Planning, Culture and Space

Contents:

Editorial

Jason Burke, Bruce Erickson, Jennifer Gerrits, Tomas Jonsson

Planning has shaped our cities, our countrysides, and relationships between people, animals and nature, for centuries. From Haussmann's 'Paris boulevards' to the marriage of town and country in Ebenezer Howard's 'garden city' planning ideologies have produced diverse spaces. Ideologies reflect and enable the cultural and economic forces of a society. As critics of US planning policy, including Noam Chomsky, Neil Smith and Kanye West have addressed, the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans uncovered an American governmental planning regime that values war and surveillance over justice and equality. In Europe, the impacts of planning can similarly be seen in the context of the Netherlands, which emphasizes spatial use in the face of increasing population density and a social democratic government. This planning regime promotes an ordered public space, and recent efforts to ban the wearing of burkas in a nation home to more than one million Muslims demonstrates the underlying tensions that often inform -or resist- supposed rational and objective planning and spatial organization strategies.

What comes to the fore in reading planning history is that designs have influences that work rhizomatically, where what is planned sprouts innovations and consequences in many different fields. Momoko Allard opens this issue, contemplating the changing social and economic landscape that followed the construction of Roppongi Hills, a major commercial and residential project that has altered Tokyo's urban landscape. Tokyo presents a tension between the control over space in a city without a central aesthetic form and the manipulation of planned space through art. Drawing attention to the historic 'legacy' of planning in the United States, Lisa DePiano, Kiara Nagel and annalise fonza expose the inequalities felt by African-American communities during the past 150 years, "Hanging Planning's Dirty Laundry" demands that such mistakes are not perpetuated. Gordon Brent Ingram's "Unresolved Legacies," documents the assumptions that enable ecological restoration to avoid colonial history of British Columbia. Acknowledging Aboriginal legacies in landscape design and opening spaces for their incorporation into current restoration projects are central to preventing landscape planning from becoming yet another neo-colonial tool.

Allard alludes to a central issue that planners and planning scholarship will face in the years to come, namely that planning control is a fleeting opportunity frequently displaced by opportunity and invention following project implementation. Recognizing the need for contingency, Scott Rogers envisions *the imagined colliery*, exploring the tension of authenticity and deceit in planning. His proposal for Crowsnest Pass extends the boundaries of traditional planning practice by asking whether history itself is within planning's domain. Jocelyn Thorpe's poem, "Wetland revitalized" illustrates ambivalence following decades of supposedly well intentioned work. Impositions on landscape are featured in poetic images by Lucy Lu and Edie Steiner. Lu offers interventionist comment on a neglected urban remnant, while Steiner documents fragments of the urban fabric discarded along the Leslie Spit where they take on more ambiguous meanings. In the same way that Thorpe, Lu and Steiner ask the reader to see the archaeology of the city within a natural space, Liz Forsberg's article "The Human River" uncovers rivers hidden by Toronto's drainage system, narrating the river to the world through text and body. In the springtime parade of river walkers, the water flows hidden by city planners are opened to pedestrians, cars and sunshine.

Contributions by Ute Lehrer and Brian Hracs offer a versatile consideration of Toronto's planning and consider the looming influence of the Ontario Municipal Board, a legacy of the Harris Era's 'Common Sense Revolution." Lehrer offers a commentary of her experience attending an OMB hearing as a homeowner and community advocate that reveal the influence of developers in the planning process. Hrac presents a critical analysis of the gentrification process with emphasis on the creative class, which informs development in artistic enclaves such as the West Queen West district.

Throughout the issue, Linh Ly's photographs of in between spaces offer a taxonomy of peripheral spaces between houses in major Canadian cities. At once a macro and intimate analysis, these images reveal the subtle – but intentional – distinctions that exist between cities and ourselves. Ly's photos offer a glimpse of the inbetween and form an appropriate metaphor of the intention of this issue of UnderCurrents, illustrating the scholarship and art that flows between the fields of planning, ecology, and cultural studies.

Left: In-between spaces, Linh Ly

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Tokyo is an endless field of low-lying, non-descript buildings shaped like puzzle pieces to fit into their respective spaces and outlined by unbelievably narrow streets -some only manoeuvrable on scooter or motorbike. During the daytime, cool shades of white and mint green accent the city's ubiquitous concrete floors and walls, which at night, become camouflaged in infinite masses of neon lights in every colour. The aesthetic is one of modesty and calm chaos. It is the aggregate of millions of individuals pragmatically making use of their respective miniature territories. The aesthetic intentions of each remain in large part independent from their neighbours, and the result is an organically-evolved visual landscape.

But rising above the clutter and compactness of Tokyo's more humble forms are the shining, space-age towers of Roppongi Hills, the city's mega-development par excellence. Within the complex's mixed-use space, constructed of curvy sheets of crystal-clear glass and massive, angular mountains of sandstone, there exists a highly orchestrated visual purity impossible in the rest of the city. The redistribution of control over space that enables this level of cohesion brings with it both new possibilities for artistic expression and experience, and numerous social and economic implications for users of the space.

Through an examination of the artistic and social values attributable to these two contrasting types of urban scenery, the following discussion attempts to illuminate the inevitable conflict between the longing for authenticity and the desire for artistic grandeur in the construction of shared visual space.

The distinct style of disorder that defines most of Tokyo's urban space is a consequence of the repeated periods of rapid growth and destruction that the city has experienced through its recent history. During the rapid industrialization of the late 19th and early 20th century, and in the periods of massive reconstruction following the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 and World War II, government resources were in large part directed towards industrial infrastructure and national economic growth, leaving the city's growing number of residents to build their own

social and commercial spaces without guidance (Sorensen 2002, 333).

A lack of control over the subdivision of land plots has given form to an infinite system of illogical, haphazardly patterned city blocks, and height restrictions, originally with earthquakes in mind but now in place to ensure sunlight, have kept buildings low and lean (Sorensen 2002, 253-5, 265). The absence of planning has also resulted in a strong tradition of self-sufficiency on the part of urban residents, who have relied on neighbourhood organizations to maintain such basic public goods as parks and sidewalks. A tradition of mixed residential and commercial zoning has allowed for a continued abundance of family-owned, small businesses on the ground floors of residential buildings, which play an important role in the strong sense of community and high level of livability of even the city's most urban neighbourhoods (Sorensen 2002, 115, 221, 353).

The need to manoeuvre within undersized spaces has encouraged Tokyo's residents and workers to find creative design solutions and to develop an appreciation for the city's uncontrollable, maximalist aesthetic. Interesting innovations in the use of space include triangular houses wedged into forks in the road, the proliferation of miniature rooftop batting cages and tennis courts, and strange hybrids such as a cemetery sitting above a highway underpass. These quaint constructions have even been playfully coined "da-me architecture" ("no-good architecture") by a group of architects at Atelier Bow-Wow, a Tokyo firm that specializes in such designs (Tsukamoto et al. 2003). In their promotion of da-me architecture, the Atelier Bow-Wow architects attempt to illuminate the distinct aesthetic value that unintentionally emerges from its proliferation. For example, they insist that the neon signs advertising a pachinko parlour and several loan shark offices housed in three neighbouring buildings in Kabukicho, the city's red-light district, inadvertently fall into a symmetrical pattern that mirrors the highly ornamental façade of Paris's Notre Dame Cathedral (Tsukamoto et al. 2003, 47).

Sitting on 28 acres in the city centre, Roppongi Hills provides a striking contrast to da-me architecture. Opened in

Aesthetic Recent Evolution and Transformations Control: in Tokyo

by Momoko Allard

April 2003, the development is the product of 17 years of planning and construction that began in the bubble period, when fruitless visionary scheming proliferated in the private sector (Sorensen 2002, 285-6). Its dozen or so buildings, costing the yen equivalent of 5 billion dollars, aim to provide living, working and entertainment spaces that integrate art into every aspect of life, in what Minoru Mori, the high-profile developer at the helm of the project, ambitiously refers to as the "Artelligent City." The plans were created by a large team of international architecture and design firms headed by Kohn Pedersen Fox, who also designed the centrepiece 54-floor Mori Tower (Culham 2003, 112). The complex's amenities include two residential towers, the Grand Hyatt hotel, the headquarters of Asahi Television, luxury shopping centre, theatre for the performing arts, private membership club, continuing education facility, multiplex cinema and a traditional Japanese garden. The crowning jewel, however, is the Mori Art Museum and Tokyo City View observation deck that sit on the 52nd and 53rd floors of the Mori Tower

Roppongi Hills is a monolithic interruption in the city's more familiar scenery, but it does not present itself in the Tokyo landscape unexpectedly, nor does it set Tokyo apart from other cities of similar scale and class. Predecessors to Mori's mega-structure include Tokyo Teleport Town, a massive leisure development on land reclaimed from Tokyo Bay, and Yebisu Garden Place, a mixed-use complex on the former Yebisu Beer industrial site. One notable foreign counterpart is New York's Battery Park City (Cybriwsky 1999).

Because Roppongi Hills and its forerunners encompass not only buildings, but also streets, plazas and parks, the defining shift in each of these cases is the handover of traditionally public space into private ownership, and the concentration of control over an area covering several city blocks in the hands of a single private administrator, who gains the power not only to manipulate the accessibility and use of the space, but also to dictate the kind of visual culture the space will promote.

In relation to locality and place, the notion of aesthetic authenticity implies an organic evolution in form and appearance resulting from everyday activities of residents and emplyees in the space in question. As an environment slowly takes shape according to the needs and values of its users it, in turn, re-projects these values in a process that reinforces the shared cultural identity of the people and place (Knox 2005, 2-3; Soja 1980). The sensory aspects of a landscape, including the visual, consequently are inseparable from the process of place-making and social development (Hayden 1997). It is argued that social groups cannot constitute themselves without this process of self-representation through the creation of space and equally and that the manipulation of space can act as an exertion of power (Lefebvre 1991, 416-7).

Right:: Roppongi Hills, Momoko Allard
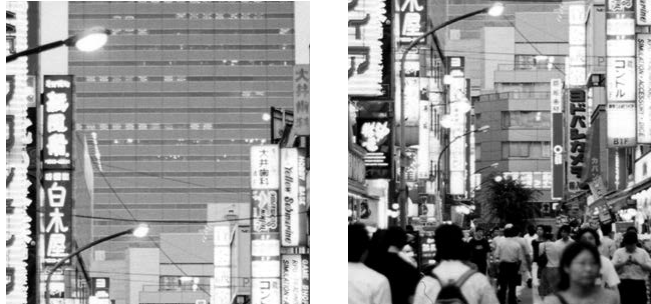
Within the more conventional areas of Tokyo, such an evolution of self-representation can be maintained because the process of demolition and reconstruction occurs only in small increments. And as illustrated in examples of da-me architecture, the people in control of making changes are usually excessively limited by financial and spatial constraints. Consequently, their non-aesthetic needs and values are unavoidably more clearly expressed in the aesthetics of their constructions.

The desire for aesthetic authenticity can be observed in consumption choices. For example, many people in Tokyo will pay a premium to eat yakitori and ramen in cramped alley-way bars and vending carts, rather than eating in chain restaurants that serve cheaper, better-tasting versions of the same menu in cleaner, more spacious settings. The handwritten menus and mismatched, worn furniture of the tiny bars and vending carts can be interpreted as evidence of a shared history and a personal investment by the business owner.

Within the space of Roppongi Hills, organically evolved visual qualities are replaced by thoroughly planned ornamentation produced by professional cultural intermediaries-designers, architects and visual artists-working under the guidance of the developer. With more substantial resources available in the hands of fewer highly trained producers, an otherwise unattainable level of deliberate visual unification can be created within an area of extraordinary size.

Some artistic expressions given voice in this expanded arena are of questionable value in relation to the sense of lost authenticity they inflict. As with other large-scale private developments (Cybriwsky 1999, 228), the design elements within Roppongi Hills that echo theme park tactics are of particularly doubtful merit. One easily observed example is the happy-face flower motif created by Japanese artist Takashi Murakami. Along with taking a key position in the Mori Art Museum's inaugural show, Happiness, and in the décor of spaces leading into the museum, the flower has been reproduced as branding throughout the complex, including on merchandise sold at several souvenir shops, much like Mickey Mouse goods in Disneyland. Theme park elements can also be found built into the development's architectural structures. Most notable is the four-story stone base of the Mori Tower, which seems to allude to an unidentifiable period of antiquity. The presence of such cultural pastiche is a stark reminder that Roppongi Hills carries forward virtually no evidence of the historical use of its own territory.

However, certain other aspects of the development's design present invaluable artistic innovations unfeasible within a less hegemonic space. The placement of the Mori Art Museum at the top of a skyscraper allows for a viewing and interpretation of artwork impossible in any other

setting. For example, in the inaugural Happiness exhibition, photographer Hiroshi Sugimoto's North Pacific Ocean, Okurosaki was purposefully hung adjacent to a window to allow the perfectly horizontal, calm water surface depicted in the 10-meter-wide gelatine silver print to play off of the hazy, grey expanse of the city below. Such juxtaposition easily expanded the reading of the artwork to invoke existential notions attached to urban development.

Public artworks permanently installed throughout the complex's outdoor plazas and walkways also owe their artistic meaning to their surroundings. One work especially notable for its site specificity is Counter Void, Tatsuo Miyajima's row of six digital counters positioned to wrap around a street corner at the base of the Asahi TV building. The three-meter tall backlit counters each cycle through meaningless digits at varying speeds, in a vacant allusion to the transfer of information occurring within the broadcasting center.

Interestingly, developer Minoru Mori has explicitly stated that reshaping the city skyline itself is an expression of his own aesthetic desire. Although Tokyo has traditionally ranked as one of the top four 'world cities', along with New York, London and Paris (Clark 2003, 159), Mori perceives instability in Tokyo's position, in part due to the relative absence of grand architecture, which he believes visually symbolizes a lack of ambition (Jacobs 2004, 105). He has clearly expressed that he hopes Roppongi Hills will strengthen the city's 'world' status, and as part of the opening festivities of the complex, he even organized an exhibition titled The Global City, in which scale models of other world cities were presented in order to draw attention to Tokyo's vertical deficiency.

Although the lofty aspirations expressed through Roppongi Hills seem to clash with the modest aesthetic values favoured by the city's conventional forms of da-me architecture, the need to reconcile these opposing modes of place-making is perhaps well illustrated by Flea Market, an installation piece included in the Happiness exhibition. Artist Tadashi Kawamata invited several merchants from the area surrounding Roppongi Hills to set up vending stalls for one week at the beginning of the exhibition. One of the makeshift stalls, constructed out of wood and cloth, was then put on display for the remainder of the exhibition. Kawamata's appropriation of the stall's aesthetics into his art practice is representative of the continued importance of freedom, chance and imperfection at some point in the artistic process. It highlights the need for aesthetic

producers to find ways of balancing artistic control with permissiveness and tolerance for flights of unruly visual proliferation that may deviate from initial intentions, because, as exemplified in both Flea Market and da-me architecture, visual appearances that may at first seem trivial and unappealing often hold their own meaningful value.

Early attendance figures for Roppongi Hills - an estimated 26 millions visitors in the first six months (Pearson 2004, 106) - seem to indicate that Mori's aspirations have succeeded in capturing the imagination of Tokyoites. As a public facility, Roppongi Hills appears to have created the type of groomed, open leisure space that the public sector has largely failed to provide for the city. But whether the complex's space truly reflects the values and desires of people in Tokyo remains to be seen. The majority of the city's other mixed-use, private developments have quickly degraded into unused, 'planned wastelands' (Cybriwsky 1999, 229). The central test is perhaps whether Roppongi Hills possesses the necessary malleability to become a true social space, continuously transforming its landscape to meet the needs of its users.

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Above: Tatsua Miyajima, Photo by Momoko Allard

vancouver
halifax
toronto

Ducking under the little cards attached to a string tied taut between a tree and the Landscape Architecture building, a young white man asks, "What is this? What are you guys doing?" He stops to read the card aloud:

> **1934 FDR's New Deal:**
>
> Urban areas experience widespread slum clearance. Suburban areas grow due to support for homeownership for whites only.

Hanging Planning's Dirty Laundry

"We're hanging planning's dirty laundry," is our response. One of us attaches the card reading *The Housing Act of 1949* a few feet away. "This is over 100 years of planning history's dirty laundry. We're airing it out to dry." He laughs nervously and looks back at the line. Then he works his way down further, reading each card carefully and taking in the enormity of the critical space that we created.

African American Communities and the Urban Planning Experience (RP651) was a first for the Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning Department at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. This graduate course, inspired by June Manning Thomas's and Marsha Ritzdorf's edited volume, Urban Planning and the African American Community was proposed by annalise fonza, a LARP doctoral student and was designed to examine the relationships between five historic African American communities and the corresponding local planning agents/authorities.[1]   We were challenged to gain a critical understanding of how socio-political history and urban systems and structures have worked together to affect local African American communities structurally and spatially. The five communities we studied included: Brooklyn-East St. Louis, IL; Charlottesville, VA; Tulsa, OK; Detroit, MI and Rosewood, FL. For the final project, we chose to hang the

"dirty" planning practices and/or planning-related events that have affected the development of African-American communities since the 1850s. The open space in front of the building, surrounded by budding spring trees and concrete benches, persuaded us to create a line (as in a laundry clothesline) to hold the dirty planning practices that we identified in the course.   The idea of creating a line where critical thinking and engagement could occur appealed to us as we neared the end of the semester.

The industrial capitalism and urban development of the early twentieth century collaborated to energize the burgeoning

Lisa DePiano
Kiara Nagel
annalise fonza

U.S. manufacturing sector that exploited land, labor and resources. According to Robert Fishman, the industrial/suburban development of the early twentieth century, which enabled the white laborer to live on the periphery of the American industrial city, signaled that the elite "bourgeois utopia" of the nineteenth century was coming to an end.[2] The pre-World War I era ushered in the growth of the urban/industrial suburb for an emerging U.S. white nonbourgeois middle class. The growing Southern black population migrating north and west was not to be included in this middle class structure until after the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Act during the post-Civil Rights era.

In America's First Black Town: Brooklyn, Illinois 1830-1915, Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua discusses the impact this suburban formation had on Brooklyn, Illinois.[3]   Brooklyn began as an anti-slave community. Priscilla Baltimore, who "purchased" her freedom from a Christian owner, is credited with establishing Brooklyn in the swampy "bottoms," across the border from Saint Louis, Missouri.[4]   Brooklyn (also known as Lovejoy), was developed as an independent black town that was self-governing during the late nineteenth century. Black city officials accomplished the installation of street lighting but they remained economically dependent upon East Saint Louis and the manufacturing companies of the metro-east industrial region.[5]   Cha-Jua alleges that industrial capitalists

Left: In-between spaces, Photos by Lynh Ly
Above: Hanging Planning's Dirty Laundry, Photo by annalise fonza

and manufacturing companies who decided to locate rail and transportation industries in nearby all-white towns contributed to the social and economic decline and/or the fear of possible annexation of all-black towns like Brooklyn.[6] On the other hand, these industrial companies, *i.e.*, the Wiggins Ferry Company, Illinois Coal Company and the Saint Louis National Stock Yards, were more than eager to exploit the labor of black residents over that of white suburban residents.[7] Transportation and employment location strategies took advantage of issues like race, class, and gender, and had a direct impact upon housing, *i.e.*, where a black laborer could live relative to employment.[8]

> ### The destruction of Brooklyn, Illinois [also known as Lovejoy, Illinois] (1915)
> Illinois State's Attorney, Charles Webb conducts raids in Brooklyn to shut down illegal sources of white bosses' wealth.[9]
> The corruption crisis in Brooklyn keeps candidates for political office effectively off the official ballot.
> Sheriff Mellon of East Saint Louis assigns four deputy sheriffs to patrol Brooklyn and declares martial law.[10]
> At least one black man is shot dead.

The line we constructed included such local and national events/issues that impacted each of the five communities we studied. We included the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act; the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (post-Civil War)[11]; Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal Programs (1930s); Urban Renewal programs (1949); and other federally funded programs of the 1990's, like Hope VI. We also made space on our line to highlight the fact that white resistance to black town/community development grew the most violent when it diminished black dependence on white-owned businesses. Angry white mobs, who received the support of the local town/city officials, were often successful in destroying whole sections of black communities in the north and south. Some students and faculty who surveyed our line were familiar with two southern black communities, the Greenwood district in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and rural settlement of Rosewood, Florida. Both areas were tragically destroyed as a result of white mob violence during the 1920s. By contrast, visitors to our line were not as familiar with the every-day efforts of notorious political leaders, such as Mayor Orville Hubbard, who openly used the local political structure to bar blacks from housing in Dearborn, Michigan, during the late 1940s.[12]

We positioned our clothesline display in a high-traffic campus pedestrian location: at the entrance to the LARP Department, which also doubles as the front door to the Social Justice Education Program at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. Having chosen this strategic location we proceeded to hang our line of policies on three-by-five cards. Each card was color-coded to differentiate a particular type of planning technique, *i.e.*, zoning, housing, and community development. One-by-one we attached each of our three-by-five note cards to a makeshift line that ran across the base of the front steps of the building; it was nearly thirty-feet wide. Our line visibly illustrated that various U.S. planning methods and practices have enabled the structural underdevelopment and era-

> ### Baltimore: 1910
> Mayor J. Barry Mahool signs racial zoning ordinance into law, December 20, 1910.
> ### Atlanta: 1913
> Assigns racial designation to city blocks based on existing majority of the residents, June 16, 1913.[13]

sure of black communities, towns, and urban areas. A cyclical pattern of exclusion emerged. Whites, fearful of what it would mean to include blacks in town and city life, used a handful of planning tools and mechanisms to keep blacks "in their place." Blacks were perceived as "stepping out of their place," when they petitioned the local government for basic civil and human rights: decent and equal housing, safe and adequate employment, and equal education and recreation facilities. Local officials unabashedly used the tools and mechanisms of planning to fulfill the "racial objectives of zoning" and to enable local whites to maintain a sense of control over the status quo when population and the economic production modes were shifting.[14]

One 3x5 card read:

> ### The destruction of Tulsa, Oklahoma's Greenwood District (1921)
> An estimated 5,000 blacks were interned at the Tulsa convention center after "the riot."
> Only those with police protection badges and green tags that were granted by white residents were allowed to move about freely.
> The city proposed to convert the smoldering Greenwood District into an industrial district to build "the new Greenwood."
> The city council enacted a fire ordinance that was cost-prohibitive for blacks.[15]
> Many blacks, like A.J. Smitherman, fled Tulsa to other parts of the country seeking protection and a better quality of life (i.e., Springfield and Boston, MA).

Another read:

> ### The Federal Housing Authority (FHA) 1936
> The FHA secured loans up to 93% of cost and extended payment for up to 30 years. This policy did not extend to everyone. 80% of the homes were mortgaged to upper-middle class families.
> The FHA also systematized appraisal methods nationwide by classifying neighborhoods based on the head of household's occupation, income and ethnicity.
> This system clearly favored patriarchal and nuclear family arrangements and discouraged interracial marriage and the growth of socially dense and diverse and neighborhoods.

As our readers followed the line, they saw that whites benefited economically from institutional structures and blacks were denied the same benefits.

> ### The U.S. Housing Act (Wagner-Steagall Act) is passed, September 1, 1937
> Senator Robert Wagner (D-NY) restricts beneficiaries to low-income groups; requires demolition of one substandard housing unit for each unit of public housing built.
>
> This has the effect of concentrating and/or rehousing the poor in areas that were previously condemned.[16]

> **The Servicemembers' Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly known as the GI Bill of Rights (under President Franklin Roosevelt):**
>
> At the end of the WWII, this bill was given to many GI's, which helped them secure low interest homes loans, and free college tuition.
> Black GI's were often denied the same benefits.

As we turned our attention to the latter half of the twentieth century, we presented similar patterns of federal and state partnership that produced similar socio-spatial consequences for African American communities:

> **Interstate highway projects made possible by the 1956 National Highway Defense Act – initiated by the Eisenhower Administration (1960's–1980's):**
>
> Federal and state highway projects sliced black communities in pieces, displacing people and destroying homes and businesses.
> Promotes "leapfrog" spatial logic

It was a sobering moment for each person who witnessed and interacted with the installation of our dirty practices line. Some would ask, "Did this really happen?" or, "Are these things true?" Graduate students in planning, who had not encountered this information or seen it presented to them in such stark clarity, turned to us to ask, "Now what do we do?" We felt that these questions exposed the dark underbelly of U.S. planning history that is rarely examined in planning curricula. A complex web of racial, economic and political relationships has shaped U.S. planning practices. But, "the racial origins of zoning," for example, are treated as if they are a thing of the past.[17]

> **1990's–Present Day:**
>
> The legacy of Urban Renewal is partially responsible for urban America's overabundance of vacant urban land.
> The same racial and economic values that rewarded whites with suburban ownership are used to justify development today in the form of business/enterprise development, i.e., Enterprise and Empowerment Zones.
> Loans for small business development are not readily accessible to would-be black entrepreneurs due to the prevalence of discriminatory lending practices.

In hanging planning's dirty laundry, we implicitly suggested that U.S. planners/planning have not yet been able to come face-to-face or develop a language for race and urban development. This is especially true when so many planning students and faculty have avoided a critical engagement with urban planning history. Indeed, Chester Hartman's 1994 article, "On Poverty and Racism: We Have Had Little to Say,"[18] is still relevant even though it is more than a decade old. A short drive through any densely populated urban city, such as nearby Holyoke or Springfield, Massachusetts, makes it difficult to ignore the effects of planning on African American communities. Noting the reactions from faculty, students, and staff, however, we found that faculty, students and visitors at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst were uncomfortable with the idea of seeing and/or discussing negative connotations of U.S. planning practices. They preferred a neat, clean exhibit where the history of urban planning is represented in an upbeat, linear fashion, with a clear beginning and an end. The overwhelming tendency to make wishful and faulty abstractions led us to conclude that the planners of the twenty-first century feel professionally and academically legitimized by a history in which the practice has successfully detached itself from an embarrassing U.S. past.[19] Those visiting our line expressed an interest in seeing an enlightened, healthy profession, with a just and progressive evolution. We are far from reaching this noble goal . If planning in the U.S. is going to evolve into a neat, clean, linear story, then we must first be willing to stand at the line and confront the reality that the construction of segregated spaces was the prevailing norm that set our current socio-spatial structure into place.

1. June Manning Thomas and Marsha Ritzdorf, eds. *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows.* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997).
2. Robert Fishman, "Bourgeois Utopias: Visions of Suburbia," in *Readings in Urban Theory,* , 2nd ed. Eds. Susan S. Fainstein and Scott Campbell. (Blackwell Publishing: (1996) 2002), 21-31.
3. Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, *America's First Black Town: Brooklyn, Illinois, 1830-1915.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000). Dr. Cha-Jua is Director of the Afro-American Studies and Research Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana
4. Cha-Jua, p. 42.
5. Cha-Jua, p. 125.
6. Cha-Jua, p. 43-44, 123.
7. Cha-Jua, p. 156. "…the meat-packers at Swift employed Blacks because they believed, according to Elliott Rudwick, that 'Negroes did not object to performing low-paying, dirty, unpleasant tasks involved in fertilizer manufacturing and hog-killing."
8. Cha-Jua, p. 152. Blacks were excluded from living in certain industrial suburbs like Granite City. Granite City was home to Markel Lead Works, American Steel Foundry, St. Louis Stamping Works and Granite City Steel Works.
9. Please note that East Saint Louis was predominantly white during this time.
10. Sundiata Cha-Jua explains that corruption and vice are structural components of the industrial suburb. See Cha-Jua, 2000, p. 214.
11. These are post-Civil War amendments: the Thirteenth Amendment (1865 - officially abolished slavery); the Fourteenth Amendment (1868 - defined naturalized citizenship and guaranteed due process and equal protection under the law - it also diminished the Dred Scott Supreme Court 1857 decision); and the Fifteenth Amendment (1870 - gave all men the right to vote "regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude").
12. Joe T. Darden, Richard Child Hill, June Thomas, and Richard Thomas, *Detroit: Race and Uneven Development.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 119-125.
13. Christopher Silver, "The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities" in *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows.* Eds. June Manning Thomas and Marsha Ritzdorf (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997), 23-42.
14. For more examples of racial zoning ordinances, we recommend Christopher Silver's text.
15. The fire ordinance required the use of fireproof materials in the rebuilding of all homes in the Greenwood District. These materials were much too expensive for the black residents to purchase, and many could not rebuild. It provided a legal means for exclusion on the basis of race and class. The Tulsa Real Estate Exchange promoted this maneuver with the following justification: "We further believe that the two races being divided by an industrial section will draw more distinctive lines between them and thereby eliminate the intermingling of the lower elements of the two races." Alfred L. Brophy, *Reconstructing the Dreamland: The Tulsa Riot of 1921, Race, Reparations and Reconstruction.* Foreword by Randall Kennedy. (Oxford University Press, 2002), 93.
16. For more on this topic see, John Hancock, "The New Deal and American Planning: the 1930s," in *Two Centuries of American Planning.* Ed. Daniel Shaffer (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1988), 197-230.
17. Silver 1997.
18. Chester Hartman, "On Poverty and Racism: We Have Had Little to Say." *Journal of the American Planning Association 60*, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 152 - 159.
19. For a discussion of how faulty abstractions have enabled the modernist planning project to be distorted and phallocentric, see Barbara Hooper, "Split at the Roots: A Critique of the Philosophical and Political Sources of Modern Planning Doctrine." *Frontiers 13*, no. 1 (1992): 45-80.

Above: Hanging Planning's Dirty Laundry, Photo by annalise fonza

Above: Vacant Lot Railing (detail) Photo by Lucy Howe

Unresolved Legacies:

Aboriginal Food Production Landscapes, Ecosystem Recovery Strategies & Land Use Planning for Conservation of the Garry Oak Ecosystems in South-Western British Columbia[1]

Gordon Brent Ingram

In Canada, aboriginal legacies in landscapes and their implications for land use planning for biodiversity conservation remain poorly acknowledged. Similarly, inter-cultural conversations on values about and priorities for biological resources and habitat protection remain under-developed. This essay begins with a rhetorical question. Will it be possible to forge successful ecosystem recovery strategies, to maintain all elements of local biological diversity through land use planning, without far deeper cognizance of the aboriginal legacies in Canadian landscapes? I do not think so. This discussion, from the drier enclaves on the south coast of British Columbia, centres on a federally funded ecosystem recovery team in the first four years of its operation from 1999 to 2003 and the near total lack of outreach to, and engagement with, aboriginal people and First Nations. These were the same years as the final phase of development of Canada's relatively weak *Species At Risk Act* (SARA).[2] Subsequently much of work in Canada on ecosystem recovery has involved some federal support as related to that legislation.

In 1999, I was one of a several dozen individuals who founded of one Canada's first three ecosystem recovery groups: the Garry Oak Ecosystems Recovery Team (GOERT).[3] Garry oak, or Oregon White Oak, *Quercus garryana*, is the oak species in western North America with the broadest distribution and extends from the north side of the Los Angeles Basin to Savary Island to the north-west of Vancouver. Garry oak only becomes an ecosystem dominant from north-western California to south-western British Columbia in drier areas on the eastern sides of coastal mountains. As well as supporting many rare elements that occur in Oregon and California, the northern margins of Garry oak ecosystems in British Columbia also support a curious range of species from other, drier parts of southern parts of the interior of Western Canada. The Canadian occurrences of this ecosystem, typically referred to as Northern Garry Oak Ecosystems, are on south-eastern Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands with two small occurrences on the mainland of British Columbia. These ecosystems were marked by pronounced summer droughts, shifting oak savannah and woodland, and dry forms of Douglas fir forest and formed complex mosaics with long edges of varying levels of contrast

and habitat richness. In these drier areas, often on better drained sites with south-west aspects, aboriginal burning[4] was a regular, though spotty, ecological factor. Many sites were managed carefully for food with digging, planting and gathering of scores of tree, shrub and tuber foods. With removal of aboriginals and fire suppression, much of these grasslands and woodlands have converted to Douglas fir forest. Today as remaining sites of this ecosystem have dwindled, there are roughly one hundred species at risk.[5] The major threat to survival of relatively intact ecosystems and associated species is from suburbanization, invasive species and the suppression of fire.

In this essay, I use aspects of memoir and self-reflection because, as a Canadian environmental planner of Métis heritage, I have first hand experiences that illustrate some still poorly explored tenets of the stakeholder acknowledgement necessary for effective biodiversity conservation. First, effective environmental conservation requires confrontation and `dropping' of cultural biases and `baggage' – though this state of grace is rarely achieved. Second, ecosystem recovery strategies require careful stakeholder analysis and recognition of both marginalised groups and associated inequities – and subsequent development of outreach programmes. Third, both biological research and land use planning are cultural processes that advantage some perspectives, practices, and social groups over others. Frameworks for acknowledging and addressing biases and resulting inequities in biology research as a supposedly 'pure' science remain deficient – especially in networks of relatively privileged scientists. Four, government agencies in Canada often still reproduce neo-colonial inequities, especially through engagement with aboriginal groups, which are re-codified and re-enforced through decisions about land.

Acknowledging aboriginal legacies in conservation planning

> "Reality is not dialectical, colonialism is."
> Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri 2000[6]

How do unresolved social conflicts, from the colonial period, effect current perceptions of forest, habitat, disturbance and loss of biological diversity? How do unfinished contests between social groups, embodied in institutional frameworks, compromise efforts to identify and protect ecosystems and species at risk of disappearance? Many legal aspects of the colonial period from 1847 to 1871 and the neo-colonial policies associated with them remain unresolved and are being revisited. In south-western British Columbia, some First

Nations were offered and agreed to the 'Douglas Treaties' of the 1850s only to have them poorly honoured by government agencies. For example, aboriginal food gathering 'fields', typically in Garry oak ecosystems, were to be protected for aboriginal use, but the guideline from Whitehall was never applied consistently. Instead of viewing these ecological mosaics of fields as complex cultural landscapes, three simplistic categories oriented to the imperial economy: forest, woodland and meadows; were applied, at the expense of recognizing the complex relationships between human beings and ecological processes.

As these ecosystems have dwindled, two divergent viewpoints on the drier areas around the Strait of Georgia have begun to emerge. A dominant view, somewhat neo-colonial in origin, is of relatively static sets of woodland, forest and grassland with aboriginal impacts being relatively superfluous and limited to a small number of sites. A second more postcolonial view is holding increasing currency. This second perspective emphasizes dynamic mosaics[7] of savannah, woodland and ancient coniferous forests dominated by Douglas fir, *Pseudotsuga menziesii,* that have, for several thousand years more, been transformed by human forces.[8]

In the supposedly postcolonial present, unresolved colonial legacies have direct and indirect impacts on particular kinds of perceptions, realities, scientific research (including hypothesis development, analysis and conclusions), funding programmes, and even the paradigms on which ecosystem management and land use planning are based. But exactly how do unresolved social conflicts, from the colonial period, effect current perceptions of forest, habitat, disturbance and loss of biological diversity? How do colonial legacies embodied in institutional frameworks for environmental research and land management compromise (if at all) efforts to identify and protect ecosystems and species at risk of disappearance? How are practices for objectivity in development of environmental histories impoverished and enriched by the privileging of particular historical interpretations – that undermine the claims of still marginalized groups?

Fields or forests?
The politics of divergent environmental histories in ecosystem recovery
The initiatives for more comprehensive protection and restoration of Garry oak landscapes in Canada are impaired by blinders that minimize acknowledgement of the diversity of ecological roles of aboriginal communities. This lack of clarity is rooted in an avoidance of social and specifically inter-cultural relationships, and history in general, and an over-emphasis on biophysical descriptors. Today, neo-colonial perspectives are almost entirely based on the views of non-aboriginal scientists, technicians and bureaucrats, are being challenged. As more First Nations in British Columbia are taking an interest in their traditional relationships to Garry oak ecosystems, the politics of ecosystem management become increasingly volatile. Today, First Nations, who did

Left: Oak on Mt Maxwell, Photo Gordon Brent Ingram

not sign treaties in the 1850s, are often engaging in treaty negotiations and assertion of rights over traditional resources. For communities that did sign treaties, a Supreme Court of Canada ruling in favour of the Tsartlip Nation in late 2006 expanded the basis to revisit aboriginal rights around traditional food production and the 'fields' under the terms of both the treaties and colonial policy.

GOERT's lapse around outreach to First Nations contributed to a lack of acknowledgement, on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Island, of the growing volatility of land ownership and management during a period of extensive urbanization and inflation of values. In terms of supposedly apolitical technical decisions, there was a tension between more conventional forms of science and traditional knowledge. In this increasingly politicized context for use of environmental histories, information denatured human beings was privileged. These contests go well beyond critiques of romantic notions of the so-called 'ecological Indian', where supposedly 'noble savages' were always in harmony with their ecosystems.[9] And this dichotomy has become untenable as First Nations have shown themselves just as able to express a diverse range of environmental relationships as other communities and government jurisdictions in Canada. British Columbia's ecosystems remain, very much, part of landscapes of (un)lawful conflict[10] which contributes to an uncertainty which has encourage unsustainable practices by non-aboriginal economic interests. In response, the shift from the neo-colonial to the postcolonial in British Columbia has seen a push for more critical forms of analysis of both stakeholders and social conflicts.

Divergent notions of stakeholder analysis in biodiversity conservation

At the core of any postcolonial form of ecosystem recovery is acknowledgement of a range of notions of stakeholders and entitlements. For over two decades, Canadian courts have been active, clarifying and often including marginalized stakeholders. But biologists and land use planners in Canada have often been adverse to both interpreting legal rulings to fully acknowledge First Nations and to explore their ethical responsibilities. The most celebrated of the decisions on aboriginal land use, with implications on contemporary decision-making and policy, was the series of decisions around *Delgamuukw versus British Columbia*[11] throughout the 1990s. If there was a single event in the early 'postcolonial' period in western Canada, to codify new modes of both stakeholder analysis and negotiation between First Nations and land use agencies (including those involved with biodiversity conservation), it was the 1997 Delgamuukw decision. Aboriginal communities regained their rights to be considered in decisions made on lands that they traditionally managed. But even with the legal trajectory established, there was exceptional and sometimes pernicious resistance to engagement with aboriginals as stakeholders. In contrast to the remarkable First Nations-initiated biodiversity conservation efforts on the British Columbia coast throughout the 1990s,[12]

GOERT effectively functioned to reverse the trend towards deeper acknowledgement of aboriginal legacies. Policy-making in GOERT was conducted solely by non-aboriginal scientists and planners, nearly all of whom were of European heritages. A significant group of these individuals also worked under short-term contracts, typically paid by the federal government and GOERT through nongovernmental organizations, with conflict-of-interest between research objectivity and governmental policy. GOERT effectively became a vehicle to retrench the unquestioned position of non-aboriginal scientists and planners – almost in reaction to a series of court decisions that continue to require greater consultation and that in the long-term query the privileging of certain forms of science over history and traditional knowledge.

In addition to experts: scientists and conservation planners; GOERT included representatives from a wide range of federal, provincial, municipal, and non-governmental agencies and organizations. But in the critical period of 'Team' development, there was never any serious effort to inform or involve aboriginal groups, particularly First Nations. In terms of soliciting public input, there was only a brief presentation from the Stó:lo Nation of the Fraser Valley, a community with creation stories located in a tiny Garry oak woodland on Sumas Mountain, that sometimes uses its cultural claim to clash with the neighbouring Yale Nation over another tiny oak site on the Fraser River. What was exceptional about GOERT's lack of formal, political engagement with First Nations was the fact that a number of established Indian Reserves have significant remaining habitat of Garry oak ecosystems. And many more other areas had been either discussed in recent treaty negotiations or are relevant to full implementation of the few treaties signed in the mid-nineteenth century. While there was great deal of talk about traditional knowledge with informants consulted, aboriginals were never formally 'brought to the table' in decision-making and were rarely paid as experts (even after GOERT started to receive hundreds of thousands of dollars of federal funding each year). While I appeared to be the only member of GOERT with any aboriginal heritage, I was often more concerned about asserting basic principles of environmental planning around comprehensiveness, stakeholder analysis and acknowledgement, mapping, strategic thinking, and spatial planning. I naively thought that given recent court victories that technically competent and legally cognizant conservation would soon somehow 'require' engaging with First Nations. Instead, a strategy for outreach to First Nations was infrequently discussed and was consistently postponed. I became more and more concerned about the situation until I left the group after nearly four years. My departure was without confrontation – a strategy which I now regret.

I found my role as one of the environmental planners participating in GOERT to be difficult because growing up on the edge of the Tsartlip Indian Reserve on south-eastern Vancouver Island in a cultural landscape with Garry oak

ecosystems, I witnessed a great deal of stewardship of these landscapes. GOERT's supposedly objective scientific perspectives, at least the ones that dominated and were operational, effectively negated my first hand experiences.

The original, 2003 version of this essay conveyed a great deal of anger. That style worked for a conference on forests under the British Empire but back home came across as maladjusted in the feel-good vibes of Canada's West Coast. I avoided the file on this essay until I taught a graduate seminar at the largest state university in Virginia in 2006 entitled, Biodiversity Conservation, Local Communities and Sustainable Development. In Virginia, there is not the uncomfortable immediacy around marginalization of aboriginal communities since there are so few people left. Instead, there is a kind of 'space' that results from the clarity of genocide. In the seminar, we covered the maturing social critiques of biodiversity conservation such as Arturo Escobar's 1998 classic, "Whose Knowledge, Whose Nature?"[13], Mac Chapin's 2004 chronicle of growing resistance to the biases of non-governmental organizations[14], and Mark Dowie's 2006 manifesto on 'conservation refugees' pushed out of national parks and biodiversity projects[15]. And soon enough, I gave an hour PowerPoint presentation on GOERT and stakeholder analysis for social marginalization. The presentation was surreal: a bit like giving a lecture on effective techniques for greenwashing. One doctoral student forcefully queried how I could have let that kind of social marginalization continue (and then feel like I could teach that seminar). I did not have a good answer. This essay is my fuller response to her.

Some reasons for GOERT's failure to engage with First Nations from 1999 to 2003
In the late 2006 seminar, I explained why I believed that an initiative supposedly committed, and legally required, to involve and consider all major stakeholders had effectively excluded aboriginal organizations and First Nations (and the financial resources that it administered).

1. In British Columbia, there are divergent environmental and social historical narratives – and people are often attached to their ethnically related cultures.
2. In British Columbia, there are still major gaps in historical information for ecosystem management and restoration.
3. In British Columbia, cultural landscapes remain poorly identified and mapped.
4. Around the Strait of George and Puget Sound, the current dependence of Salish[16] peoples on traditional species and associated landscapes largely remain unclear – to non-Salish peoples.
5. Some non-Salish scientists, planners and advocates do not appreciate the priorities of local First Nations for conservation of biodiversity on cultural landscapes.
6. The information on stakeholders and social histories was not sufficiently 'spatialized' (was not in hardcopy or digital map form) to be integrated into conservation planning.
7. The threats to the biodiversity of northern Garry Oak

Left: Camas Habitat, Photo Gordon Brent Ingram

ecosystems have been considered so severe that there was little interest (by non-aboriginal people) in the different knowledge, history, and priorities of different stakeholders.

8. Members of the GOERT steering committee were under pressure to use the framework to mobilize funds for their agencies, NGOs and consulting groups – distracting them from recognizing less aggressive stakeholders.

9. Biodiversity conservation was still a racialized term that was not articulated in terms of the experience of Salish communities. Thus, GOERT did not seem relevant to native governments – except around land claims and treaty issues.

10. Salish First Nations with histories of involvement in Garry oak ecosystems, some with some of the most strategic remaining GOE sites within their Indian Reserves, were often too preoccupied with other legal issues to have time to participate in a group dominated by biologists (many of whom who were preoccupied with finding paying research contracts). And no Salish biologists attended meetings (nor were invited to).

But after recalling hundreds of hours of GOERT meetings, I think that these explanations are overly rational and inappropriately kind.

Conclusions

I believe that GOERT's sophisticated way of ignoring aboriginals and First Nations was in no small part a reaction to the demands for huge changes in administrative practices brought about by the *Delgmuukw* decisions in the year before this organization was formed. The lack of any formal effort to involve native governments and experts, fed into a notion that while 'Delgmuukw' gave aboriginals the option of insisting on input into decisions about traditional lands, most 'Indians' have no interest (especially if they were denied information on meeting directly relevant in terms of policy development and funding opportunities).

It would be rhetorical to argue that the biodiversity conservation strategies for northern Garry oak ecosystems, currently funded by the Government of Canada, represent a new, reinvented form of neo-colonialism. Certain contemporary political theory, such as Hardt and Negri's paradigmatic, *Empire* suggests that the opportunities to appropriate biological resources from aboriginal communities, that marked the shift from colonialism to neo-colonialism in British Columbia, can be replicated indefinitely[17] — as long as those biological resources continue to exist). The alternative, the remedies, will be rooted in carefully examining the mechanics of marginalization through critical forms of stakeholder analysis, organizational development and resulting decision-making. But these developments could be decades away. Instead, more First Nations in British Columbia may choose to engage in their own initiatives for conservation and recovery of biodiversity diversity and traditional sites inviting non-aboriginals to work with them when there is enough 'space' and safety for the beginnings of some authentic exchanges.

1 The discussion was originally presented at the International Conference on the Forest and Environmental History of the British Empire and Commonwealth, March 19-21st 2003 at the University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton UK.

2 http://www.sararegistry.gc.ca/the_act/default_e.cfm

3 http://www.goert.ca/
The discussion of GOERT in this essay, along with its decision-making structure and policies is limited, to its inception in 1999 through mid-2003. Based on informal contact with friends and colleagues, I believe that most of the founding participants in GOERT are no longer involved in the organization.

4 White, R. 1999. Indian land use and environmental change Island County, Washington: A case study. In *Indians, Fire, and the Land in the Pacific Northwest*. Robert Boyd (ed.). , Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press. 34 – 49.

5 http://www.goert.ca/orphs/welcome.htm

6 Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. p. 128

7 Ingram, G. B. 2002. Thinking like a dynamic mosaic: The relevance of landscape ecology to setting goals for biodiversity conservation & restoration for northern Garry oak ecosystems. *Conference Proceedings: Restoring Garry Oak Ecosystems – Progress and Prognosis*, University of Victoria April 2002, 96 – 108; Ingram, G. B. 2002. Thinking like a dynamic mosaic: Towards a strategy for conserving northern Garry oak ecosystems * part 1. *Menziesia* (Journal of the British Columbia Native Plant Society). 7 (1): 8 – 11; Ingram, G. B. 2002. Thinking like a dynamic mosaic: Conservation planning for the plant species at risk in northern Garry oak landscapes in BC, * part 2. *Menziesia* 7 (2): 8 - 12.

8 Pellatt, M. G., R. J. Hebda and R. W. Mathewes. 2001. High-resolution Holocene vegetation history and climate from Hole 1934B, ODP leg 165S, Saanich Inlet, Canada. *Marine Geology* 174: 211 – 226.

9 Krech, Shepard. 1999. *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. pp. 106, 116 – 117, 114, 101 – 122.

10 Ingram, G. B. 1995A. Landscapes of (un)lawful chaos: Conflicts around temperate rain forest and biological diversity in Pacific Canada. *RECIEL: Review of European Community & International Environmental Law* 4(3): 242 – 249

11 Throughout much of the 1990s, the various phases of the court proceedings for *Delgamuukw versus British Columbia* dominated questions of aboriginal control of lands and biological resources in Western Canada. For some of the initial lists of the studies, particularly around the 1997 *Delgamuukw versus British Columbia* decision, that confirmed the basis for ongoing ecosystem management by aboriginals, see the following web sites:
http://www.legalcasedocs.com/120/243/661.html;
http://scc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1997/1997rcs3-1010/1997rcs3-1010.html; and
http://www.usask.ca/nativelaw/Delgamuukw.html.

12 Ingram, G. B. 1995B. Conserving habitat and biological diversity: A study of obstacles on Gwaii Haanas, British Columbia. *Forest and Conservation History* (North Carolina) 39(2): 77 – 89; Ingram, G. B. 1995. Reclaiming territory through conservation areas: Gwaii Haanas, Haida Gwaii, 1851-1993. UnderCurrents Politics of Natural Space issue: 42 - 48.

13 Escobar, Arturo. 1998. Whose knowledge, whose nature: Biodiversity, conservation and the political ecology of social movements. *Journal of Political Ecology* 5: 53 – 82.

14 Mac Chapin. 2004. A Challenge to Conservationists. *World Watch* (November / December 2004): 17 – 31.

15 Dowie, Mark. 2006. Enemies of conservation. *Range Magazine* (Summer 2006): 24 – 27.

16 In British Columbia, peoples around the Strait of George (and the Puget Sound of Washington State) who speak languages in the Salish linguistic group (a group that extends hundreds of kilometers east and south) are sometimes referred to as 'Salish'.

17 Hardt and Negri 2000. pp. 190 - 201, 384.

The Imaginary Colliery Project:
the Future of Tourism in Crowsnest Pass

Introduction

This work specifically examines a transition from resource based industries to a tourism economy in the Crowsnest Pass. *The Imaginary Colliery Project* proposal complicates this movement from mining to tourism and suggests that authentic histories, architecture and culture can be fabricated to suit the necessities of tourist industries.

Background

The Crowsnest Pass is located on the mountainous border between south-western Alberta, and south-eastern British Columbia, Canada. The municipality of Crowsnest Pass consists of five former mining towns along the number three highway: Hillcrest, Bellevue, Frank, Blairmore and Coleman. These towns relied on coal mining as the primary source for employment, development and the organization of social life, but when the coal market became untenable, this industry vanished leaving the pass with a skeletal mining infrastructure and the usual assortment of decrepit motels, diners and gas stations. Unemployment sharply increased as individuals struggled to maintain their standard of living and the community.

The current state of affairs is much different. While not exactly booming, Crowsnest Pass is becoming a haven for boomers. Calgarians, living only two hours away, are flooding the real-estate market. Housing prices are exploding by two hundred percent. There is still a small town, country life feel to attract suburbanites as well as the necessary amenities to support a growing population. Couple this with the tremendous geographical and historical potential in the area and Crowsnest seems likely to become the next mountain community invested with Calgary oil money. Thus the combination of "cabin" culture and historical significance gives Crowsnest Pass something that other less fortunate small communities do not have: tourism.

Tourism is, not surprisingly, the new dominant industry in the Pass. Cumulatively its effects bring in more dollars than any other business. This tourist trade is primarily bifurcated into history-based tourism and environment-based tourism. History-based tourism developed in response to historic architectural and industrial sites, fostering the growth of many museums, plaques, information sites and vintage or antiques businesses.

Environment-based tourism consists of primarily recreation activities such as fishing, climbing, skiing, hiking, snowmobiling, ATVing, hunting etc. All of these locations and activities commingle with each other to create a diverse and interconnected scenario.

The Question for Crowsnest Pass

Given the past collapse of the primary industry in the region, Crowsnest Pass is facing a serious question. This can be stated simply: how can tourism be sustained as a stable economic base for the Municipality of Crowsnest Pass?

All environment-based tourism in the area is directly linked to the landscape and so preserving the geographical and environmental qualities of the area is a primary concern. This situation is consistently addressed through municipal planning and there are indications that the people of the region are aware that their livelihoods are directly linked to preserving the local environment in order to continue attracting tourists. In *Pass to the Future*, a statistical summary report on Crowsnest Pass administered and compiled by Norman Connolly and Matthew MacNeil, it was discovered that, "when [Crowsnest Pass residents were] asked what top three criteria should be used to evaluate new development (both economic and residential) environmental considerations ranked first." In addition, 99% of the respondents in the survey said that the environment is an important/very important aspect of life in Crowsnest Pass.

In contrast to the attention paid to environmental concerns, the methods required to maintain history-based tourism have not been fully addressed. Certainly preserving the existing historic buildings and artifacts is fundamental to this process, but this strategy may lack long term sustainability. Local historic sites are subject to the infamously harsh weather patterns of the Crowsnest Pass. Dramatic freeze-thaw activity and high winds have resulted

> how can a long-term plan be established for an industry that is dependent on ephemeral, decaying or fragile products?

A Report on Architecture, History and Tourism
by Scott Rogers

Left: Living Room and Rousseau's Jungle, photomontage by Sue Lloyd

in rapid erosion of even the most sturdy of historical sites. In addition antiques and artifacts which are not preserved in museum collections are being quickly purchased by collectors. These items have a limited supply and thus will begin to run out as demand increases. The question that develops from these situations then becomes, how can a long-term plan be established for an industry that is dependent on ephemeral, decaying or fragile products?

Many would advocate in this situation for a kind of sustained development, which maintains and preserves historic buildings and locations while also providing eco-friendly access to recreational sites. The Municipality of Crowsnest Pass Municipal Development Plan prepared by the Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency corresponds with this attitude when it states that "[sensitive and historic sites] have both tourist and historic value for the municipality and are worth protecting" (page 43). The Imaginary Colliery proposal agrees with these positions, but also goes a step further.

Fraudulent historical sites should be created in Crowsnest Pass. These sites should emphasize minimal impact to natural surroundings and promote recreational activities, while also providing opportunities for historical inquiry, community engagement and interactive learning.

This proposal advocates the design and construction of architectural ruins which effectively mimic early twentieth century mining sites. These site constructions should not be undertaken as reproductions or recreations - but rather seamlessly embody the appearance of a real ruin to the smallest details. False histories for each site will be written and materials and architectural designs will be as historically accurate as possible. Documents and photographs will reflect early twentieth century styles, fashions and technologies. Sites will be chosen for their natural beauty, but also their geological accuracy as potential past coal mines. All of this will produce the greatest feeling of authenticity possible - not recreating the past, but making a symmetrical copy, a perfect reflection of something which never existed, but could have.

Short Term Plan
The first consideration for the *Imaginary Colliery* is site. The ideal site emphasizes natural features of the region and draws attention to the spectacular physical geography. It is also located within view of the highway, so that east and westbound traffic can see the colliery. After careful consideration a site near the Frank Slide (a tremendous natural rock slide and major tourist attraction of the region) which is elevated above the highway affords the greatest visual effect. This site also provides a viewing area for other historical features and functions within the already established infrastructure of the area.

The initial model design for the building intended for this site developed through the study of a number of architectural sites in Crowsnest Pass, most notably Leitch collieries and Mowhawk collieries near the eastern edge of the municipality. The model is a fusion between these sites and emphasizes a multi-level design which would be built into a hillside. This hillside design accommodates a number of classical and modernist elements most notably a series of "pilotti" supporting the main coal deck, a dramatic elevated position and the use of cast concrete forms for overall construction. These elements will ultimately reflect a vernacular architecture that develops from purely functional considerations. The union created through these different styles will result in a Corbusieresque Acropolis of industrial decay.

These site constructions should not be undertaken as reproductions or recreations - but rather seamlessly embody the appearance of a real ruin to the smallest details.

The construction of the *Imagined Colliery* will take place in two phases: the first phase being the completion of the colliery to appear as being functional; the second phase is the willful dilapidation of this building to simulate the effects of time and weather. During the first phase elements such as the tipple (a large conveyor system which moves coal from the mine cars into the colliery building) and coke ovens will be accurately constructed. The building, tipple pylons and coke ovens will be built from cast concrete and brick, as well as naturally occurring sandstone from the surrounding area. Once the building is complete extensive photographic documentation will be made in order to produce accurate historical documents of the building. After construction is finished the building will then be systematically deteriorated to give the effect of age. Roofs will be caved-in, walls smashed through and functional elements removed or destroyed. A mild acid can be used in a controlled way to produce the effect of water erosion on concrete. Any metals used in the process will be rapidly oxidized to produce rust. Once these procedures are undertaken the site will be rehabilitated back to its original condition in order to reduce impact on the surrounding environment.

Long-Term Plan
After the architectural elements of the *Imaginary Colliery* are completed every effort will be made to integrate it into the history and culture of Crowsnest as accurately as possible. This activity will require a thorough re-working of historical documents and the production of many artifacts, tools and antiques which reflect the building's role in the community. Once these documents and photographs are produced a museum or archive will be built which presents the material and objectively embeds the colliery into all facets of life in Crowsnest Pass. Additionally, products such as

books, postcards, t-shirts, pins, collectible spoons, posters and other trinkets will be created as retail items related to the colliery.

At the site of the colliery there will be a series of interpretive trails built. These trails will include informative signs presenting the history, technical workings and social aspects of the mine. It will also be beneficial to link these trails with other trail networks in the area to create a possible walking tour which includes Leitch Collieries to the east and the Frank Slide Interpretive Centre to the west. This trail will then become a site promoting hiking and other environment-based tourism activities in the area.

Conclusion
The *Imaginary Colliery Project* addresses a number of the key issues facing the tourism industry in the Crowsnest Pass Municipality. The project will provide short and long term employment opportunities for many local residents and will benefit the community economically and culturally by preserving traditional arts and crafts, supporting construction workers, writers, photographers and historians and increasing the production and sales of tourism related products. In addition the colliery will be constructed in a manner which will not detract from the picturesque environment and which is developed as a long-term sustainable model. For this reason every effort will be made to produce collieries at a rate which will not over-stimulate the economy or negatively affect the natural wonders of the pass.

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The Imaginary Colliery Project *was developed from a collaborative residency in the Crowsnest Pass during August 2006. Scott Rogers worked directly with the writer and historian Carol Williams to develop a number of projects which re-examined the history and culture of the pass including a collaborative book project which will be published in 2007. The residency and publication were developed and organized by Trap/door Artist Run Centre in Lethbridge and funding for the residency was provided by the Alberta Foundation for the Arts.*

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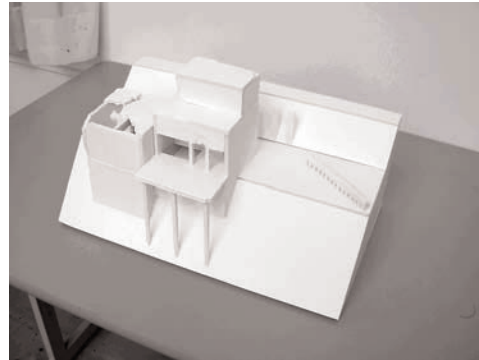
References:
Connolly, Norman and MacNeil, Matthew, Pass to the Future Summary Report, Crowsnest Pass, 1999.
Municipality of Crowsnest Pass Municipal Development Plan Background Report, prepared by the Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001.

Mohawk colliery

Imaginary Colliery model

coal deck (detail)

coke ovens (detail)

collapsed roof (detail)

Wetland Revitalized

by Jocelyn Thorpe

I thought it would be bigger
tried not to feel sad when I saw

It was not what I expected

Intersections, contradictions, nature and culture abruptly abutted, lines blurred
This
I aimed to appreciate
But instead I am underwhelmed
Overwhelmed
That it took four levels of government thirty years of concentrated effort
(according to the sign)
to create
this.

I see a thistle at my foot
A swallow passes close to my cheek
I try to remain with them

But the expressway is bigger, louder
It penetrates my effort
Beats me

Yachts to the south, between the swallow and the lake
Condos to the east, west, north
Road road road cars trucks
In spite of my best efforts,
my throat closes and my eyes well.

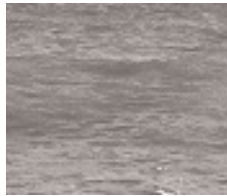I know that people have fought for this
I did not help
I'm sure the swallow, and perhaps the thistle too, would rather have it here than gone.

Blurred lines
Too hard, and now
I want to leave.

On a Sunny Sunday Afternoon

You are sitting on your porch steps under the dappled sunlight of the old maples that line your Toronto street, enjoying a beautiful fall day. Out of the corner of your eye, you notice a steady stream of people walking out of the alleyway across the street from your house. What is this procession all about?

"Human River. A community walk along the Garrison Creek, Toronto's biggest buried river. The Garrison Creek still flows beneath our city. As it rushes hidden under homes, stores, roads and parks, we find signs of this lost river in tilting houses, dips in the streets, buried bridges and a string of green valleys."

Could this be why you always hear water gushing in the sewers even when there hasn't been rain for days? You had no idea there was once a creek flowing, no wait, there is still creek flowing under your house…

The Human River as an Initiative in Community Arts

In this paper I will explore the Human River as a community arts initiative that is engaging people in the reclamation of ecological history and public space. The term community arts has emerged over the past two decades to describe

Scenes

It was here that the story of the Garrison Creek began: how the creek had its beginnings 12,000 years ago when the last remnants of the Wisconsonian Glacier melted off the St. Clair West lands; how it once visibly flowed through the city down into Lake Ontario; how it got its name because when Toronto was young, it entered the lake just east of the Fort York military garrison; how it was 7.7 km long and had several tributaries; how it used to be known as Bull's Creek in the upper portions because it passed through farms owned by members of the Bull family; how in the early 1900's settlement had become so dense and the creek so polluted with sewage that sewers became essential for public health reasons; how by the mid 1920's the creek had been completely buried to act as an underground sewer. This event being a co-production, the mandate and work of each organization, the Toronto Public Space Committee (TPSC), the Toronto Field Naturalists (TFN) and the Toronto Green Community (TGC), each added layers of meaning and intent. The TPSC are actively engaged in fighting the increasing commercialization and privatization of public space. TFN and the TGC have been organizing for eleven years to "reconnect the parks and potential parkland of the largely invisible Garrison valley from north of St. Clair to the lake." This co-production was a means of celebrating the ten year anniversary of

The Human River: ## The Playful Reclamation of Ecological History and Public Space

by Liz Forsberg

a diverse range of practices that seek to democratize and extend the creative process to the general public. Often they involve collaborations between artists and communities and the process of involving people in making the work is emphasized as much as the finished product (Cohen-Cruz, 2002). A number of socio-political forces have shaped its emergence. Perhaps the most pertinent force the Human River responds to is "the increasing commodification of culture through corporate globalization provoking a desire to reclaim public space and to relocate cultural production" (Barndt, 2004)

Context

The context for the Human River was very local. The event focused on an element of downtown Toronto's hidden ecology and efforts to raise peoples' awareness of lost rivers. The event attracted a small but sizeable group of people, many of them young families like us, affiliated in some way with one of the three sponsoring organizations. The event itself reflects a number of global and local forces converging: increasing awareness of our human impact on the planet, a lack of connection to our natural environments in urban areas, a growing awareness of clean water becoming a scarce resource and a growing movement exploring a wide array of issues pertaining to public space in Toronto.

their Lost Rivers walks that aim to "help people appreciate their intimate connections to the water systems that form an essential part of their lives" Their projects encourage the study of natural history and the preservation of our natural heritage.

As Michael and I made our way down the steps, stroller in hand, under the Bickford Centre and into Bickford Park, we rumbled along the grass, trailing at the back of the group with the other stroller pushers until we paused for our first interpretive stop narrated by Bernd Baldus. Our attention was drawn to a sewer grate at our feet where we could hear water rushing. The smell of sewage wafted up our nasal passages as we peered down to look through the bars and listen to the sounds of rushing water (or rather, rushing sewage). This, we were told, is what remains of the Garrison Creek

At the bottom of Harbord Park we went down a small set of stairs and passed by a planter bed acting as a monument to Garrison Creek. It was here that we began winding through the streets of Little Italy past tilting houses, ambling down Montrose, across College and eventually meandering through an alleyway.

Content

The message is deceptively simple given the layers of com-

plexity that emerge within the context the TPSC's work fighting the encroachment of private interests in public space. This is certainly not to say that the Human River is unique in doing so, but rather each time our streets, alleyways, parks and squares are used for such collective actions in addition to their utilitarian functions as pathways to work and shopping, it creates the space and inspiration for future imaginative use and humanizes the concrete face of the city.

Though the event itself was not explicitly political- it wasn't calling for people to write to their politicians to take action on the city's forgotten plans for the Garrison Creek Linkage project it placed the issue of Toronto's hidden ecology in people's consciousness via imaginative methods. Perhaps if it was a more 'political' event, calling for specific actions to be taken, the event might not have attracted so many people.

Production

The production process can be examined at a number of different levels. The Human River was structured and organized by the TPSC, the TGC and the TFN. The images generated for the event were collectively produced by those who attended the event - the only constraints being the materials provided by the organizers. The procession itself allowed people to participate as they saw fit to do within the confines of a parade.

Use

The Human River was a vehicle for a number of different uses. While it increased awareness among participants of Toronto's ecological history, it also triggered the curiosity of those we passed along the route. It provided a space for self-expression along the lines of a specific theme and created a place for dialogue where little existed before. The event reclaimed the public spaces of Toronto's alleyways and streets while reclaiming a forgotten part of our natural history. In facilitating the Human River, the organizers opened up a civic dialogue about an issue that doesn't have a large presence in city debates.

Final Thoughts

As a participant in the year's inaugural Human River I am inspired and hopeful about the pockets of imagination that this event creates in the overall landscape of the city. It confirms for me the role of community arts initiatives as a means of engaging people in the reclamation of ecological history and public space. I am also asking myself questions about the framework I used to explore the Human River as a community arts project. What did the categories I explored emphasize about the project? What did they conceal? I will carry these questions with me to future explorations of community arts projects.

A procession of people
Flowing through streets and alleys
An undulating blue mass
Of gurgling conversation
And aquatic awareness

vancouver
halifax
calgary

Wild Relics in an Urban Landscape:
A LOOK AT RACCOON REPRESENTATIONS IN NEWSPAPER MEDIA

by Erin Luther

As global urbanization gains momentum, human experience is increasingly restricted to dense urban environments; a new urban human looks out through the window, rejecting and inviting the "wild" in complex ways. This paper analyzes a sampling of newspaper articles that probe the dimensions of the urban wild by following the media intersection between humans and a commonly encountered wild animal, the raccoon. This intersection is typical of many urban human-wildlife interactions in the sense that it is characterized by a fierce ambivalence (Griffiths, Poulter, & Sibley, 2000). The human-raccoon relationship, however, captures this ambivalence in a way not seen with other urban wildlife. Conflicted feelings about raccoons challenge the psychic boundaries of both human and animal domesticity in an urban context.

Battling the backyard companion

Anecdotal stories of pet raccoons abound in popular literature. Two American presidents kept pet raccoons in the White House (Holmgren, p. 76). The death of Bandit, Deborah Klitsch's obese pet raccoon, made international headlines in 2004: his owner waxed nostalgic about her "best friend," recounting stories of the immense raccoon feasting on birthday cakes and accompanying his caregiver on fast food forays. Klitsch said her pet "thought he was a dog" ("Best Friend," p. A40). The comparison between raccoons and dogs is not a new one; throughout the history of their association with humans, raccoons have flirted with a dog-like domesticity. The ready comparison between raccoons and dogs raises the question: what level of "wildness" do raccoons still occupy in the consciousness of urban dwellers?

Cultural geographer Jennifer Wolch points out that urban attitudes toward wild animals fall into two broad perceptions: they are, she says, either "pests," agents in the urban environment who exact social or economic costs, or they are objectified "pets," who provide companionship, aesthetic amenity to property owners, and recreational opportunities (Wolch, 1998, p. 128). My search of newspaper databases for raccoon articles suggests that public attitudes toward raccoons do not fit into this simple dichotomy. Although raccoons are consistently described as pests, they also provide the aesthetic and social pleasure. Interestingly, these contrasting traits are nearly always expressed in the same breath. Raccoons can be simultaneously "pesky" and "sweet" (Bosley, 2003, p. B02). One article calls them "interesting" and "wretched", and admits

to a "grudging admiration in the 'horror' stories about raccoons" (Diebel, 2005, A8). Though raccoons are praised most often for their intelligence and dexterity, this admiration is typically framed within the context of a disadvantage to humans (Diebel, 2005; Jackson 2005; Richler 2005; Cowan 2005; Bosely 2003). The articles allude to a human helplessness to raccoon's aesthetic appeal: the representations are rife with such conflicted statements as "they're cute, cuddly and they can kill" ("Killer Raccoons," 1994, p. D6), or one writer's contention that she "could go mad…with an insane, unnatural hatred for these adorable urban vermin" (Lypchuk, 2000, p. 8).

The articles surveyed not only echo a common list of raccoon traits, many of them employ the same tone, what might be called a "good-ole-boys-ahunting" vernacular. Two op-ed pieces referenced here epitomize this trend: Greg McGregor's "Raccoon Wars" (2005) and Joe Fiorito's "Raccoons Used to be Neat Hats." (2004). McGregor describes how a raccoon "waged a war" against his family that began with a battle over the garbage and culminated in the raccoon's "charge" at his curious toddler. The raccoon is named "Crystal Meth" for its "wild-eyed aggression." What ensues is a battle of wits, as the author repeatedly attempts to foil the raccoon's "savaging" of his property. He compares his initial kindnesses to "Grizzly Adams" and marvels at the new "coon 'tude."

McGregor makes frequent use of images of graphic violence to achieve what he believes is a comic effect. He wonders, for example, about what the impact might be on his children to witness him "bludgeon the raccoons to death with a kayak paddle" (McGregor, 2005, p. C11). Even when aggressive and self-aggrandizing, the tone remains colloquial. Fiorito (2004) makes explicit use of an urban-rural dichotomy. He opens with his experience of visiting what he deems a more "natural" setting, noting that raccoons are city, not country, animals and that they are "not afraid of you and me." He narrates his own experience with raccoons in a language laced with cryptic violence: describing the damage raccoons did to his property and his response to this damage, Fiorito comments that "the coons and I played

> Conflicted feelings about raccoons challenge the psychic boundaries of both human and animal domesticity in an urban context.

this game for a couple of days until I outsmarted them. Never mind how." He continues in this vein, going on to reminisce about the coonskin caps of his youth, and then proceeds to tell the story of his "country" friend, who trapped, killed, and consumed with libidinous gusto a raccoon that invaded the chicken coop and left his rooster "in a bloody heap." Fiorito notes that this is "what men do in the country." He implicitly contrasts the rugged country life, of which he approves, with the lost masculinity of traditional urban living. He alludes to this deeper underlying disconnect between humans and nature when he describes a raccoon struck with his car as "a kind of sadness in the darkness," and then "smooth driving again" (p. BO2).

Like the confusion over whether raccoons are pests or pets, the playfully aggressive tone in these articles draws upon a deep status ambiguity. The writers are attracted to the raccoons as though they were domestic, yet threatened by them as though they were wild. The comedic force in the "good-ole-boys-ahunting" pieces lies in the implication that wild animals in an urban environment cannot represent a real threat to humans, no matter how aggressively they are pursued-the hunt-like strategies of the protagonists are misplaced relics, mere shadows of an evolutionary heritage that has become useless in modern living. Imagine, for a moment, the same type of "war" played out between an urbanite and a different species of urban mammal. It seems unlikely that a hunting fantasy with a more archetypically wild animal, such as an urban coyote, would prove this funny, even though raccoons and coyotes share both the raccoon's trickster folklore and a phenotypic association with dogs. Nor would the aggressive "'tude" of a less threatening urban animal, such as a rabbit, carry the story line. In these representations, the raccoons are the real relic; intersections with human domesticity have turned a once wild creature into a thinly animalized other that has lost its ontological way.

The absolute polarization between domestication and wildnes ignores contextual subtleties

Through the eyes of the masked marvel

J. Desmond notes that the skins of taxidermied animals are often prepared in such a way as to "index the final moment of life, as the hunter saw his prey" (Desmond, 2002, p. 161). A stuffed animal, then, preserves not just an animal body, but also an encounter with the animal. The photographs of raccoons in the surveyed articles bear a strong relationship to taxidermical depiction. In almost all cases, the raccoons are locked in a head-on gaze with the camera/photographer/viewer (One article even features a drawing of a raccoon in the same position.). Many of the pictures show raccoons in cages, faces pressed to the cage and their paws grasping the bars. In

July, 2005, an article was featured on the front page of the Toronto Star, under the headline "Raccoons: They're here, they're staying, and they're bringing their brothers and sisters".(Diebel, 2005) Under the heading is a large colour photograph of a raccoon's face in extreme close-up, looking directly into the camera.

Presumably the Diebel photograph, as well as many of the other photographs in the articles surveyed, is a depiction of a wild animal. But is it? In his essay "Why Look at Animals?" art critic John Berger argues that photography depicts an invisible animal-something unseeable by the eye, an experience mediated through a technology that fosters the very alienation from animals that it documents. Paradoxically, the technology-mediated view deliberately obscures its intervention. As Brower (2005) notes, the true wildlife photograph "erases its taking," thereby leaving "no space within the image's economy for the viewer to occupy". The posed raccoon photograph accompanying the Diebel article, however, does the opposite: it emphasizes its taking by centering unabashedly on the gaze of the raccoon. The intensity of the gaze implies a receiver of the gaze and therefore also the interaction between the two. It is, if you like, a photo of raccoon and human together, with the human standing just outside the frame. They are mirroring each other.

Mirroring, however, is what domestic animals do. Berger points out that "animals are always the observed. The fact that they can observe us has lost all significance" (Berger, 1980, p. 14). But he allows one exception: domestic animal companions. Pets and their owners, he says, "mirror" and "complete" one another in an act that degrades the independence of both (Berger, 1980, p. 13). The raccoon in the Diebel article photograph, by mirroring the viewer in the picture, erases both the raccoon's implicit wildness as well as our own.

Still, thinking with nostalgia about the compromised wildness in the taxidermical photographs of raccoons in these articles has its limits. We nostalgically appropriate, as Berger (1980) notes, the inner lives of domestic animals. But the status of raccoons as wild beings in a domestic limbo is clearly not one of pure subordination. In The Companion Species Manifesto, Haraway points out the fallacy in looking at only biological evolution in animals and cultural evolution in humans. She points toward a co-evolved "natureculture." "Domestication," she notes, "is an emergent process of co-habitating" (Haraway, 2003, p. 30). One story in the surveyed articles highlights this evolution: a couple who were advised to "smoke out" raccoons that had made a den above their chimney damper. "We tried that," they protested, "but they came down the chimney, shut the damper and smoked us out" (Jackson, Aug 6, 2005, p.I2).

A liminal wildness: toward a new paradigm of human-animal

The absolute polarization between domestication and wildness ignores contextual subtleties; the partition between domesticated and wild animals shares many of the

problematic ambiguities that beset related divisions of "natural" and "non-natural," as well as "human" and "animal." Modern urban raccoons hold a unique place in this matrix, not ideally represented by a definitive designation of "tame" or "wild." As geographer Chris Philo (1998) notes, a continuum of animal inclusion and exclusion in urban spaces (where domestic pets would fall on one extreme and large wild predators on the other), handy as it may be, fails to capture the multidimensionality of animal-human experience (p. 66).

In the process of urbanization, humans exploit natural resources at the same time that raccoons exploit human resources. The resulting cultural and physical landscape bears the mark of them both. What emerges in these representations is a picture of raccoons and humans that lies somewhere between the domestic/wild dichotomy, a third kind of human-animal relationship in which the human is no longer just the hunter or the domesticator, and one in which the raccoon is neither an icon of wildness nor a servant of human conditioning. Instead, a changing cultural cartography opens a distinct space for a new urban animal to emerge. To appreciate the complexities of wildness in this analysis, we must think about the place where humans, raccoons and urban environments intersect, with each player in the interaction pursuing its own evolving domesticity in distinct ways.

A changing cultural cartography opens a distinct space for a new urban animal to emerge.

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The profession of urban and regional planning often understands itself as one of the crown disciplines, one that has higher societal aspirations, one that can solve the "big problems" of today's world through spatial and policy interventions. Its ideal is based on what are portrayed as good planning principles: the just and equal distribution of wealth, goods and services. The practice, however, is often far off from its ideal. What is to be blamed for this?

First, planning is never perfect, we don't have a crystal ball that can foretell the future and show us the specific effects of our actions and non-actions - we all know this situation very well

But what about those situations where the local institutional framework, as in the form of the Committee of Adjustment, has approved a development that does not reflect good planning principles in the opinion of a large number of people who are affected by it? The OMB then becomes the only remaining hopeful institutional option.

Such was the case for 66 Wheeler Avenue in Toronto's Beach neighborhood, a one hundred year old house that had grown from a typical cottage with an impressive wrap-around porch to a structure that at times accommodated up to three relatively affordable rental units. The developers who had bought it in

Equity and Justice in High Demand:
66 Wheeler at the OMB

Ute Lehrer

from our own everyday life experiences. Second, and more tangibly, planning practice works within a framework of institutions and conventions and it follows a set of norms, all of them not necessarily to the advantage of those with relatively little economic power and limited knowledge about the legal process of planning decisions. It puts any community-based initiative into its place. This is the case I discuss here, a case where neighbours took a developer to the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB), after the City of Toronto's Committee of Adjustment had favoured the plans of the developer over the position taken by the community.

Let me begin by saying that the OMB has recently received its fair share of media attention. The high profile case of the West Queen West Triangle, in which three developers independently, yet uni sono, proposed an intensification of former industrial land, squeezed between the railway lines and Queen Street in the ultra-hip area around the Drake and the Gladstone Hotel, brought the OMB and its role as well as its legitimacy on the front page of all major media outlets. In the end, the developers who had taken the case to the OMB, got permission to build not only up to 19 stories high but also to ignore any integration of the development into the surrounding neighbourhood. In the words of Ken Greenberg, an internationally respected urban designer and planner, the OMB decision came as a real shock: "What the OMB did was reject basically all the work the city had done, all the work the community had done, and approve a hodgepodge of buildings with virtually no public spaces, no relationship to each other, overshadowing Queen St., doing nothing to support or sustain that creative community" (Toronto Star, February 3, 2007). The outcry over the decision of the OMB was also at a political level, since the OMB, a provincial institution, overruled the position that the City took on the proposed development. In the words of Mayor David Miller: "If the OMB can overturn these kinds of decisions [the city policy to retain jobs and workplaces in the area] there's not much point in doing any planning" (Globe and Mail, 6 February 2007).

summer of 2006 proposed to demolish the house and replace it with two single detached family homes, a proposal that at first appears to be in accordance with intensification of urban areas. But the reality is different: as census data indicates for neighbourhoods such as the Beach, the increase of floor space does not guarantee an increase of population. In fact it supports a heightened form of gentrification since for a 700,000+ dollar house one needs to have a yearly income in the six digits. In addition, as one was able to witness in this particular neighborhood over the past ten years, houses that used to occupied by families with four and more members were bought by individuals and couples that didn't seem to have any expansion plans. And finally, the new single family homes take away much needed rental units in an already overpriced neighborhood. All good reasons, in my opinion, which need to be addressed within a larger societal context in order to guarantee good planning principles.

One of the crucial questions of planning that needs to be asked here is: What is worth more, the individual right of a landowner or the larger societal interest? As the planning system is set up within this society, private interests usually win. Being fully aware of this discrepancy between the ideals of planning and the reality of an economic system that favours private interests, yet at the same time seeing the negative effects of heightened gentrification in my own neighborhood, I was in favour of going to the OMB. As someone living within close proximity of the development , I was legally allowed to contest the case, and after neighbors had approached me, I also felt compelled to follow one of the core principles of a planner, namely to serve the public interest. I filed for a hearing with the OMB. The hearing took place for two long and strenuous days in mid March, with expert witnesses on both sides and a good number of participants expressing their objection to the proposal.

Any hearing at the OMB is about putting forward good arguments, but it is even more so about taking apart the opposition. In our case, we were not only exposed to this standard proce-

dure of discrediting witnesses, but we were also verbally and physically threatened during breaks when the Board was not watching. Since time ran short in the scheduled hearings, the lawyers were invited to hand in their submissions in writing. Rather than speculate about the outcome - the decision by the Board is pending - I want to provide a number of observations.

While proposed developments - in this case the demolition of one of the character homes of the neighborhood that also provided relatively affordable rental units - have an impact on the quotidian world, any lay person has next to no chance to fight successfully against such developments within the existing institutional framework. In order to win an OMB case, one needs a professional planner, an excellent lawyer and extremely good connections to all kinds of formal and informal sources of information. But as the high profile case of the West Queen West Triangle demonstrates, this alone does not guarantee a decision by the OMB that reflects good planning principles. In addition, as my experience with the 66 Wheeler case revealed, one also needs to accept being insulted, intimidated and even harassed by the opposing party. That is quite a bit to be asked from anybody, but particularly from someone, whose normal work life is not built around a career within the planning profession. As any community based initiative, we had to put in a lot of extra volunteer hours. But it was in particular the outstanding help of our "lawyer", who had just completed her studies at Osgoode Law School at York University, and who had spent about two months of her life for this case without being paid - without her we would not have been able to pull it off.

All to say that the institutional framework is set up in such a way that good planning principles are often forgotten lost within the legalistic realities of the world in which we live. Questions of equity, social justice and redistribution are continuously drawing the short stick. Only with a significant change of its institutions and conventions can the discipline of planning claim any rightful place among the professions with higher societal aspiration. Let's get busy transforming the institutional and conventional practices of planning in order to come closer to the core principle of planning in regards to equity and justice. Let's start now.

One of the crucial questions of planning that needs to be asked here is: What is worth more, the individual right of a landowner or the larger social interest?

Toronto's Culturally Driven Gentrification:
The Creative Class of West Queen West

During the late 1960's and early 1970's the North American economy began to see evidence that after decades of prosperity (during the post-war boom) the industrial economy was heading for a collapse (Harvey, 1989; Hannigan, 2004). When the war torn European nations were largely rebuilt and the massive move to the suburbs slowed down, the U.S. economy experienced what Harvey called the 'crisis of accumulation.' The economy was overproducing in the face of decreasing foreign and domestic demand, encountering stiffening international competition and coping with rising wages. These factors left profit margins squeezed and started the escalating process of deindustrialization. In an effort to cut costs many manufactures 'outsourced' and subcontracted production to smaller firms and to international locations such as Mexico, where there were relaxed labor regulations and abundant workforces prepared to work for low wages.

These trends have had a particularly devastating impact on industrial cities with large working-class populations. Within the working class, traditionally marginalized groups, including women, African Americans and Latinos were significantly hit. The economic downturn caused by unemployment was exacerbated by the energy crisis and OPEC induced oil shocks of 1973 and 1979 which created staggering inflationary pressure. The combination of high unemployment and high levels of inflation represented a new problem in the form of 'stagflation' and it became evident that traditional Keynesian fiscal policies and government spending were not the answer.

To combat this period of 'stagflation,' Western leaders adopted neoliberal policies which rescaled the Keynesian welfare state, replaced fiscal policy and protected domestic markets with monetary policy, privatization and international competition. With regard to the provision of social welfare, the state 'rolled-back' social services, while encouraging individuals to be competitive and entrepreneurial, 'rolled-out' interventionist state building reforms that endeavored to remake cities and individuals in the neoliberal mold, while 'cleansing' the urban landscape and citizenry to facilitate capital accumulation (Peck and Tickell 2002). During the roll-back phase, subsidies and funding for cities were drastically cut while more responsibilities were 'downloaded' from higher levels of government. This left many cities with more responsibilities and fewer resources; the result was a general decay in many North American cities. In Toronto's case, 'the city that worked' (Donald, 2002) experienced an economic downturn and suffered increasing social disparity in the face of substantial cutbacks to social services. Cities and small towns were told to 'compete or die' and this left urban managers scrambling for solutions to their problems.

Brian Hracs

Enter Richard Florida and his best selling book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002). Although the role of culture as an agent of economic development has been theorized for some time (Zukin, 1989, 1895; Scott, 2000; Evans, 2001), and cities have been adopting culturally driven strategies for economic development and urban renewal (Harvey, 1989; Short, 1999; Eisinger, 2000) for the past twenty years, Florida's creative class thesis seemed to strike a chord with city planners and politicians who eagerly implemented his strategies without proof of their success. Florida (2002) asserts that the modern economy is not driven by firms or natural resources but talented individuals, creativity and innovation. Accordingly, Florida encourages cities to cater to members of the 'creative class' - who possess high levels of human capital - by offering the diverse range of cultural and entertainment experiences which attract them. In Toronto we can see the evidence of such strategies in the Culture Plan for the Creative City (2003) and Mayor Miller's 'Year of Creativity' initiative (2006). Unfortunately, as Peck (2005) and others have pointed out, Florida's strategies have not proven effective. Moreover, as the creative class is smaller than the working and service classes it subjugates, the 'creative have-nots' deserve policies which benefit them directly, and not just in the form of a creative, elite 'trickle down'.

In the race to lure members of the creative class, tourists and suburbanites back to the downtown, branding, place-marketing and gentrification are being promoted by urban managers as agents of urban renewal. Examining the 'geography of gentrification,' Lees (2000) explains that such strategies, like those associated with neoliberal policies, can play out differently across space. Gentrification has been described in the literature as both emancipatory and as a process that leads to class-conflict and marginalization. Caulfield points to Toronto's inner city as an emancipatory and inclusive space to which gentrifiers relocated in order to resist the "dominant ideals of suburbia" (1989, 624), seeking to co-exist harmoniously with the local residents rather than displacing them. By contrast, critical scholars contend that the continuance of gentrification has led to more conflict (over social exclusion) "between the working-class population and the 'Starbucks Coffee Crowd' in cities (Lees, 2000, 390). Specifically, Neil Smith's 'revanchist' city thesis (1996) holds up gentrification as a kind of spatialized revenge against the poor and minorities who 'stole' the inner city from the respectable classes. As Lees eloquently describes, in Smith's view the inner city is not an emancipatory space but

rather a "combat zone in which capital embodied by middle-class gentrifiers, battles it out, block by block, house by house, to retake the city" (Lees, 2000, 399).

By 1922 Parkdale, which encompasses WQW, housed many of Toronto's elite population, but in the 1950's plans for 'slum clearance' and the construction of the Gardiner Expressway, which cut the area off from the waterfront completely, triggered a mass exodus to other neighborhoods and the expanding suburbs (Kipfer and Keil, 2002; Slater, 2004). An accumulation of vacant properties and economic decline followed and in the early 1980's the situation was exacerbated by the Ontario government's decision to 'roll-back' a vital welfare state function and deinstitutionalize the provision of psychiatric health care in favor of community-based care. Thousands of patients were discharged from the Queen Street Centre for Addiction and Mental Health and by 1981 it was estimated that over 1,000 patients had settled in Parkdale (Slater, 2004). The transition to community care, however, was problematic as the thirty nine under-funded local group homes could not effectively cope with the growing number of discharged patients who had been downloaded onto them. This state action, therefore, further re-shaped Parkdale, which became a 'service-dependant ghetto,' and a neighborhood rife with poverty, drugs, and prostitution (Slater, 2004, 310).

Despite Parkdale's perceived 'edginess' several factors made the area attractive to gentrifiers in the 1990's, including its close proximity to Toronto's commercial downtown and stock of affordable and distinctive Victorian housing. The area had also emerged as a pseudo-bohemian village: a hot spot for artists who arrived in search of inexpensive places to live and work:

> Toronto artists took it over, converting warehouses into studios, and the artists' urban cool, in turn, lured developers and buyers into the area. Now the developers are transforming the derelict factories and warehouses of Parkdale's industrial hump just east of Dufferin St. into a bohemian wonderland (Evans, 2005).

At the centre of this 'bohemian wonderland' is the recently renovated Drake Hotel, which is located at 1150 Queen St. West. During Parkdale's 'hard times' in the 1980's the Drake Hotel was a dilapidated 'flop-house' serving the local population, but that changed in 2001 when Jeff Stober, a 44 year old retired 'dot-com' executive sold his business and spent over $6 million to renovate the Drake. Since then, the Drake has become the symbolic figurehead of the transformation in WQW and has received a frenzy of media attention as well as harsh criticism from local critics of gentrification.

It is clear that the WQW strip is being transformed by the presence of 'big money' renovation projects like the Drake, the influx of artists and increasingly, the capital embodied by the creative class. Rundown hotels and shops, which have traditionally served the area's poor and marginalized groups, for example, are being replaced by Zukin's incarnation of 'Loft Living', in the form of lofts, condos, upscale art galleries, knitting café's and organic food markets, which cater exclusively to the creative class gentrifiers. While the creation of a 'bohemian wonderland' and tourist village benefits real estate developers, popular artists, owners of the trendy boutiques and the area's tax base, there have been negative ramifications for the neighborhoods disadvantaged groups. Studies on the area, suggest that the incoming 'creatives' and urban professionals are not seeking to co-exist harmoniously with the established community, but rather, seek to cleanse the socio-economic demography.

> It does become rather tiring living here sometimes, when you constantly live near drug dealers, hookers, and these real low-life, pathetic creatures. We joined a Residents Association, which made a real effort to get the message across that we needed to get rid of these people to stop the neighborhood becoming like the South Bronx (Parkdale resident, quoted in Slater, 2004, 321).

> There is an ever-present population of vagrants and drunks, and lots of people who seem to have checked out of the mental hospital too early….and God help you if you live next door to a rooming house. The sooner they get sold and renovated, the better… (Parkdale resident, quoted in Slater, 2004, 321).

There is also evidence that the skyrocketing rents and property taxes have caused displacement, poverty and homelessness for Parkdale's long time residents and immigrant groups who, according to the 2001 census, are among the poorest in Toronto with a median household income of $34,491, well below the census metropolitan area's average of $59,502. As one Parkdale resident describes the change:

> I got kicked out of my house [in 1999]. I couldn't afford the rent anymore as it kept going up and up as all these young folks started moving into the neighborhood. My rent was the same for 15 years (Parkdale resident, quoted in Slater, 2004, 319).

The 2001 census also reveals that the Portuguese population, which constitutes the area's largest immigrant group, is in danger of being displaced and further marginalized since 'Little Portugal' is the site of WQW's three largest condo developments. These condo developments are also contributing to broader class-based social exclusion. Consider, for example the yet-to-be built 18 story Bohemian Embassy condo development at 1171 Queen Street West which, according to its website, will be so stylish and cool that it promises to redefine the way this city's hipsters live. If

the condo's price range (from $186,000 to $418,000) does not discourage the community's poor residents from booking an appointment, the Embassy has deployed bouncers to keep out the undesirables. Ironically, as the yoga clubs, upscale cafés and trendy restaurants take over, the local residents who give the neighborhood its diversity, eccentric edge and attractiveness, are being evicted and priced out. It is clear, therefore, that the results of this transformation include an increase in land prices, social exclusion and the decreased functionality of the area for the increasingly marginalized poor and working-class residents.

As the recent developments in WQW are not socially inclusive, several forms of organized resistance have emerged. Active18, for example, is a group of residents and business owners committed to ensuring that further development in the area reflects the needs of the entire community. Active18 has mobilized to stop a development plan, which would introduce several high-rise buildings and threatens to tear down an historically significant building where over 80 artists live and work (www.active18.org). While Active18 is an organization that works through formal channels, such as the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB), to halt disruptive developments, there have also been informal displays of resistance levied against the symbols of the middle-class incursion. In December of 2005, the impending completion of Parkdale's third Starbucks triggered a response from residents who spray-painted a message of resistance on the side of the soon-to-be coffee shop: "Drake you ho this is all your fault."

It is clear that in this case, the creative class, through its collective consumption, is driving the process of gentrification in WQW. Jeff Stober, the owner of the Drake, is a quintessential 'creative' who cast aside his corporate ambitions to fulfill his creative dreams. Furthermore, given the new residents' desires to price-out and remove the established community by exacerbating social disparities and the pre-existing class-based cleavages, it can be concluded that the transformation is anything but emancipatory. While the actions of the state, in this case study, are more moderate than those described by Smith in his revanchist thesis (specifically, the ruthless use of police power against the city's marginalized groups), an alarming pattern emerges. Clearly, Toronto's urban managers have adopted Florida's creative class argument and the rhetoric of competing for talent, and in so doing, the city has forsaken the majority of its citizens to cater to the creative class. Toronto is spending its scarce resources on an educated and more financially secure group, which constitutes less than one third of the population in favor of the marginalized majority. This form of 'municipally managed' gentrification, therefore, is not an organic process which leaves the state without responsibility. While Toronto has, to this point, avoided the full-scale class warfare which has plagued many American cities, the continuance of a 'creative trickle down' strategy (Peck, 2005) can only lead in one direction. To quote Evans (2005): "When you stop to smell the espresso, it's clear there's no turning back."

The impending completion of Parkdale's third Starbucks triggered a response from residents who spray-painted a message of resistance on the side of the soon-to-be coffee shop: "Drake you ho this is all your fault."

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Review:

From the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, to Mumbai's chawls, to the garbage slum of Manila's Smoky Mountain and across to the slums of Los Angeles, Mike Davis' *Planet of Slums* is a whirlwind tour of the unseen Third World. As is the case with most people after such a continent-hopping trip, one is left overstimulated, weary, and reeling from what one has seen. Davis' latest book is an intriguing albeit relentless look at the global phenomenon of slums, the history of its creation and subsequent perpetuation, as well as the people who have grappled with the politics of slum life for generations. Flying in the face of Western visions of an urban future wrought of steel and glass, Davis makes it undeniably clear that, "[i]nstead of cities of light soaring toward heaven, much of the twenty-first-century urban world sits in squalor, surrounded by pollution, excrement and decay." (Davis 2006). The ominous title sets the tone for this book, and Davis manages to illuminate the shadowy political and social processes that shape slum life without losing readers in angry diatribes, over-specialized analysis or the activation of guilt, tactics that have come to be characteristics of the genre.

It is right in the midst of the unattractive, harsh, and complex environment of a slum that Davis brings the reader, and wasting no time on formalities, gets into the thick of statistics and facts. Starting with a historical survey of key events that instigated rural-urban migration in various parts of Asia and South America, Davis underscores that "'overurbanization' … is driven by the reproduction of poverty, not by the supply of jobs. This is one of the unexpected tracks down which a neoliberal world order is shunting the future." (Davis 16). The separation of industrialization and urbanization does not stem the constant flow of migrants, despite fewer jobs and plummeting wages. Sidewalks, self-built shanties, and pirate subdivisions constitute an illegal and informal land market, and thus the diffuse urbanism of the slum becomes the only way for the poor and marginalized to claim their piece of something they were told was worth having.

Planet of Slums implicates the IMF and the World Bank, in addition to the corrupt governments of most Third World countries, for the acceptance of slums as a valid form of housing and criminalizing of its inhabitants. Issues of urban citizenship, economic and political exclusionary practices and the lingering effects of colonialism all come into play. Repeatedly, Davis provides examples of the lip service paid to the poor by their own governments and the disastrous attempts at mass public housing developments. Most haunting are his descriptions of the sanitary conditions of slums, the poisonous and volatile natural environments in which the urban poor are forced to live, and the vicious cruelty with which officials erase these 'blights' on the 'city beautiful'.

With such a heavy and loaded subject, this book could easily have become a longer version of a Worldvision or Unicef campaign, painting the Third World as a victimized and passive Other, in need of all sorts of intervention from North America. To Davis' credit, what really grounds Planet of Slums and steers it clear of that route, is that it shows that the Western world is not immune to the consequences of chronic urban poverty. Slum prevalence is not unique to the Third World; as the population of cities everywhere grow at their current exponential rates, the difference between the upper and lower classes will continue to widen and brings with it its own social problems. Affordable housing, for example, will always be a contentious subject in world cities. A walk through downtown Toronto makes explicit the push for not only the densification of the core, but also the attraction of a certain demographic of inhabitants. Torontonians who cannot afford the thousands of luxury condominiums and townhouses cropping up like mushrooms all over the city have to move further away from the centre, and seek lower rents in the periphery. Still, options are limited, as the quantity and quality of these units are far fewer than the number of people who need it. It is an interesting, admittedly less extreme, parallel to Cairo, the majority of whose apartments lie vacant while their owners work in the Gulf (Davis 86).

Davis also provides a fascinating glimpse into what is happening on the other side of town. Those with means cannot seem to wait to move away from the affront of poverty and shanties to gated communities on the periphery. Often named and designed to replicate an actual place in the West, these "off-worlds", to use Davis' term, include "Orange County" in Beijing, "Palm Springs" in Hong Kong, Palo Alto and Sunnyvale lifestyles in Bangalore and "Dreamland" in Cairo. This bizarre desire for life in a completely fabricated environment, secluded and insulated from the realities of the region and country brings a new and sinister dimension to the urban experience. Quoting colleague Jeremy Seabrook, Davis writes, "… the Third World urban bourgeoisie "cease to be citizens of their own country and become nomads belonging to, and owing allegiance to, a superterrestrial topography of money; they become patriots of wealth, nationalists of an exclusive and golden nowhere." (Davis 120) Following the dangerous 'out of sight, out of mind' logic, this multidimensional separation of realities reinforce policies that benefit the upper class, while leaving scores of people unrepresented, unaccounted for, and ultimately a distant nuisance to be eliminated.

So much information is packed in *Planet of Slums* that one gets the impression that Davis could have gone on much longer. Thankfully, he packs quite a punch in less than 300 pages, and keeps a steady momentum throughout the book. The many tables, charts and statistics that are generously sprinkled throughout may be seen as too much, an overload of tidbits, but they do highlight the urgency of the content. It feels like one has returned from a vacation gone wrong - the sights seen and culture absorbed were not of conventional landmarks and monuments travel bureaus might promote, but of the hidden, denied and yet just as astonishing world of slums.

contributers

Momoko Allard is currently completing her thesis work in the Master of Fine Arts/Studio Arts program at Concordia University in Montreal, Quebec. In 2003, she completed a bachelor's degree in economics and political science at the University of British Columbia. Her research interests center around the intersection of economics and aesthetic theory, particularly within the context of urban culture.

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By day **Liz Forsberg** is ever-so-close to finishing an MES in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University looking at the intersection of community arts practices, public space and environmental education. Her research has led her to work on carnivalesque creek interventions with the Toronto Public Space Committee and urban forest interventions with Local Enhancement and Appreciation of Forests.

Lucy Howe is interested in subverting the everyday and exploring the physical and metaphorical structures of common spaces, objects and activities. Her interventions, installations and objects produce spaces where unconventional things are able to manifest, moments that cannot be explained away, and experiences that vibrate between those that are objectively real and those that break all notions of logic. Lucy has a BFA from the Nova Scotia College of Art & Design and has recently completed her MFA at York University.

Brian Hracs is currently a PhD Candidate in the Department of Geography at the University of Toronto. His dissertation research explores the geographies of employment risk for musicians in Toronto and seeks to assesses the ways in which neighbored spaces and social networks help to mediate these risks.

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Linh Ly was born in Saigon, Viet Nam; she immigrated with her family to Canada when she was four years old. She graduated from the University of Calgary with a BFA in Drawing and Photography in 1998. Her complete portfolio and some of her indiscriminate & embarrassing mumblings are posted on her site: www.thehomeopage.com/linhly She is the proud mother of a hysterically happy baby girl named Olivia.

Edie Steiner is a PhD student in Environmental Studies at York University and has had a long career as an arts professional. She is active in various cultural communities and as a teacher of arts-based cultural production. Her photography has been exhibited in many private and public galleries and her films have won international awards. Her most recent film, Northland, will be completed in 2007.

Scott Rogers worked directly with the writer and historian Carol Williams to develop a number of projects which re-examined the history and culture of the pass including a collaborative book project which will be published in 2007. The Imaginary Colliery Project was developed from a collaborative residency in the Crowsnest Pass during August 2006.

Jocelyn Thorpe is a PhD student in Environmental Studies at York University. She wrote this piece for a creative writing course offered in Environmental Studies.

UnderCurrents
journal of critical environmental studies

The UnderCurrents editorial collective invites visual and text-based contributions for our upcoming issue entitled "Animal" The collective is seeking written and artistic work that critically explores the wide variety of practices and theories shaping, maintaining and reconstructing the meaning, value and logic of our relationship with the non-human world. This means not only the "wild" world, which already holds great normative sway within environmental theory, but the "domestic" world as well, where philosophy, ethics and environmentalism have been hesitant to tread. We are looking for work that challenges the assumptions of animal industries and society at large, which view animals as commodities, objects of conservation, or mere playthings.

Volume 17: Animal
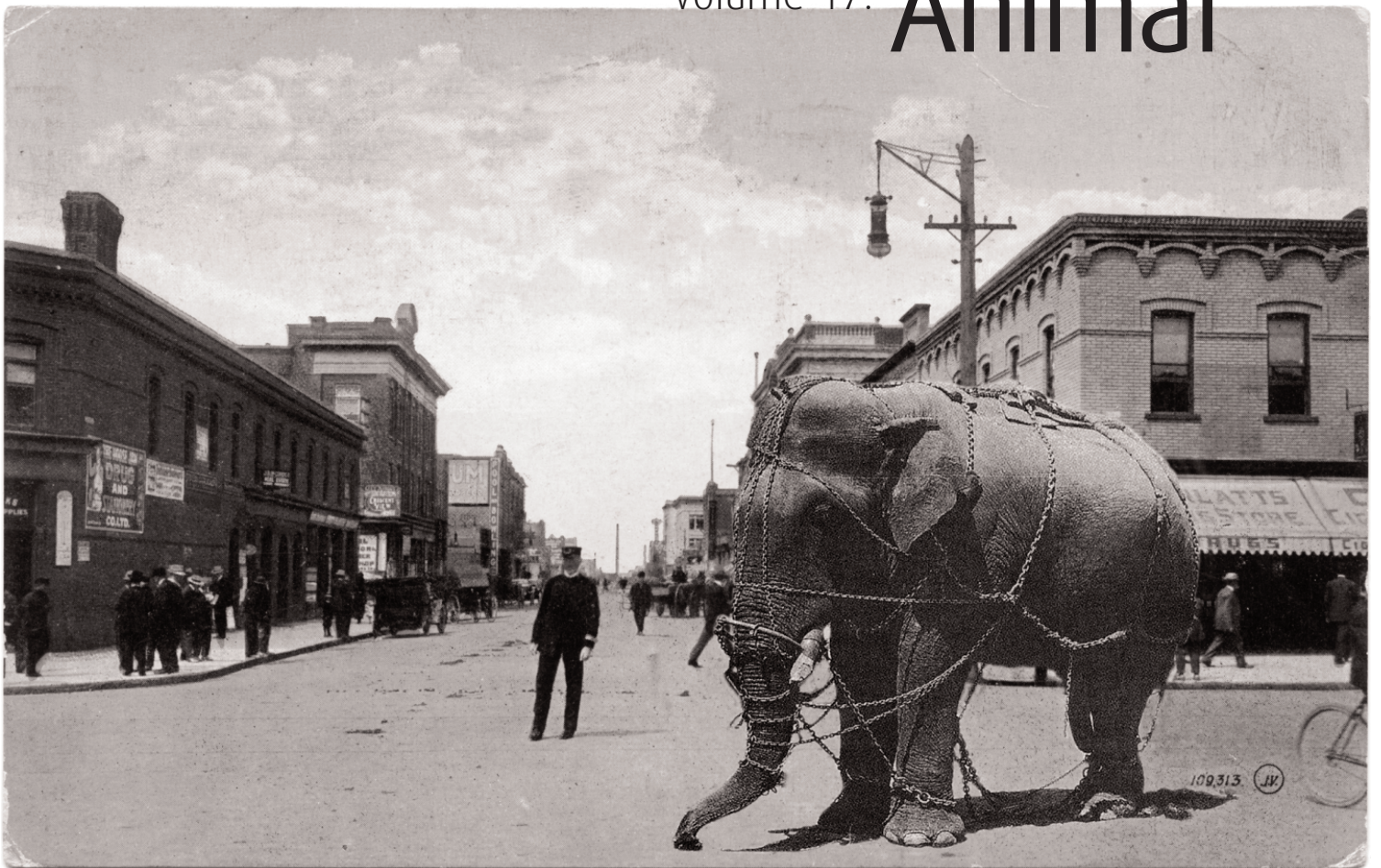
Elephant and river street, photomontage by Sue Lloyd

Possible Topics include but are not limited to:

Problematizing "domesticity" and "wildness" as discreet categories.
Animal Ethics and Politics
The social construction of "animality"
Race and animals
International perspectives on the animal movements

Boundaries - blurring the line between human / non-human
Animal liberation
Animal activism post 9/11
"Welfare" vs. "Rights"
Class and animals / capitalism and animals

anywhere.

everywhere.