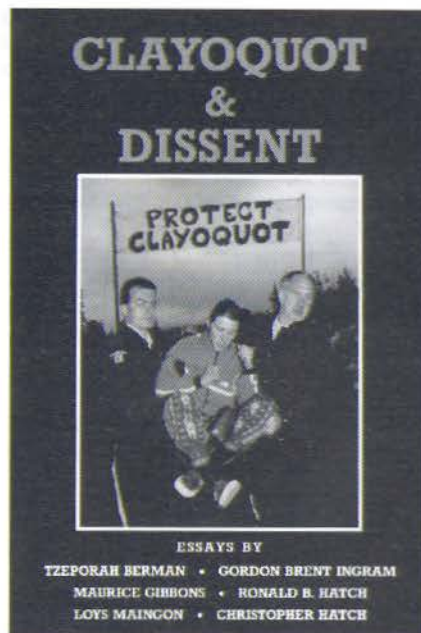
hassle, expense and embarrassment of filing civil suits against the blockaders. Protesters who committed the same 'crime' were given vastly different sentences – it seems punishments depended on the mood of the judge. Defense lawyers revealed that the RCMP provided Macmillan Bloedel with "mug shots" and detailed personal information on all 'arrestees'. And the list goes on... Anyone who still believes that justice system in British Columbia is a fair arbitrator should carefully read this essay.

Hatch provides us with a launch pad from which we may start to fully understand how this 'battle for the trees' is only a small part of a much bigger struggle. His extensive bibliography lists sources which may otherwise have remained hidden in a quagmire of government whitewash and oppressive judicial bureaucracy.

Dr. Maurice Gibbons' essay, "The Clayoquot Papers," fills a space that, despite their diversity, all the other essays miss – personal experience. Dr. Gibbons eloquently tells us the story of his arrest and trial. In doing so, he translates for his readers the powerful emotional energy of the blockades at the Kennedy River Bridge.

The momentum of the Clayoquot protest and social conflict peaked in the summer of 1993 and has now faded. These essays are, in essence, a reflection and an important after-the-fact analysis of the biggest illegal protest in Canadian history. It seems on the surface that change did not evolve out of this conflict – the trees are still falling at an ever increasing rate. However, sometimes change is subtle.

Christopher Hatch opens his concluding essay, "The Clayoquot Protests: One Year Later" with a question – "Did the Clayoquot protests fail"(199)? Hatch admits that on the ground the status quo is strongly in place but highlights that in a broader sense change has happened. He sites various initiatives of the provincial government of British Columbia to improve forestry practices and industry initiatives to 'green' their images as evidence of this change. Well, it's not the most encouraging news but its an important start.

However, perhaps change took place in some almost imperceptible ways. Tzeporah Berman, in her essay "Takin' it Back," explores this idea. Berman highlights the accomplishments of the Peace Camp, the most important of which was the power of this special community to act as a vehicle for social change. Berman writes, "Ultimately, the struggle is not only a struggle for "wilderness" or sound forest practices but fundamentally a struggle with how we interact with the natural world..."(6). Reading *Clayoquot & Dissent* should be a priority for anyone engaged in this struggle.

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The Chicago Gangster Theory of Life: Nature's Debt to Society,
by Andrew Ross, New York: Verso, 1994.

Reviewed by Mark Lutes

That Andrew Ross has his finger on the pulse of North American cultural politics became evident to me when, shortly after reading his *The Chicago Gangster Theory of Life,* I began clipping a large stack of newspapers that had piled up over Christmas. There I found *Globe and Mail* arts columnist Robert Fulford, lamenting the popular wisdom that virtue and capitalism are at odds, and embracing the "reasonable idea" that "we will be more intelligent when we embrace the natural desires that give rise to capitalism." I then found a lengthy and circumspect *G&M* editorial which noted that we are being 'geneticized' by the saturation coverage of research claiming genetic origins for more and more areas of human behaviour and health. Next was a story of a Manhattan subway car explosion "sparking fears of a new terrorist assault in the heart of the financial district." Ross has a lot to say about these and many other current fascinations of popular discourse; little of it original but all of it interesting, and written with humour and a keen insight into the political pitfalls of current environmental discourse.

The Chicago Gangster is a lively and very readable critique of cultural locations where ideas and discourses of culture and ecology intersect. Ross seems to suffer from the typically postmodernist fear of being insufficiently complex – thus he tells very complex and ironic stories that combine, pull apart, juxtapose and critique the stories, images and ideas circulating through popular culture. Ross' genre of 'postmodern cultural criticism,' could be read as the mutant offspring of post-structuralist literary criticism and nature writing. Think of a Barry Lopez, informed by all the preoccupations of postmodern and poststructuralist theory (e.g. suspicious of essentialism, origin stories, binary dualisms and totalizing theory), writing about various sites in modern culture where ideas of nature intersect with struggles for liberation and social change in the context of relations of power, race, class and gender. Yet Ross' stream-of-cultural-consciousness writing style propels the reader almost effortlessly through this sometimes bizarre array of subject matter.

The Chicago Gangster follows the format of Ross' 1991 book, *Strange Weather: Culture, Science and Technology in the Age of Limits.* It examines disparate areas of cultural responses to issues, events and movements – debates about cultural preservation in Polynesia, the bombing of the World Trade Center, media images of ecology and the Gulf War, the men's movement and ecofeminism, and sociobiology – in a series of chapters connected by a loosely structured set of common themes. These sites are important to Ross because the discourses and ideas that inform and emerge from them play a crucial role in defining and delimiting the potential for political

and social change. Ross offers a trenchant critique of what he sees as politically regressive elements of alternative movements and cultural trends.

Ross takes the title for his book from a passage in sociobiologist Richard Dawkins' *The Selfish Gene:*

Like successful Chicago gangsters, our genes have survived, in some cases, for millions of years, in a highly competitive world. This entitles us to expect certain qualities in our genes. I argue that a predominant quality to be expected in a successful gene is ruthless selfishness. This gene selfishness will usually give rise to selfishness in individual behaviour (254).

The kind of circular reasoning employed here by Dawkins, involving the use of often suspect metaphors from human life to conceptualize nature, then reading them back on social life as deterministic laws, is for Ross a pervasive feature of all the areas of cultural politics covered in this volume. This tendency underlies the main themes running through Ross' essays: first, the hazards of appealing to the authority of 'nature' to explain and legitimate problems that are rooted in social relations of domination and inequality, is a critique of a trend he sees in ecological discourse that preaches denial, scarcity and limits, which for Ross are incompatible with a progressive political project. This discourse of limits, he argues, is closely linked to coercive forms of social control and the logic of corporate capitalism, and is closely linked to the misguided attempt to find guidance for human affairs in laws of nature.

The first chapter, the longest and most fully developed, examines the complex ways that discourses of cultural preservation have played out in political, cultural and academic debates over ethnic identity in the Polynesian South Pacific Islands. The stories that Ross tells about these islands are always informed by an ironic appreciation of their role as the "birthplace of modern ecological romanticism" (28), and the role of their inhabitants as a backdrop for European stories of noble savages, scarcity and abundance, cultural destruction, and encounters of Westerners with 'primitive Others'. Ross wants to subvert the standard stories told by or for Westerners about Polynesian culture, while aware of the fact that his may be yet another contribution to this tradition. But, he says, "I will press on anyway, in the hope that since my stories are neither romantic nor apocalyptic, they may help to dissipate the power of the genres that have fueled this long obsession" (28). Ross cautions against an attitude of uncritical respect for traditional values, which has been mobilized to legitimate corrupt and authoritarian governments in places such as Fiji, where the island's traditional elite sponsored a military coup against a newly elected and moderately left-leaning government. The contradictions of Polynesian cultural politics emerge most fully in an extended examination of a Mormon-run 'ethnic theme park' in Hawaii.

In his examinations of various sites of 'cultural politics', Ross usually manages to

weave together a fairly coherent narrative out of quite disparate elements. At times, however, his stories are so loosely woven together as to be in danger of completely unraveling. The second essay, "Bombing the Big Apple", is ostensibly about the World Trade Center (WTC) bombing, meanders through pastoral anti-urbanism, environmental racism, the history of urban green space, urban planning and the history and politics of land use at the WTC site, architectural theory, Marxist and Darwinist variants of evolutionism, the Chicago School of urban theory, global cities, New York's fiscal crisis, austerity economics, the Rio environmental conference, cost-benefit logic, Murray Bookchin's social ecology, a dozen or so movies, including *Batman, Ghostbusters,* and *Blade Runner,* artists communities in SoHo (where Ross lives), opposition to an AIDS treatment centre in Ross' neighbourhood, and finally the racial, economic, ecological and geopolitical context of the bombing and subsequent trials.

Ross' point here is that we should be suspicious of the popular hysteria around the threat of 'Islamic terrorists', and the racist and Orientalist assumptions that fuel these fears. Ross offers an alternative explanation that grounds the bombing in the history of urban transformations and displacements resulting from the construction of the WTC. Ross presents us here with a choice between urban ecological theories which 'naturalize' these transformations in the name of an evolutionary logic of decay and redevelopment, and a more politicized version of particular class interests and the strategies of multinational capitalists and political opportunists. As a substitute for the 'fanatical extremists' story, however, Ross offers little more than a narrative of retribution, where the bombing is the wages of sins of class and ethnic warfare.

The real resident alien in the trials, however, was the World Trade Center itself. Its construction had been central to attempts to transform the infrastructure of the global economy, but the story of that construction involved a good deal of violence within the city that would not ordinarily be termed 'urban terrorism.' ...As for the answer to the question, 'Who bombed the Big Apple?,' it lay, as I have tried to suggest, as much with the history of the WTC's planners as it did with the trial of the building's alleged bombers. (158)

While it is hardly fair, given the conventions of his analytical genre, to expect Ross to produce a coherent causal explanation for the bombing, the bombing serves as a convenient and rather weak hook on which to hang the rest of the piece. His glib and unconvincing explanation for the bombing doesn't do justice to the range of issues and analyses build into the piece.

In "Wet, Dark and Low: Eco-Man evolves from Eco-Woman" Ross turns his attention to two factions in the 'gender wars' – the 'men's movement' and ecofeminism. Where Ross was somewhat respectful and muted in his critique of cultural politics in Polynesia, his treatment of the 'men's movement' is less ambivalent. Some of his best one-

liners are deployed in savaging the attempts of Robert Bly and others to resolve the current 'crisis of masculinity' by reclaiming the pagan Wild Man myth or 'playing in full redface' by appropriating native American ceremonies. Here, Ross' usually ironic analytical style gives way to gratuitous parody and sarcasm. While linking Sam Keen's *Fire in the Belly* to the right-wing 'family values' discourse "in their reinstatement of the eroded authority of patriarchal familialism," Ross opines of Sam Keen that "[a]nyone... who enthusiastically cites Norman O. Brown's opinion that 'the loins are the place of judgment' needs to be hit upside his head" (214). Later he argues that attempts within the men's movement to refashion masculinity in response to its 'crisis' relies on a "narrative of evolutionary adaptation" in which "Bly's Wild Man... begins to merge with the weekend grunt in jungle camouflage, nursing an M-16." This sets Ross up to ask: "What rough beast, in the guise of Iron John, slouches toward the Pentagon? And how will he react to the boys showering together in boot camp?"(218).

If this militaristic vision of men's wilderness retreats breeding an army of only slightly kinder and gentler Rambos isn't enough to generate in his readers a healthy suspicion of the men's movement, Ross also offers a complementary story which links the movement with capitalist ideology. The narratives of the men's movement, he argues, work to naturalize culturally specific masculine traits, reinforcing current ideologies and economic relations. The attempt to find essential masculine traits and needs on which to ground a men's movement, argues Ross, shares common ground with stories of 'Man the Hunter' (here he invokes Donna Haraway, almost the only figure in the book about whom he finds nothing critical to say), at one time common in sociobiology and primatology.

You do not have to subscribe to alternative narratives, often quite romantic, about the cooperative ethic of pre-industrial or pre-capitalist times to see how the story of Man the Hunter agrees with the life of competition and the gendered division of labour in a market economy, and how it therefore elevates local capitalist principles to the level of general, transhistorical laws about masculine nature. Nature's laws are thereby understood to embody principles that are primarily social and economic in origin (219).

The Chicago Gangster is replete with such examples of oppressive social ideologies being smuggled into scientific and environmentalist discourses under the guise of natural laws 'discovered' in nature.

The concluding chapter, "Superbiology", develops most clearly the critical themes of the book. Sociobiology, and especially genetics research, is giving new life to biological determinism and social Darwinism, and renewed support for the idea of reading societies in terms of the laws of nature. The new politics of nature resulting from this gene-centered resurgent scientism is threatening to recast the

nature/nurture debate, reinforce capitalist ideologies based on competitive individualism, justify social inequalities and undermine oppositional discourses. The appearance of *The Bell Curve* and the massive publicity it received would appear to vindicate Ross on some of these points. But Ross' main point is that such arguments from nature, including human nature, are reinforcing an environmentalist 'discourse of limits' based on the idea of natural scarcity, which in turn generate and legitimate increasingly repressive social formations.

But environmental consciousness has not only helped to reinforce the current recessionary messages about self-sacrifice and deprivation in our daily lives. It has also provided some backing for the call to limit freedoms, because it offers an argument about 'natural limits,' based upon empirical projections, which (as in the case of sociobiology) can be used to support discourses of social limits (266).

Environmentalist exhortations of reduced consumption levels, population restrictions, and generally 'saying no' are, for Ross, not the stuff of successful social movements. He asks rhetorically: "So what are we left with? A dog's breakfast of self-denial, self-restraint, guilt, and disavowal – hardly promising instruments of liberation" (269). Not only will these not appeal to the masses, but they are dangerously compatible with conservative economic and social policies, such as government austerity measures and restrictions on individual freedoms. Much better, says Ross, to abandon the notion of scarcity altogether in favour of hedonism:

Getting rid of the concept of scarcity is part of the cultural work that is necessary in order to make a world in which hunger and poverty no longer prevail. In that very different world, scarcity no longer exists conceptually as a default condition, and an ecological society has developed a more democratic way of ordering its priorities (270-1).

And this is how the book ends, with a call to cast off shackles imposed on us in the name of nature and imagine an eco-utopian future that lies beyond scarcity, to be achieved through transforming our political consciousness and social institutions. This brief nod towards a positive program, as opposed to critique, certainly does not distinguish the book.

There is much to admire and ponder in *The Chicago Gangster,* most notably the insightful and critical reading of various sites of popular culture as ecological narratives. Ross' refusal to take environmentalist and scientific arguments and discourses at face value is a useful and perhaps indispensable contribution to current debates around environmental issues. However, I have three main criticisms.

First, there is little sustained analysis to support the arguments he puts forward. Someone weaned on a meat and potatoes diet of classical sociological theory might find Ross'

brand of 'postmodern cultural studies' a rather thin broth. The small chunks of Marxism, feminism and social ecology that surface in Ross' narrative are thoroughly disintegrated, and there is no pretension to developing a coherent analysis. The rhetorical technique is rather repeated assertions from different contexts. For instance, one of the arguments that emerge continuously in the book is that the themes of scarcity and limits in environmental discourse intersect with 'austerity economics' which asks people to make sacrifices for the sake of government deficits and economic growth. The link to environmental issues helps to naturalize the need for these sacrifices, and presents them as a universal condition of scarcity, rather than the self-interested strategy of the capitalist class. However, the connection between environmental and economic discourse is usually assumed, rather than demonstrated. He seems to rely on a cultural version of the ecological maxim that 'everything is connected to everything else' so that any conceivable parallel between different discourses can be read as a determining influence. The problem is that one can only read of so many instances of the application of a 'cost-benefit budgetary logic' or 'evolutionary logic' before these terms start to sound rather vacuous and in need of some elaboration. But Ross seems to appropriate only discrete terms and categories from various theoretical discourses, and inserts them into his own narrative with little attention to the context of their origins.

Second is Ross' rather condescending attitude towards the environmental movement that serves as a foil for his critique. He doesn't appear interested in debates within these movements around the issues he is raising. At times he positions himself as a sympathetic critic, but more often he appears to find very little to his liking among the basic tenets of environmental and ecological discourse, especially when expressed in language too compatible with the dominant economic interests. There is actually very little direct analysis of the environmental movement in the book, instead the focus is on how ecological ideas are appropriated by other areas of popular culture. Without this grounding, his invocation of environmentalists appear as little more than attacks against straw people.

Environmentalists are often oblivious to such social milieux in presuming that the biological ethics governing their ideas and prescriptions are governed by (higher) natural, and not social, laws. To the contrary, ideas that draw upon the authority of nature nearly always have their origin in ideas about society. If this book's arguments had to be summed up in one sentence, that would be it. But there is still a great deal of cultural work and persuasion to be done before such an aphorism becomes common sense. Environmentalists need to be convinced that their arguments do not exist outside of the sphere of ideologies that governs our social reality; the way that we think about the nat-

ural world has more to do with our social world than anything else. The ecologically impaired need to be persuaded that ecology can be sexy, and not self-denying (15).

The level of generality involved here is symptomatic of Ross' frequent refusal to attend to social context. This is not to say that many of his comments are not valid, quite the contrary, but his positioning of himself as the white knight of enlightened social thought in a world of misguided dupes is hardly edifying. At a conference a few years ago, a participant commented that Ross didn't "sound like a fan" of the New Age movement which was the subject of the paper he had just presented. He replied: "I'm wary of giving up certain privileges that we have struggled to enjoy as polemical critics – the capacity to use our hard-earned public voices to intervene and to contest the shape of public thinking about countercultural communities and practices" (Ross, 1992:553). Ross certainly does not present himself as 'fan' of the environmental movement, at least as he now sees it. While this is, of course, part of his 'privilege' (as a prominent academic at an elite institution?), his readers would be better served if the objects of his rather off-hand critical remarks were presented as somewhat more than caricatures.

Finally, Ross' arguments about the nature of scarcity and limits seems to me ultimately unconvincing. While it is useful and valid to point to the constructed and ideological nature of 'natural' limits, his proposed solution doesn't seem much of an alternative. As an oppositional strategy, trying to get rid of the notion of scarcity in a capitalist society doesn't seem much different than the strategy of invoking scarcity and limits. Narratives of post-scarcity abundance are just as much a part of capitalist ideology and culture as limits, and it's hard to see his strategy as anything but substituting one pole of a binary for another. It might make affluent urbanites like Ross feel more comfortable about their standard of living, but in a country and a world of gross inequalities, and multinational corporations opposing any restrictions on their ability to convert more and more of the cultural/natural world into commodities, an outright rejection of limits is not the answer. There is little to distinguish this from Bush's proclamation just prior to the Rio environmental summit that the American standard of living was not up for negotiation. Contesting for the definition of limits, and the meanings and implications attached to them, yes, but the last thing the world needs is another masculinist narrative of unlimited freedom and unbounded consumption.

Ross, Andrew, 1992. "New Age Technoculture." *Cultural Studies*, (Grossberg et al, eds.), New York: Routledge.

. . . **Mark Lutes** is in the doctoral program at the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University. His dissertation will examine the representation of human activities and climate in global warming policy discourses. His previous contributions to *Undercurrents* include "A Fable for the New Age" (Vol. 5). . . .

Rogue Primate: An Exploration of Human Domestication
by John A. Livingston, Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1994.

Reviewed by Joanne Nonnekes

Rogue Primate: An Exploration of Human Domestication, written by one of Canada's most respected naturalists, John Livingston, has just been awarded the Governor General's Award for non-fiction. Livingston is well known for his previous books, One Cosmic Instant and The Fallacy of Wildlife Conservation, and for his work with the CBC television in bringing natural history programs to the earlier years of The Nature of Things and the series Planet for the Taking. As with his previous writing, Livingston has grounded this book firmly in his life long experience as a naturalist and has here provided us with a well-documented explication of the main arguments he has been putting forward in his teaching and writing throughout his career. Those familiar with his work will be treated to an enticing reminder and captivating exploration of human interaction with Nature as Livingston seeks to define the crisis of Nature. As Livingston frequently asserts in his lectures, "How can we pose solutions, when we haven't defined the problem?" Those new to Livingston's work will find this a provocative read as Livingston turns "the problem" around and around, looking at it from many different angles, challenging our assumptions about Nature, ourselves, and the relationship between them.

Rogue Primate is a passionate plea for the human species to awaken the long domesticated and repressed "wildness" that exists in each of us. For Livingston, this "wildness" is an untamed, undomesticated memory of an "at-one-ness" with Nature; a memory, perhaps from childhood, or, deeper still, a memory from pre-civilized human existence. The book is written with a sensitivity to the non-human that is rare and is the result of a committed naturalist having spent much time observing Nature, contemplating Nature, being in Nature, and struggling to become Nature.

Livingston begins with the suggestion that humans are no longer evolving biologically, but have been, and continue to be, evolving culturally. For Livingston, humans have "forgotten" the part of themselves that was Nature, and replaced it with what he terms a cultural prosthesis; "a substitute mode of approaching and apprehending the world" (10). What is this cultural prosthesis? According to Livingston, it is a form of domestication, an utter dependence on technology, defined as "how to do it," "storable, retrievable, transmissible technique;" and it is ideology defined as the system of abstract thinking which replaces an interdependence with Nature. "In human society ways of doing have supplanted ways of being" (12).

Following this line of thought Livingston suggests a comparison between animals domesticated by humans and humans themselves: like the domesticate who is entirely dependent on humans for its welfare, humans

have become dependent creatures. The most significant similarity Livingston draws between humans and domesticates is a pervasive "ecological placelessness:" they no longer belong anywhere in Nature; they can grow and reproduce in almost any environment; and they are generally destructive to the pre-existing natural environment. This placeless domesticate is often referred to in ecology as an "exotic," and nearly all exotics have been introduced either intentionally or unintentionally by human interference. According to Livingston, "we have reduced, simplified, homogenized and pauperized Nature everywhere on the planet to an extent that cannot be biologically recoverable"(51).

Livingston puts forward the hypothesis that Western civilization has imported its "exotic" ideology to every human society on the planet. This particular brand of "human cultural prosthesis," is "Baconian Conquest; its means is Cartesian rationality; its instruments are science and technology"(57). Here Livingston is careful not to fall into the trap of romanticizing pre-Western cultures' relationships to Nature. He points out that while human cultural evolution had harmful effects in all regions of the earth, causing large numbers of extinctions, each region seems to have "adapted" to each human culture and the number of extinctions of non-human species leveled off. Now however, as the "exotic" ideology becomes globalized, and the quest for industrialization, profit and progress "invades" the entire planet, extinctions have increased exponentially.

Essential to this "exotic" ideology, claims Livingston, is the meaning of "development". The "problem" is that:

The development ideologues do not hear the screaming of the buttressed trees or the wailing of the rivers or the weeping of the soils. They do not hear the sentient agony and the anguish of the non-human multitudes... torn, shredded, crushed, incinerated, choked, dispossessed. These are merely the external, incalculable, and incidental side-effects of the necessary progress of human civilization (60).

This kind of critique becomes increasingly important as "sustainable development" becomes the catch-phrase for the solution to environmental and development issues.

From his critique of the globalization of this "exotic" ideology, Livingston goes on to demonstrate the ways in which ecology and the natural sciences validate and reflect this dominant Western ideology in a chapter he titles "Nature's Marketplace." Beginning with Charles Darwin, Nature has come to be looked at entirely through the lens of a Western capitalist belief in the universality of competition. Livingston takes several examples from scientific studies on animal behaviour to demonstrate the reading of aggression, dominance and competition onto Nature: the "pecking order" observed in many bird species, and the dominant "alpha" males found in many species of animals, to name a couple. The paradox for ecology, the study of the inter-relationships between and within species and their environment, is that as a science, ecology has had a hard time giving up the competitive "survival of the fittest" model so entrenched in the discipline.

Along with many other thinkers in the field of deep ecology, Livingston looks at the way human culture is "read onto" non-human culture. Humans anthropomorphize, says Livingston, because they are human – what other choice have they? Livingston suggests that if we consciously decide to look at Nature through a lens of compliance, cooperation and participatory consciousness, a different scene emerges. "On this view, the Alpha males, so called, are not at the top rung of a hierarchical ladder; they are at the core of an encapsulating envelope around the social group" (88). What is perhaps a little disturbing here is that, while Livingston is very careful to point out that he is talking about looking at animal culture through a lens of compliance, and that human culture is the only one with hierarchical, dominance relationships, he does not discuss the implications of turning this kind of lens back on human culture. What if we were to look at human behaviour through a lens of compliance? Would abusive relationships still look abusive?

While Livingston does not deal directly with the socio-biological implications of his thought, he does speculate on the "self" in non-human species. He uses a very powerful description of a song bird whose calling in spring marks out a breeding "territory" which no other bird of the same species may share. Rather than seeing this as competition for resources, Livingston uses a concept from Neil Evernden (1993) to hypothesize an expanded "self" for the bird, one which now includes the flora, fauna and anything else inside the physical space of the territory. From here he moves on to postulate "group self" and "community self" for large groups of animals like shorebirds and fish, which fly or swim in apparent unison.

Livingston explores the possibility of a different sense of self for humans, using Paul Shepard's theory of human development. Humans, speculates Shepard, go through three phases of separation and three of bonding. Livingston focuses on the event of bonding to Nature, which for Shepard happens in pre-adolescence. During this stage, pre-adolescents have an amazing adeptness at the naming and labeling of plants and animals, and, they experience Nature phenomenologically; they crave the experience of Nature and beings different from themselves and gain a "sense of some profound continuity with natural processes" (130).

The fact that many children do not experience this bonding to Nature is, for Livingston, the result of modern human culture. Even for those children who do experience this bonding, "cultural indoctrination removes the memory" (133). It is Livingston's hypothesis that if we could hold the memory and experience of bonding to Nature, we wouldn't be able to treat it with such brutality, for that would mean self-mutilation.

But while a bonding experience with Nature during pre-adolescence may indeed make a huge difference in the relations between humans and the rest of Nature, Livingston has overlooked, or not adequately problematized, the question of social privilege and access. For most children in the world today, the problem is not too much time on computers and not enough time mucking around outside, it is rather that they are denied access to the natural environment by their living conditions. The struggle for them is often focused on survival, not on time spent in Nature.

But for Livingston this book is about describing "the problem" not offering solutions or "fix-its" to our modern alienation from Nature. He feels that perhaps we need to "think away" the current ideological prosthesis and reprogram it to include compliance with the rest of Nature.

In *Rogue Primate*, Livingston has laid out "the problem" facing Nature and human/non-human relationships. He has revealed what for him are the facets of "the problem," technology, ideology, prosthetic device, domestication, and industrialization. But while I appreciate his hesitance with quick fix solutions, and strongly admire the persistence with which he has pursued "the problem," I think we need to think about solutions or despair will overtake us. And while I thrill to read the sections of the book that are based on his years of experience as a naturalist, and his unique and wonderful way of conveying the beauty, mystery and connection with Nature, I balk at some of the consequences of his critique of humanism. Livingston's indictment of the "rogue primate (who) introduced an entirely new and unprecedented manner of being" (183) includes a reiteration of Malthusianism and its predictions of disaster if world human populations continue to expand. I found Livingston's Malthusianism, with its mathematical calculations of carrying capacity, ironic given his earlier rejection of scientific ecology's inability to see relations outside of those prescribed by the dominant, capitalist, Western ideology. Following his arguments, should we not be looking for a relational and participatory solution to human over-population?

While *Rogue Primate* does not offer solutions to the environmental and ideological crisis facing us today, it is an excellent description and analysis of the challenges we face as a species. How we stop the wanton destruction of Nature and go about restructuring our relationship to it is the challenge John Livingston leaves for the reader. What he has left us with in this book is a sensitivity to non-human life, non-human selves, and the possibility of reconnecting with the "wildness" he believes still lives in us all.

Neil Evernden, 1993. *The Natural Alien* (second edition). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

• • • **Joanne Nonnekes** has worked with *UnderCurrents* since 1989 in the editing and publishing of the journal. Since graduating with a Master's in Environmental Studies from York University in 1991, she has been working for the Faculty in Liaison and continues to provide support for *UnderCurrents*. When not engaging in these two activities, you'll find her out "mucking around" or with her nose buried in a book, trying to figure out the latest theories in social science.

The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture by Lawrence Buell, Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995.

Reviewed by mark meisner

In the past few years, a new field of study – "ecocriticism"– has been developing to consider the relationships between literary theory and environmental concerns and thought. Since 1993 it has had its own journal: *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and the Environment*. However, as a new field, it includes only a small handful of book-length monographs. This alone makes Lawrence Buell's new book, *The Environmental Imagination*, an important contribution to the field.

Buell is an amateur naturalist, an editor, a literary critic, and a professor of English at Harvard University. What is even more interesting, however, is his claim to be participating in a project of social change. Buell is apparently not just another English professor concerned exclusively with the analysis of texts; he's an informed and critical ecocentrist, for whom ecocriticism is the "study of the relation between literature and environment conducted in a spirit of commitment to environmentalist praxis."

Accordingly, Buell explicitly situates this book within the understanding of a need for cultural transformation. For him, the "environmental crisis involves a crisis of the imagination the amelioration of which depends on finding better ways of imaging nature and humanity's relation to it." To that end, he suggests that we need to "investigate literature's capacity for articulating the nonhuman environment." And he says that such "environmental interpretation requires us to rethink our assumptions about the nature of representation, reference, metaphor, characterization, personae, and canonicity." An ambitious project indeed, which comes down to a two-pronged approach that questions literary theory and its use in order to look at how nonhuman nature may be ecocentrically rendered.

Unfortunately, this book does not deliver quite what the introduction implies it will. This seems to be because these broader goals only emerged after Buell began with his original idea of "a history of Thoreauvian writing about the American natural environment." At times, I felt I was reading somewhat more literary history and analysis than seemed necessary, and not enough about ecocriticism per se or about the textual representation of nature. In other words, I found it heavy on examples and light on ecocritical theory, but that is probably partly due to my wish to see more explicit theory in that area. This concern aside, the book does offer a substantial analysis and some useful ideas, not to mention an impressive inquiry into Western environmental non-fiction.

The book is organized into three parts. The first deals with the "historical and theoretical contexts" of the project; the second with

"forms of literary ecocentrism;" and the third with a consideration of Thoreau as a possible literary ecocentrist. In the first part of the book, Buell makes the general argument for environmental nonfiction's potential as a form of advocacy writing. Because of its "ideological multivalence," he argues, it can create positive and ecocentric representations of nature.

In the second section, Buell sets about identifying some specific ways in which texts can "act as carriers or agents of ecocentricity." For example, he suggests that one technique is that of telling stories of relinquishment: of either material possessions, or more interestingly, of the self-encapsulated egotism and anthropocentrism that gives the illusion of human autonomy from nonhuman nature. In the latter case, Buell wonders about literature's ability to question its conventional focus on character, personality, and narrative. In other chapters he looks at how the personification of nature has the potential to evoke an ethic of care, the role of a sense of place in such writing, and the use of seasonal and excursion narratives in environmental literature. He concludes the section with a chapter that probes what he sees as the master metaphor of the environmental age, that of apocalypse.

The final section is devoted primarily to a consideration of Thoreau. In turn, Buell deals with Thoreau's pilgrimage to Walden, his canonization into literary and environmental fame, and how his Walden itself is a testament to Thoreau's life. I found this section less interesting and relevant than the second one because the momentum of Buell's argument seemed to get lost. His thesis that literature can be re-read (and written) from an ecocentric perspective and that this in turn can serve an agenda of change is persuasive enough to the converted. However, my sense is that it needs to be made more explicitly, and the third section does not really do this. It is really the second section of the book that does the most in that respect, and for that reason, I found it the most engaging.

On the whole, *The Environmental Imagination* is robust. Buell's synthesis of current environmental thought with both literary theory and his own analysis is impressive. I was pleasantly surprised at how well-informed he is by recent work in environmental ethics, ecofeminism, environmental history and deep ecology, even though he does not foreground them as much as seems necessary to advance the field of ecocriticism. For Thoreauphiles and students of American nonfiction environmental literature, the book has much to offer. Furthermore, it should give credibility to the growing study of environmental fiction and literary nonfiction, subjects that have not been considered 'serious' within many English departments. Finally, although it is not a 'popular' book, for those interested in literary nature and the representation of the non-human world generally, *The Environmental Imagination* is essential reading.

. . . **mark meisner** has published some articles, presented some papers, and helped initiate some projects. Now he just wants to cash in his ideological investments and go out and play. His Ph.D. work is supported by an Eco-Research Doctoral Fellowship from Canada's Tri-Council Secretariat. . . . .

Futures by Design: The Practice of Ecological Planning by Doug Aberley (ed.), Gabriola Island, BC and Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1994.

Reviewed by Brian Milani

The great joy in being an activist these days is the growing wealth of literature on change which is both visionary and practical, particularly in the crucial areas of economics and design. I'm thinking of books by Wayne Roberts, Paul Hawken, Delores Hayden, John Todd and Thomas Greco, and others. But we must certainly include publications from the bioregionalists of Cascadia – the New Catalyst bioregional series published by New Society Publishers.

This book is the second one on planning edited by Doug Aberley, a Hazelton BC planner and bioregional activist. It is a general collection on ecological planning, and is a worthwhile read for anyone interested in a transition to sustainability. A word of warning: it is not for people interested in regulatory tinkering. It is for those, in the words of Hawken, who see our social and environmental problems primarily as questions of *design* not management. Not content with lip service to entropy, environmental protection or unspecified new economic paradigms, bioregionalists are looking to human economic organization modeled on, and integrated within, healthy ecosystems. The jacket describes the book as "both primer and reference for everyone interested in self-reliance and self-government, improved quality of life, wise use of technology, absolute social justice, and ecological health."

Because design, in its broadest sense, is at the core of all real radical change today, compiling a book on "the practice of ecological planning" is a tall order. There are certainly important issues missing from this book. The book ignores a growing literature on "gendered spaces" and feminist design perspectives. Little attention is paid to the *process* of organic design, as in the "pattern language" process pioneered by Christopher Alexander. And the *depth* dimension of design, involving questions of more subtle energies (like in Celtic geomancy, Chinese Feng-Shui, or sacred architecture) is not even mentioned.

But, despite these gaps, there is a fair amount that the book does deliver, in theory and practice. There are a number of brief articles by eco-heavyweights, like Jane Jacobs, Gary Snyder, Bill Mollison, Murray Bookchin, Raymond Dasmann and Donella Meadows – mostly in the section on "contemporary conceptions of ecological planning." But there are also good basic articles in several other sections by less well-known writers. Those sections include "Inventing the Sustainable City", "Ecoregional Stewardship in Action", "Ecological Planning for Wildlife" and "Ecological Planning for Human Use."

The "ecological stewardship" section was one of the most interesting – four ar-

ticles specifically on the bioregion of Cascadia (in the Pacific Northwest), including one by Tony Pearse on the Nisga'a band's use of advanced information technology, especially Geographical Information Systems (GIS), to map their land claims, monitor resource use, and devise ecological management strategies.

The cities section was a little sketchy, with the previously mentioned gaps, but it stands as a useful introduction to some important themes of Green City design. I particularly liked the "ecological planning for wildlife" section, which was a single long article by Reed Noss. It described "systems of interlinked wilderness areas and other large nature reserves, surrounded by multiple-use buffer zones managed in an ecologically intelligent manner." True to bioregional priorities, this section came *before* the section on "ecological planning for human use", a single article which I felt was less substantial, more like conventional planning, than the rest of the book.

Futures by Design, complete with its introductory blessing by David Suzuki, is a worthwhile read. It's subtitle – "the practice of ecological planning" – may be a little ambitious for such a short book. And Aberley's introduction may be a little presumptuous in insisting that bioregionalism is a complete and ready-made umbrella philosophy for all other social movements to rush under. But it is a fine introduction to some important dimensions of bioregional design.

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Boundaries of Home: Mapping for Local Empowerment
by Doug Aberley (ed.), Gabriola Island, BC and Philadelphia PA: New Society Publishers, 1993.

Reviewed by Jennifer Morrow

This slim volume attempts to do two things. First, it tries to bring mapping into the bioregionalism discussion, presenting it as a tool for carrying out local initiatives. Second, it tries to be a how-to book for people interested in mapping their bioregions. The premise appears to be something like this: mapping has been appropriated by the military-industrial complex for "more and more sinister" ends. But in fact, "maps hold some primal attraction for the human animal" and if we draw our own maps and close our eyes and spread around a little good will, we will solve all of the world's problems. Space constraints, vagueness and contradictions cause the book to fail in its first task, to bring mapping and bioregionalism together. The "how-to" part, therefore, is severely weakened in its practical intent and implementation.

Editor Doug Aberley begins the book with a brief description of "aboriginal mapping," tossed in for "inspiration." Brief seems to be the name of the game, because

the next section squeezes into twenty pages eight stories (some of which might actually have been interesting but for the space constraints) from people who have created maps of their own "bioregions." For instance, one good, concrete discussion about a British Columbia community whose map was an important tool in arguing for the public's inclusion in the area's management plan ends with this *deus ex machina:* "One final thought: no amount of mapping can be useful unless we talk with the spirits of the place before, during, and after the exercise in abstraction which a mapping project necessarily is." Fair enough, I guess, but nowhere else in the book do we get even a hint of what it means to talk to spirits.

It would be nice to excuse this text's endemic vagueness by the shortness of its sections. But I don't think it unreasonable to ask for a few lines' explanation of the word home. Used throughout the book, not to mention in the title, all the editor can come up with is that it is "that most fundamental aspect of life." Bioregionalism is better explained. Its goal is "to wed dynamic human populations to distinct physical territories defined by continuities of land and life." Fair enough. But what does "our bioregional future is based not on what has never been, but on that which is most familiar to our species" mean? A few pages later, that which is most familiar to us is defined as "a genetic memory of ancient skills" which aboriginal mapping should remind us of. Has the human genome project identified the mapping gene yet?

The book is wrought with contradictions, the most troublesome of which is between urban bioregionalism and escape-the-city bioregionalism. Aberley explains how aboriginal maps stored information on "where to hunt; where protection from invaders was best found; what plants were edible or medicinal, and where they could be reliably located; the location of trails, dens of dangerous animals, fords, lookouts, places of protection from weather, and fuel for heating." One wonders really how relevant this kind of information is to the book's contributors from the Chicago and Toronto bioregions.

Many other contributors evince an unexamined hatred of cities. Two writers describe their bioregion as being made up of "refugees from urban industrial centers." Another strives to "change from an urban to a wild region" without explaining "wild" (although he makes urban ills quite clear). Still another contributor describes an area of rural California which was "reinhabited by a flurry of people escaping the city." The use of the term "reinhabited" in this quotation is in itself interesting. Aberley uses "the reinhabitant movement" interchangeably with "bioregionalism" but in this context it implies that the people escaping the city are returning to a place they have left. By what right do these urbanites claim (reinhabit) the area to which they flee. With all these people fleeing cities, why would anyone stay? And what's to be done with all these people, should they decide to flee the city? The two urban contributors (one

is local activist Whitney Smith) are in the distinct minority in this book.

Most of the book's contributors conveniently overlook the fact that many urban dwellers actually prefer to live in cities, citing reasons such as cultural expression and freedom from harassment. Perhaps the main flaw of this book is that while it offers some good pointers about mapping as a tool for specific local initiatives, it overlooks human cultural diversity within a given region. A community cannot only be defined by its biogeochemistry, its physical borders, or its animals' annual migrations. No quantity of locally harvested mushrooms is going to address such particular human concerns as sex, race and class inequities. When you celebrate those features of your locale which, in the words of one contributor, "make your place different from the next," what is to stop you from spitting on the next bioregion for its difference? This book's portrayal of bioregions seems to assume some homogeneity of culture which is not reflected in the real world. After reading this book, I am left with the nagging suspicion that Aberley's paradigm is really designed for Anglo-Saxon heterosexuals. Perhaps this is because of his nauseating but undefended repetition that social justice and environmental protection will simply fall into place once everyone has drawn a line around their "home" and traced its climate patterns and human settlements.

It is perhaps fortunate that bioregionalism has almost as many definitions as adherents. One's interest in the movement need not, therefore, be tainted by Aberley's unrealistically optimistic, but ultimately arrogant and unanalyzed, view of it. As with many other movements – most particularly environmentalism and the conservation movement – one must carefully sift through the rubbish and rhetoric before deciding how, if at all, to get involved.

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QUEERS IN SPACE VANCOUVER

Manifesto

Queers in Space Vancouver is a collective of artists, designers, planners, and community activists formed to recognize, articulate, and promote the presence of "queer" "space" in our public environments. Queer space is always in flux because of a range of social, economic, cultural and political dynamics. Queer space can be defined as that which is inhabited and frequented by sexual minorities and where alliances are formed. Many of these public queer spaces are barely concretized and are ephemeral and nomadic. But other queer sites are increasingly "stable" and strategic. The resulting communities are better able to foster respect, security, and freedom of expression and, in turn, propagate new alliances. The heart of our work in Queers in Space Vancouver is the celebration and (re)construction of community.

Queer Space is: queered by desire•often unsafe•an arena/theatre/opera•(Oscar) Wilde•comprised of zones of play•transformed by (queer) bodies•dramatic, campy, outrageous•ordinary•left-handed•often gendered before eroticized•frequented by straight males•there is no there, there•sometimes politicized•increasingly valued and marketable•visible and invisible•Stonewall 1969•often safer for women•intriguing•not always in a ghetto•an infra-thin•a sexual construct•zonal• eroticized•lacking imagination•often straight space•often camouflaged•somewhere over the rainbow• inter/trans national•"not in Kansas anymore"•Paris 1968

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Bill Jacobson, *Interim Landscape #180-18*, 1989, 20"x24", Chromogenic Print, Edition of 9
Courtesy of Julie Saul Gallery, New York

The Politics of Natural Space

Space, the final frontier?

A critical, if not determinate part of urban, cultural, scientific, and environmental politics, the problem of space is a matter of power, desire, and even pleasure. Race, sex, class, gender, nation, and the subordinations these often involve, are all critical to the configuration of natural space. Thus, natural space gets defined in a multiplicity of deeply contested ways. This issue of *UnderCurrents* offers a range of explorations from poetic configurations of "body spaces" to local reconstructions of urban "parking spaces" and historical conceptions of "stolen places".

RAILROAD Y LEVEL