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Editor's Note

Knut Tjensvoll Kitching and Caitlin Sinclair

Welcome to the fifth annual *Trail Six: Undergraduate Journal of Geography*! This represents another impressive effort on the part of a dedicated crew of students, faculty, and staff from the UBC Geography Department who have laboured to bring together a selection of the finest geography scholarship produced by undergraduates in the past year. The strength of these papers is a testament to the commitment of the Department to contribute to critical geography scholarship with a global perspective.

The past year has been a dynamic one: the world bore witness to a number of major oil spills, a tsunami in Japan, flooding in Pakistan and major earthquakes in China, Chile and Haiti. At the same time, social revolutions in Africa have shaken political, economic, and social institutions within the continent, and across the world. In this atmosphere of ecological collapse and social reformation, the authors of *Trail Six* take us on a journey from the dampness of a West Coast rainforest to ancient Imperial Rome. They ask that we explore these geographies critically and demand that we open our minds to the new visions and imaginations that will be central to considering the futures of our communities.

We have organized papers around three themes that encapsulate the issues at the core of our contributors' offerings. We invite you to read, consider, and of course, enjoy these papers as examples of fine scholarship. However, as geographers with a strongly critical bent, we ask that you do more, that you challenge assumptions and prejudices upheld in your own work. Go forth and re-imagine, rethink and rediscover!

Knut Tjensvoll Kitching and Caitlin Sinclair
Editors-in-Chief,
Trail Six, April 2011

Energy, Equity, and Social Struggle in the Transition to a Post-Petrol World

George Rahi

Abstract: *Notions such as sustainability, green growth, and the post-carbon city have become increasingly popular ways of envisioning solutions to climate change and fossil fuel dependency. These multi-scalar reevaluations and critiques of industrial society's relationship to energy have produced important insights into the un-sustainability of current politico-economic relations. However, these ideas, such as sustainability, remain contested with multiple and competing claims as to what processes will produce a sustainable future. This paper surveys some of the key tensions between various critiques of the energy/society relationship, and highlights the importance of equity, labour and livelihood in relation to discussions of an alternative energy future. Furthermore, this paper explores whether a shift to 'alternative' energy requires an accompanying new mode of production and social relationship to capitalism.*

The relationships between energy and society are multifaceted and highly complex. Energy issues –be they intra/international conflicts, peak oil, or the viability of renewable energy– are central not only to geopolitics of empire and climate change, but also to the most banal reproduction of everyday life. International awareness of the challenges faced by climate change and fossil-fuel dependency has given impetus to a widespread reevaluation and critique of industrial society's relationship to energy. This paper surveys some of the key tensions between various critiques of the energy/society relationship, and highlights the importance of equity, labour, and livelihood in relation to discussions of

energy futures. Furthermore, this paper explores whether a shift to 'alternative' energy requires an accompanying new mode of production and social relationship to capitalism.

I would like to begin by echoing David Harvey's insight that every ecological project is a social project, and every social project is ecological (*Spaces of Hope* 235). Harvey views society and their environment(s) as mutually constitutive, continually in flux, and rarely stable. Out of this daily churning up of nature and culture comes the production of various socio-economic forms, such as the city, and processes like industrialization and urbanization. Such a dialectic-materialist viewpoint would enable us to see the world's ubiquitous city skylines as "technologically, economically, and philosophically the 'inverted mines' of the city's massive hinterland" (Bridge 45). Thus, the incredible pace of urbanization in recent years has been in tandem with increased strains on the allocation of resources such as oil, water, food, and other raw materials. To address the challenges faced by biophysical and social limits to growth of this kind, the concept of "sustainability" has gained increasing prevalence in urban planning, local community development initiatives, and at global climate summits. Efforts to overcome the metabolic rift between urban populations and their demands on external resources have propelled policy discussions and material practices into the task of capitalizing on the environmental efficiency gains inherent to compact cities. Examples include investment in local renewable energy production, urban agriculture, smart-energy grids, and public transit.

Sustainability: Semantics Struggles

With the challenges of climate change and declining oil supplies in mind, the notion of the post-carbon city has become a widely discussed topic. One thing is clear, there is no single transition process waiting to unfold. As James O'Connor notes, "there is a worldwide struggle to determine how sustainable development will be defined and used in the discourse on the wealth of nations" (238). Because this struggle is over the much larger idea of an appropriate or ideal relationship between humanity and nature, different moral, political, and economic perspectives greatly influence one's definition of sustainability. The influential Brundtland Report of 1987 defines sustainable development as development

that “meets the needs of current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development 23). What remains vague and elusive is that which constitutes “needs”, as it is a concept culturally constituted and increasingly blurred with the realm of desire(s) manufactured by marketing and advertising. The ambiguity, flexibility, and adaptability of the term ‘sustainability’ have made it highly attractive to various businesses and institutions. Some argue that ‘sustainability’ has been co-opted by both corporations and governments as they practice “cosmetic environmentalism” (Robinson 374) while others worry that the attractiveness of sustainability as a slogan falsely suggests the possibility of a “conflict-free consensus on policies” that encourages the “sustaining of the unjust status quo” (Marcuse 104).

In light of the politics of climate-change, the semantic content of “sustainability” has arguably been rendered to the status of a slogan, which rationalizes the continuation of the infinite growth paradigm of global capitalism. The dominant discourse on the appropriate climate-change mitigation process has been aptly described by Matthew Paterson as “global governance for sustainable capitalism” in its insistence on technological innovation fostered first and foremost by the private sector in a competitive global economic marketplace (110). Reductions in GHG emissions in the post-Kyoto settlement have been narrowly confined by the mechanisms of market environmentalism, which “assumes that the best way to protect the environment is to price nature’s services, assign property rights, and trade those services within a global market” (Bumpus and Liverpool 132). Advocates of market environmentalism argue that commercialization, marketization, and privatization would lead to more rational and efficient resource management. These assumptions are tied to the *ecological modernization* discourse, whereby environmental and development policies are “premised on the notion that economic growth and environmental deterioration can be decoupled by pursuing greener growth rather than by slowing growth” (Eckersley 72). Green growth in this instance refers to economic growth that, as a result of technological innovation, is less energetically and materially intensive and requires less waste per unit of GDP (ibid 73). This concept of greener growth has proved fertile ground for the restless entrepreneur, as a multitude of tech-fixes and geo-

engineering schemes have been proposed as feasible solutions to the twin challenges of climate change and oil-dependency.

Counter-Narratives: Questioning Growth

Other perspectives have sought to destabilize the prevailing discussion on 'green growth', 'sustainable capitalism', and 'market environmentalism' by locating the problems of climate change and environmental destruction as part and parcel of the structure of global capitalism. James O'Connor posits that there are internal contradictions of capitalism that drive it to crisis and environmental destruction. The first contradiction, called the 'demand crisis' or 'overproduction crisis', is the practice of increasing labour productivity and putting downward pressure on wages in order to defend profits, which has the side-effect of reducing final demand (O'Connor 240). The second contradiction is capitalism's externalization of the costs of social and environmental degradation; "neglecting work conditions raises the health bill, degrading soils decreases the productivity of land, neglecting decaying urban infrastructures increases congestion and policing costs" (ibid 240). 'Sustainability' for green-minded entrepreneurs becomes a design problem where nature is remade in ways compatible with sustainable profitability; "enter a world in which capital does not merely appropriate nature, then turn it into commodities that function as elements of constant and variable capital, but rather a world in which capital remakes nature and its products biologically and physically (and politically and ideologically) in its own image" (ibid 238). O'Connor references genetically modified crops and monoculture forests as the most obvious examples of the capitalist remaking of nature. Such strategies are not about the preservation of nature, but rather, strive to preserve a particular mode of production and social order.

Advocates of a 'steady-state economy' build on this critique of capitalism's internal contradictions and expansionary drive. Rather than propose industrial methods to remake nature in the image of capital, reformists like Herman Daly, Tim Jackson, and Peter Victor propose policies to remake capital in ways consistent with the sustainability of nature. Contrary to the Brundtland Report's call for a five-to-ten-fold increase in global economic

product for 'sustainable development' to be achieved (Robinson 373), advocates of a steady-state economy challenge the very premise of continued economic growth (Daly 3). As Harvey argues, "scapegoating natural limits rather than the internal contradictions of capitalism is a well-tried tactic ... the rhetoric of growth that respects natural limits diverts attention from entrenched class and imperialist privilege in its hesitancy to raise living standards worldwide" ("Justice" 381). The rhetoric of sustainable growth thus avoids the taboo for mainstream economists and politicians, that "without growth, the only way to cure poverty is by sharing" (Daly 3).

Although the Brundtland Report recognizes that environmental and development issues are tightly intertwined, that "ecological sustainability cannot be achieved if the problem of poverty is not successfully addressed around the world" (Robinson 372), can poverty reduction be left to the development (growth) of world industrial activity? The Center for a Steady State Economy estimates that under existing politico-economic conditions, a \$1 reduction in poverty requires a \$166 increase in global production and consumption (O'Neil et al. 30). Accordingly, extremes of privilege are thus conveniently maintained within the ecological modernization rubric through the unspoken assumption that "a rising tide lifts all boats." Perhaps it is impossible to meet environmental targets if 90 percent of the world's population has access to only 10 percent of its resources, for the conditions of poverty and resource scarcity place strains on natural and social environment(s) to the point of deforestation, erosion, mass migration, and even war (Whitelegg 102). Without discussion and action regarding the deep structural issues having to do with power, control, and unequal access to resources, the concept of 'sustainable development' discards its most transformative potentials.

Between the competing concepts of 'sustainable capitalism', steady-state economics and other alternatives lay differences in how the problem, and thus the solution, is socially produced. As Harvey notes, "how we construct the problem discursively also has its crucial moment in the sun as constituting the imaginative moment through which alternative visions can be constructed" (*Spaces of Hope* 218). Will technological innovations and more "sustainable" forms of growth be privileged as the solution? Or is there a need for a wider social transformation of capitalist relations with equity concerns at the forefront? For

example, responses from geographers, urban planners, architects, and policy makers to Hurricane Katrina's devastation of New Orleans reveal multiple tensions in the context of this debate. One response from Joan Busquets, architect and expert in urban development, situates the origins of the disaster in an "exorbitant faith in the power of modern hydrological infrastructure to keep at bay the implacable givens of a deltaic landscape" (Payne 78). Busquets called for a regional sustainability plan to intervene in the mismatch between the ecological surroundings and the technological infrastructure. This insistence on sustainability as a technical issue, argues Andrew Payne, neglects the "complex interlacing of natural and cultural history that the Katrina event implies, with the result that any architectural response to the racialized diaspora that has occurred in the aftermath of that event is effectively effaced" (ibid 78). Furthermore, Payne argues that the "priority of the natural system over its social and political correlates can have the effect of precipitously foreclosing the question of how these various regimes interact with one another" (ibid 78). If we are to abstain from privileging certain perspectives, I find it apt to echo John Robinsons' statement that "sustainability is itself the emergent property of a conversation about what kind of world we collectively want to live in now and in the future" (382). With this recognition that 'sustainability' is more a political act than a scientific concept, I would like to turn towards the issue of energy.

Energy, Labour, and Social Movements

In light of the debates surrounding sustainability, the energy question looms large. Given global capitalism's overwhelming reliance on cheap fossil fuels, it is clear that the use of this finite energy resource will soon be transformed at a far-reaching scale. But rather than conceptualize this transition as technological, whereby renewable energy replaces fossil fuels in the engines of global capitalist growth, I would like to emphasize the importance of understanding social relationships to energy. This perspective builds on the insights of Jean Robert, who argues that the discourse of 'energy' too heavily relies on the ideology of efficiency, which purports 'energy' to be a natural and universal metric of "nature's ability to do work" (138). Discourse in this sense is the "moment of communicative persuasion of [a] discussion between persons regarding certain lines of

action and belief which internalizes itself as a form of power ... a mode of social relating, a material practice" (Harvey "Justice" 83). Discursively, Robert states that the popular usage of the term 'energy' "functions as a fog that blurs the distinction between nature and machines, living organisms and persons, mechanical work and human action while feeding fantasies that organize society and reshape individuals into efficient and productive processes" (Roberts 138). While a new class of workers seek to optimize the 'energy efficiency' of the current mode of production, Roberts views our current energy policies as "blind to the truth that neither cars nor cities can act politically" (138).

To arrive at a more useful (political) category, it may be necessary to conceive of 'energy' not as an entity or resource unto itself, but as a "social relation enmeshed in dense networks of power and socio-ecological change" (Huber 106). Within these networks, 'energy' occupies incalculable and often contradictory functions that exist simultaneously. In the context of the global marketplace, energy is a highly profitable commodity and essential raw material in producing and circulating goods. In the daily social reproduction of life, energy is vital for subsistence (Abramsky 10). It is worth elaborating on the tensions between these two particular functions of 'energy' in an historical perspective.

Fossil fuels have played a critical role in the spread of capitalist social relations in history since the Industrial Revolution. Fossil fuels, particularly oil, are an extremely concentrated and a geographically mobile source of energy. These flexible properties forever changed capitalism's productive forces, and its means of circulating commodities. Huber notes that prior to the industrial revolution, roughly 85 percent of all mechanical energy came from animal and human muscle power, the rest coming from wind and water (107). The industrial revolution freed production from numerous physical (land/bodies) and temporal constraints. The intensity with which fossil fuels could be used did not change through the progression of the day, or the passing of the seasons. Steamboats, railcars and later, automobiles circumvented the barriers to markets that long-distance travel represented, thereby increasing the sphere of commodity relations to a world scale.

For the first time ever, the core energetic base of the production process was no longer human power, but rather an inanimate resource Gavin Bridge termed "geological

subsidies to the present day, a transfer of geological space and time that has underpinned the compression of time and space in modernity” (48). Most importantly for this discussion, the social relationship to capitalism was transformed, as workers became more and more like a “living appendage of the machine” (Huber 109). The ‘machine’ adds a new vulnerability to the worker. To defend profits, capitalists generally employ the tactics of “increasing labor productivity, speeding up work, cutting wages, and turning to other time-honored ways of getting more production from fewer workers” (O’Conner 240). As energy-intensive machines increasingly began to substitute and enhance human labour, tendencies towards working-class self-organization and resistance were disarmed. Huber states, “the whole notion of workers divorced from the means of production began to make social sense only in the context where the worker is no longer a prime physical force of production” (109). Furthermore, the cheap consumer goods enabled by cheap oil prices and mechanized labor lowered the costs of reproducing the workforce, thereby buffering demands for increased wages. Thus, inexpensive energy, along with the expansion of the credit market, continues to maintain social peace in countries like the United States, where the minimum wage has not risen in inflation-adjusted dollars since 1974 (Knox and McCarthy 330).

With these social relations in mind, a shift to alternative energy has widespread implications for global class struggle. Looking at the history of past energy shifts, it is clear that social movements have been highly influential in affecting energy policies. Bruce Pobobnik argues that labour militancy in coalmines from the 1880s onwards accelerated the transition to emerging oil industries as the security of access to coal was continually disrupted (74). During the 1960s and early 1970s, strikes by oil workers, nationalization of oil reserves abroad, and the geopolitical instability of the 1973 oil embargo led the United States to drastically increase funding for renewables and initiated many command and control regulations (ibid 75). More recently, Harvey argues that the British Government’s success in meeting emission reduction targets set at the 1994 Rio Conference in the run-up to Kyoto was indebted to the “Conservative Party’s determination to crush the power of labor anchored in the Miners’ Union by freeing the British energy industry from its dependency on coal” (*Spaces of Hope* 217). These interactions between

class struggle and energy geographies reveal important dimensions of the emerging “alternative energy” economy. Expansion of the renewables is not without conflict. Mega-dams have a long and continuing history of struggles for social justice (Leslie 2005). Farmers in Oaxaca, Mexico are currently fighting the enclosure of the ‘wind commons’ as private energy companies seek to gain control over strategic sites for renewable energy production (Oceransky 506). In 2006, over a dozen villagers were killed by police during protests in the Guangdong province of China over the lack of compensation for land lost to a wind power plant (Reuters 524). The continued expansion of the industrial agro-fuel economy has been tied to the displacement of indigenous peoples, loss of biodiversity, and human rights abuses in places like Brazil’s sugar cane ethanol industry (Collazos 2010). Under existing politico-economic condition, the emerging boom in alternative energy in these cases can be seen as new round of ‘accumulation by dispossession’.

To promote the concept of a ‘just transition’, groups such as the *Energy Justice Network* and *Rising Tide North America* have advocated the need for decentralized, non-commercial, publicly owned, energy systems. Community autonomy is a central component in order to avoid the commodification and monopolization of energy. An industry maintains a radical monopoly, argues Ivan Illich, not only when “it produces scarce products, or by driving competing industries off the market”, but ultimately when it has acquired the ability to “create and shape the need which it alone can satisfy” (14). Such a vision of energy autonomy stands in opposition to many of the accumulation strategies based on private control over the energetic means of production and cheap fossil fuels that serve as its subsidy. That task, as Illich states, is to envision the preservation of the world for all peoples in a just, democratic way, rather than to merely ask, “how reservations necessary for the survival of people can be established on an earth that has been reshaped for the sake of industrial outputs” (15).

When considering whether ‘sustainable growth’ and ‘alternative energy’ will offer new possibilities for emancipation from a crisis-prone system, it is crucial to keep in mind the possibility that renewable energy may only perpetuate, perhaps even strengthen, forms of hierarchy and domination in the sunbelts and wind-corridors of the world. There is no *a priori* reason why renewable energy should be based on progressive social and

environmental terms. Thinking beyond the renewable/nonrenewable binary, “all industrial energy systems deploy space, capital, and technology to construct their geographies of power and inscribe their technological order as a mode of organization of social, economic, and political relations” (Ghosn 7). It is important not to overlook the deep structural continuities between conventional and alternative energy in regards to issues of power, control, and unequal access to resources. The attractiveness of ‘renewable energy’ as a panacea for social and environmental ills, independent of a wider social transformation of capitalism, risks foreclosing serious political questions about alternative socio-environmental trajectories.

George Rahi is an international student from the United States. He enjoys Geography because it allows him to incorporate experiences from cities, the outdoors and travels abroad, into an active and exciting learning experience. He is particularly interested in the politics of public space, planning for sustainable cities, and alter-globalization strategies.

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Plant-Pollinator Interactions at Alexandra Fiord, Nunavut

Samuel Robinson

Abstract: *High arctic plant-pollinator interactions are, in general, poorly understood. As the high arctic is predicted to be one of the most strongly affected biogeoclimatic zones in the next 50 years, understanding these interactions is important in determining ecosystem responses to climate change. Observations took place in July 2010, at Alexandra Fiord, Nunavut, Canada, and consisted of direct observation of plots of flowering *Salix arctica*, *Dryas integrifolia*, and *Papaver radicatum*. Visiting insects were categorized into families, and visitation was compared between species of plants. Bumblebees (*Bombus* spp.) and Butterflies and Moths (*Lepidoptera*) were found to play a minor role in pollination, while flies (*Dipterans*) were shown to be the major pollinators. Of the *Dipterans* observed, the *Syrphidae* tended to be generalist pollinators (visiting all flower species equally), while *Muscidae* tended to visit *Papaver radicatum*. This may be due to *Muscidae* undergoing thermoregulation by basking in the corolla, while *Syrphidae* focus more on nectar gathering from *Dryas integrifolia* and *Salix arctica*.*

Pollination of flowering plants by insects (entomophily) has traditionally been a vastly under-appreciated ecosystem service. However, insect pollination has received increasing attention in the past decade due to the large decline in pollinating insects worldwide (Ghazoul). This represents a major concern for both wild and managed ecosystems because most flowering plants are dependent on insect pollination for maximum fruit and seed production (Potts). Gallai estimated the global value of crop pollination solely for human consumption to be €153 billion per year during 2005, to say nothing of the value of wild flowering plants. However, little research has been done on pollination networks in non-

agricultural ecosystems (Potts). Even less research has been conducted on pollination networks of arctic ecosystems. Insect pollination has shown to be essential for seed set in many high arctic plant species such as *Pedicularis hirsuta* and *Dryas integrifolia* (Kevan, 1972), but many of the interactions between plant species and dominant insect families, such as Syrphidae (Hover flies), remains relatively unstudied.

Information on plant-pollinator interactions is important in predictions of change in associated arctic plant communities. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (Anisimov, Vaughan and Callaghan) predicts temperature changes of 3-4° C. in the high arctic within the next 50 years (more than twice the global mean). Researchers have studied the changes in plant communities in relation to rising temperatures and found that increased temperatures will increase the production of shrubs (Chapin, Shaver, and Giblin), leading to a spread of tundra into high arctic ecosystems. Similarly, other researchers have found that seed production in the arctic forb *Ranunculus acris* can be dependent on pollen availability, temperature conditions, or both (Totland and Eide), which is also demonstrated in *D. integrifolia*, *Salix arctica*, and *Saxifraga oppositifolia* (Kevan). Since many arctic pollinator webs are pollinator-limited, understanding patterns of insect visitation are necessary for gaining a better understanding of the mechanisms of ecosystem responses to climate change.

Methods

Observation of insect visitation rates took place at Alexandra Fiord (78°53' N, 75°55' W), Nunavut, Canada, as outlined by Svoboda and Freedman in *Ecology of a Polar Oasis*. The communities studied were evergreen arctic shrub communities dominated by *D. integrifolia*, *S. arctica*, *S. oppositifolia*, *Papaver radicum* and *Cassiope tetragona* as well as wind-pollinated graminoids. All observations included here were made from July 3 to July 17, 2010 during the height of the Arctic plant-growing season. Observations consisted of watching several small (~1m²) plots of flowering plants for 30 to 60 minutes at a time throughout the day. At each plot, the number of flowering heads was counted in order to compare rates of visitation. Additionally, general notes on weather conditions.

Five species of showy flowering plants were observed: *D. integrifolia*, *P. radicum*, *S. arctica*, *C. tetragona* and *S. oppositifolia*. Since identification to genus or species is very difficult without direct capture, insects visiting the flowers were classified to family level by their size and flight patterns. Since many insects use open flowers as a resting area or to absorb solar radiation (Kevan, 1975; Danks) insects were only counted if they came in contact with reproductive structures inside the corolla. To ensure correct classification, netting took place outside of the observation periods. This confirmed flight patterns and appearance as adequate indicators of insect identification. The categories of insects visiting the flowers included Syrphidae (Hoverflies; Family Diptera), Muscidae (Houseflies; Family Diptera), *Bombus* spp. (Bumblebees; Family Hymenoptera), and 2 observed species of Lepidopterans (Butterflies and Moths).

The data for individual counts was analyzed using a chi-square test for independence, and visitation rates were compared using standard error (as well as visually).

Results

Figure 1 shows the total number of visits over the entire observation period. The Syrphidae and Muscidae dominated the flower visits overall, with 1 *Bombus* spp. visit and 2 Lepidoptera visits. According to the chi-square, the difference in visits between categories is highly significant ($p < 0.001$), even when only the Syrphidae and Muscidae categories are considered ($p < 0.0001$).

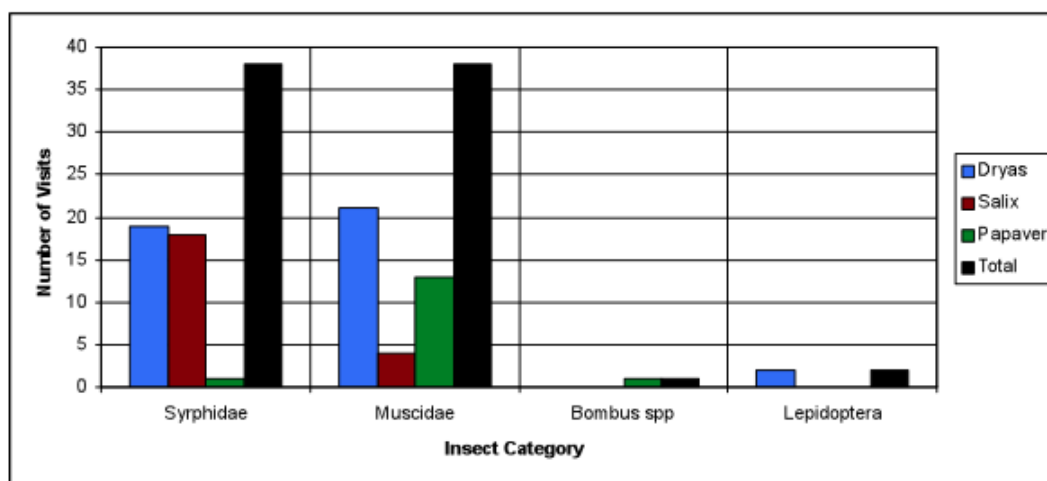


Figure 1: Total number of visits to flowers through the entire observation period (across all categories of insects and flowers).

To compare measurements between plots more directly, the number of visits was normalized by the number of flowering heads and the length of observations thus revealing the rate of visitation in units of Visits per Flower per Hour. Figures 2 and 3 display this data, with Figure 3 using data from warm days only (where warm days had cloud cover of $>1/3$, and winds were below 5km/h). It was important to compare data from warm days because insects tend to not be active during cloudy, cold, or windy conditions. The difference in visit rates between Figures 2 and 3 demonstrates that the overall visitation rates of insects to flowers are strongly dependent on temperature and weather.

Figure 3 shows that the Syrphidae exhibit no discernable preference between *D. integrifolia*, *S. arctica*, and *P. radicum*. Muscidae tend to visit *P. radicum* more than *D. integrifolia*, and visit *S. arctica* very infrequently. Although *Bombus* spp. and the Lepidoptera were observed too infrequently within the study site to characterize a pattern using these data, *Bombus* spp. and Lepidopterans were often seen visiting flowers around the camp.

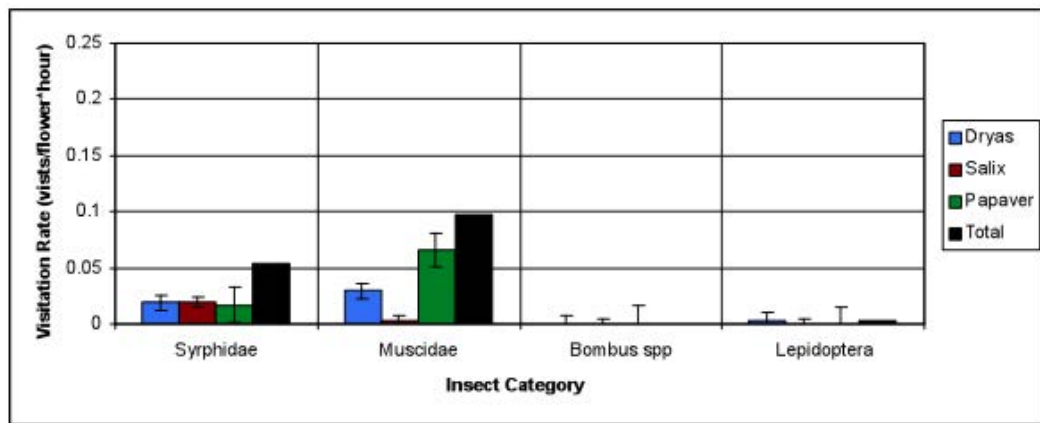


Figure 2: Average visitation rates through the entire observation period, in visits per flower per hour, with Standard Error bars

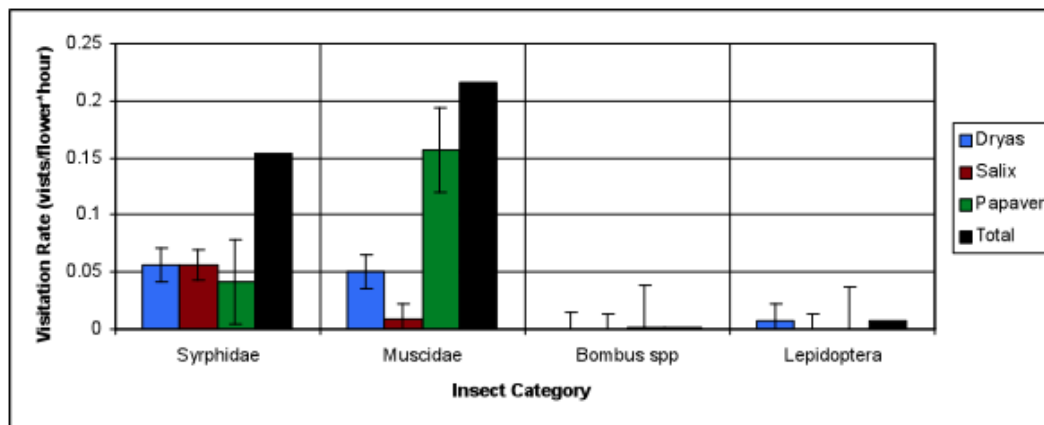


Figure 3: Average visitation rates using only data from warm days, in visits per flower per hour, with Standard Error bars

Discussion

The Syrphidae appear to be more generalist pollinators, while Muscidae prefer *P. radicum* much more strongly. One possible reason for this could be that Muscidae tend to use *P. radicum* for thermoregulating more than for feeding. Even though the total number of visits by the Syrphidae and Muscidae was the same for the observation period (38), the visitation rate is higher for Muscidae, indicating that they may increase their activity in higher temperatures faster than the Syrphidae. Although insects were only recorded if they reached the reproductive structures of the flower, May suggests that many arctic insects tend to sit at the center of the flower for thermoregulation, using it like a parabolic reflector. Furthermore, Hocking conducted observations using thermocouples inside the corolla of flowers to observe their microclimate effect. He concluded that the temperature increased significantly at the center of *P. radicum* and *D. integrifolia* by 1-2° C. Both Syrphidae and Muscidae were observed basking on rocks and in the corolla of flowers during cooler periods, but it is not apparent whether or not Muscidae tend to bask in the corolla more than Syrphidae.

Another possible reason for Muscidae preferring *P. radicum* may be diet preferences. Syrphidae tend to be nectar feeding while Muscidae can be predatory,

saprophytic, or nectar feeding (Vockeroth, Hockett). According to Kevan, *S. arctica* is dependent on insects for seed set (1972), but since it is rare to have complete self-incompatibility in stress-tolerant plants this may be an artifact of his study method which used acetate cones to exclude insects as well as airborne pollen. The catkins of *S. arctica* produce nectar, while *P. radicum* does not produce nectar, again highlighting the importance of thermoregulation to Muscidae. In this way, *P. radicum* may promote insect visitation (and therefore, pollination) without the energetic costs associated with nectar production. *P. radicum* is primarily self-fertilizing, but this may be a mechanism to promote a small degree of outcrossing within populations. *D. integrifolia*, on the other hand is dependent on insects for full seed-set and produces abundant nectar (Hocking; Kevan, 1972).

Overall, the influence of *Bombus* spp. was not nearly as important as the Dipterans. Kevan (1972) places *Bombus* spp. as secondarily important to Dipterans in high arctic pollinator communities. This is primarily due to their lack of abundance compared to Dipterans, but also due to pollination behavior, since Dipterans tend to be more constant in their feeding patterns and allow more efficient transfer of pollen. However, *Bombus polaris* is much larger than (northern) Dipterans and can maintain a more steady abdominal temperature than southern species of *Bombus* (Heinrich and Vogt), meaning that its relative importance is probably greater for early-flowering plants such as *S. oppositifolia* and *S. arctica*. The adults of Lepidopterans such as *Gynaephora* spp. appear later in the growing season, and are categorized of even less importance by Kevan as pollinators (1972).

Identification of insects took place by observing their flight patterns and general appearance, limiting identification to the level of family. Ring conducted pan trapping of insects at Alexandra Fiord in 1995, and identified 14 families of Dipterans present in the lowlands. Many of the smaller insects such as family Agromyzidae (Leaf Miners) and Chironomidae (Midges) were not seen visiting the flowers, and were not included as possible categories of insects. However, members of Dolichopodidae (Long-Legged Flies) and Empididae (Dance Flies) bear much resemblance to Muscidae in terms of size and flight pattern, and can only be reliably identified by netting. This represents a source of error in observations, and I suggest that flower-specific netting should take place as part of a more

detailed future study in order to eliminate this uncertainty. Since no conclusive research has been done on pollination relationships in *S. oppositifolia* or *C. tetragona*, these represent an important part of future study as well.

Acknowledgements

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The Pipedreams Project: A Photo Essay

Ryan Vandecasteyen

In May 2010, Enbridge Inc. made an official application to the Government of Canada for the creation of twinned condensate and crude oil pipelines that would connect Alberta's Tar Sands to Kitimat, and for the first time, introduce crude oil tankers to B.C.'s North Coast. In September of 2010, the author/photographer, as part of a team of three kayakers, embarked on a 900 km journey along the length of B.C.'s coast – from Kitimat to Vancouver – to explore the emotional, social and physical geographies of this controversial project. Despite Enbridge's claims of state-of-the-art safety measures, the pipeline would put at risk one of the few remaining 'truly wild' places on Earth. Supertankers would ship crude oil through habitat important to humpback and orca whales, salmon, sea lions, coastal wolves, the Spirit Bear, and the communities to which these natural elements are essential for survival. Decision over Enbridge's controversial project is, for now, focused on an Environmental Impact Assessment placed under the authority of Joint Review Panel established by the National Energy Board and the Minister of Environment. Based on his experience on the coast, the author found that many individuals and communities are abandoning the restrictive process of environmental impact

assessment to redefine broader and distinct decision-making processes at upwards, downwards and outwards levels of influence and governance. This photo essay is a compilation of works collected during his journey. More information about the project is available online at: <http://www.thepipedreamsproject.org>



Pepping to Pipe Up in Kitamat

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Opposition Rally outside the JRP in Kitimat

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Hais Nation leaders address the opposition rally

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



The Joint Review Panel

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



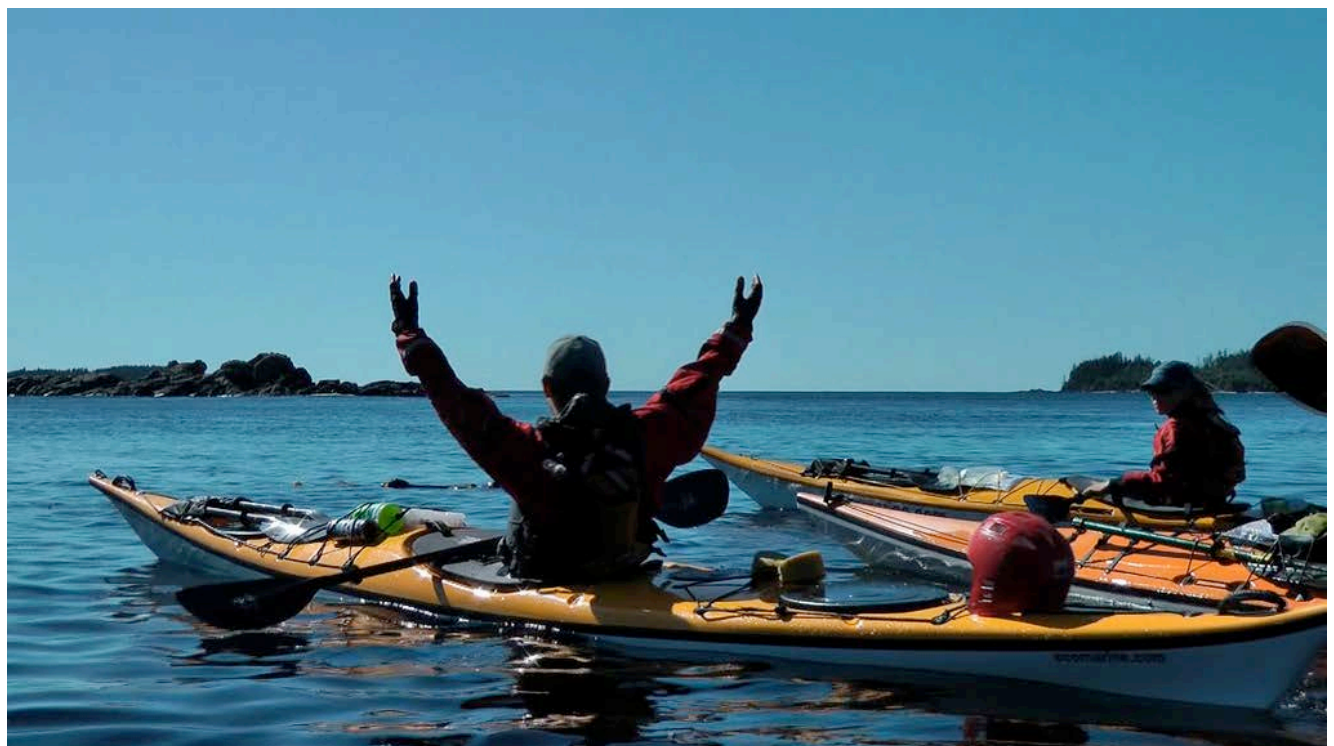
Sea lion colony

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Black sand beach, Central British Columbia Coast

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Heading for the open ocean

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Searching through the fog

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Hazardous Weather on the Coast ~ 70 km winds

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Sunset on the Coast

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Sunny days in the Great Bear Rainforest

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



The locals

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



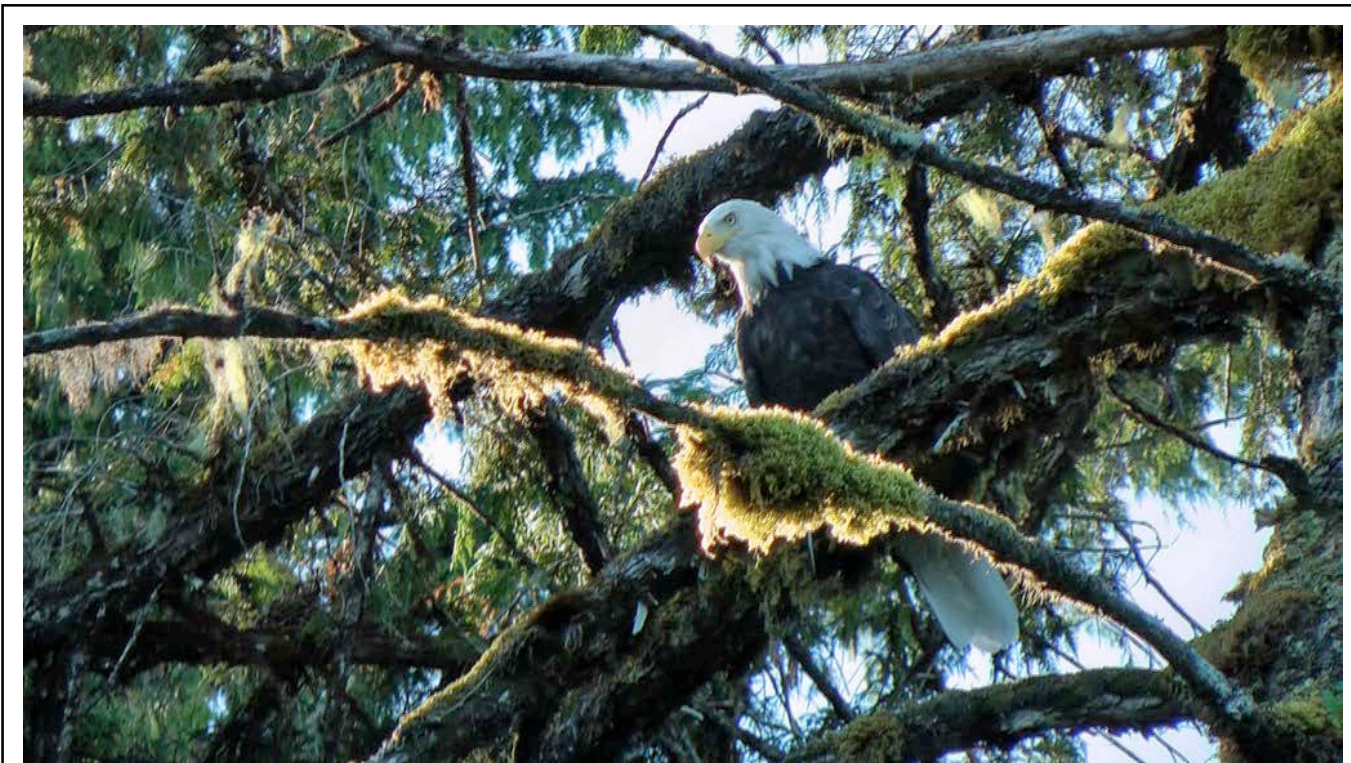
Wolf tracks in camp

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Stopping for a lighthouse tour

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Eagle

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



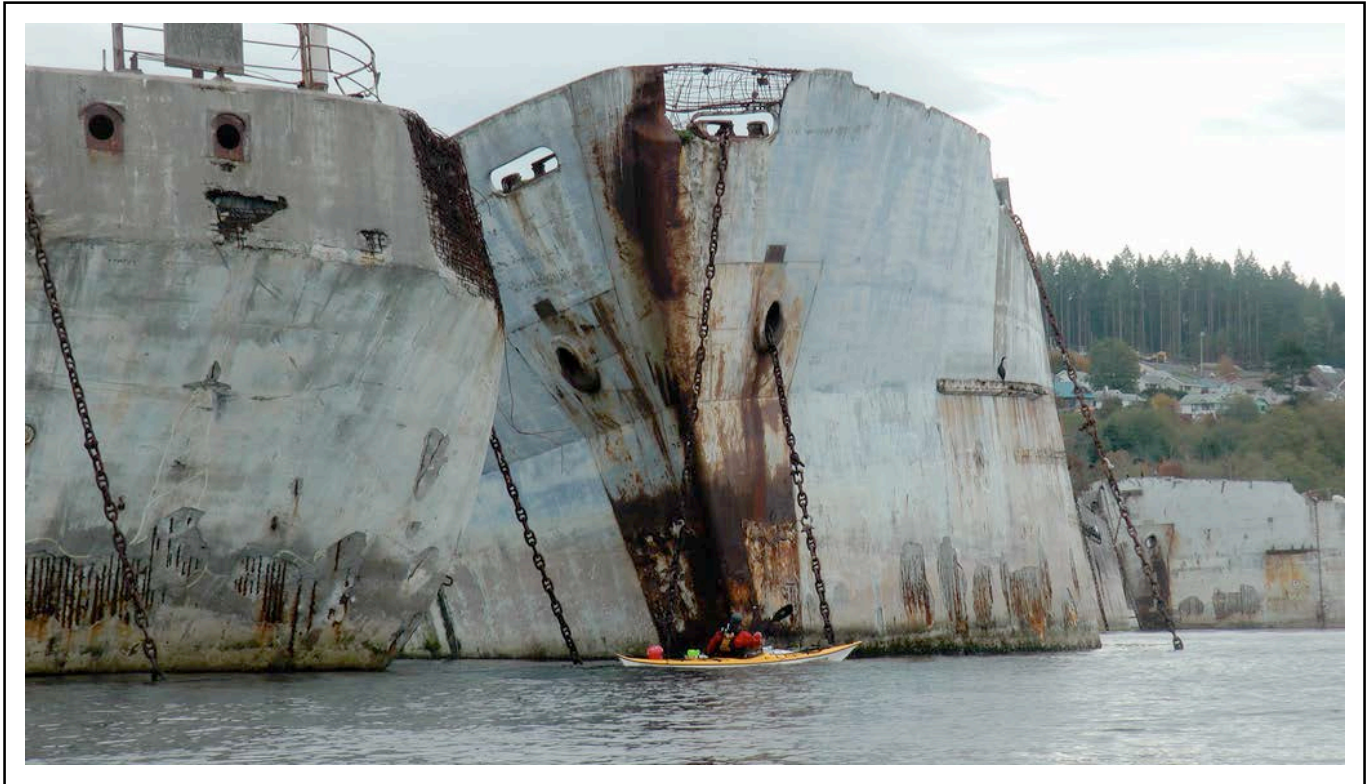
Kitaso/ Xai'xais Nation Totem

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Admiring the wild

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Tanker graveyard in Powell River

Photo By: Ryan Vandecasteyen



Pipe Dream Team (from left to right: Curtis White, Ryan Vandecasteyen and Faroe des Roches)

Ryan Vandecasteyen is an aspiring environmental professional, geographer, outdoor leader, guide, published writer and photographer. He is a fourth year Geography student completing his B.A. specialized in Environment & Sustainability at the University of British Columbia. Ryan has a strong interest in the study and management of human interaction with the environment, the creation of resilient, socially and environmentally sustainable developments and communities, and the integration of global perspectives into local planning and policy. More information about the author is available online at www.ryanvande.com.

Representing Social Space: Cognitive Mapping and the Potential for Progressive Urban Planning & Design

Jonathan Walker

Abstract: *This paper analyzes the evolution of modern to post-modern spatial theory, and the ways in which theoretical conceptions of space have practical implications for the layout of the built environment, thus influencing how the city is experienced. In using the method of cognitive mapping, as introduced by Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City*, we can reify the abstractions of social space under post-modern theory and, furthermore, promote a pluralistic and human-centric approach to urban design and planning which takes into account what modernist planning has overlooked.*

Conceptions of space, and the ways in which we've represented and understood spatial relations, have been highly influenced by dominant societal ideologies throughout the evolution of geographical knowledge (Lefebvre 1976). As a discipline traditionally rooted in the modernist lens, geography sought to interpret and conceptualize spatial knowledge as a scientifically derived truth (Soja 1989). By shaping the taxonomies of space as a rationally derived process, Geography granted legitimacy to the notion of absoluteness in spatial representation. This essay aims to lift this veil of "objectivity" from scientifically derived notions of urban space. In doing so, it will bring to light the highly subjective nature of spatial theory, and the ways in which it influences spatial practises such as urban

planning and design. As dominant ideologies of space contribute to the shaping of our built environment, spatial theory has a very tangible and concrete correlation with the ways in which humans experience urban space. Whether this experience is one of empowerment and access to urban resources, or disenfranchisement and segregation depends on the inclusionary or exclusionary nature of the epistemological framework in question. In positing the importance of postmodern spatial theory, which takes into account a diverse range of qualitative epistemologies, I argue that Kevin Lynch's use of cognitive mapping, as expressed in *Image of the City* (1960), is of groundbreaking importance. Despite being rooted in the modernist desire for coherence and unity, Kevin Lynch's application of cognitive mapping, with its emphasis on image and perception, is an important step toward postmodern spatial representation. By taking into account the plurality of ways in which citizens experience urban space, cognitive mapping can serve as a method for a progressive practise of urban planning and design which considers the needs of a diverse citizenry. Thereupon can cognitive mapping be an active tool for deconstructing top-down, modernist representations of space and the planning outcomes that have accounted for various historical urban inequities.

The development of the modernist era is inextricably linked to the machine age aesthetic of Fordist capitalism; the historical and geographical dynamics regarding the mode of production (Soja 1989: 27). With an emphasis on objectivity, standardization, de-contextualization, and science as the primary means toward societal progress, modernism has been very influential in the realm of spatial theory and practises of urban planning and design. Throughout the modernist period, which emerged in the post-war years reaching its pinnacle by the 1960s, the "despatialization of social theory" reached its peak as the geographical imagination was silenced (ibid 38). Through faith in science as the primary means to understand and engage with spatial relations, important aspects of socio-spatial theory were disregarded as they didn't fit into the positivist empirical framework. This has led many present day postmodern urban and spatial theorists to sharply criticize the hubris of the modernist planners who have used their technical knowledge to arrive at an objective assessment of the 'public interest' (Sandercock 1998: 4). This top-down spatial relation between those who shaped the built environment and those who resided in it can be seen as the "prophetic elitism and authoritarianism of the modern movement...

remorselessly identified in the imperious gesture of the charismatic Master" (Jameson 2). To this extent, the planner's role under modernism can be understood in regards to their control over the production and use of space; as "spatial police" who facilitate the societal marginalization of certain groups by keeping complicit with the dominant culture (Sandercock 16).

In understanding modernist spatial theory and practise as dominated by a totalizing discourse linked to power structures (ibid 71), postmodern spatial theorist have sought to unveil the 'objective truths' of modernism as a means to facilitate new understandings of socio-spatial theory. The link between the disregarding of other epistemological narratives with the dominant Enlightenment understanding of science and reason can be understood by acknowledging that "*knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true*" (Foucault 27). With power relations granting legitimacy to an absolute truth, a singular epistemology defines the realm of spatial theory and practise. Space cannot be removed from ideology and politics as it is a "product literally filled with ideologies" (Lefebvre 31) and, therefore, the "socio-spatial dialectic" of spatial structures being inextricably linked to social structures and *vice versa* (Soja 1989: 57) is paramount to understanding the built environment. In uncovering the abstract power structures within spatial relations, and presenting this power structure's dependence on a definitive knowledge, postmodern socio-spatial theory rejects the notion of a singular, scientifically derived spatial truth.

Accepting that space is socially constructed and itself constructs society requires acknowledging that there are multiplicities of constructions within space. In rejecting the notion of a singular urban narrative through an "aggregate of individuals," postmodern theory enables socially produced city space to be seen as "multiple connectivities and networks" (Hillier 39). As consideration is given to multiple publics and ways of knowing excluded by modernist discourse (Sandercock 6), herein lies the potential for critical geography to promote spatial justice. Kevin Lynch's use of cognitive mapping in urban design gives us a more concrete understanding of the subjective and perceptual elements that undermine the urban experience. Throughout *The Image of the City*, Lynch looked to the ways in which different people conceptualize the city using paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks as major networks of interest. In doing so, he was able to critique the

design layout according to its “place legibility”; essentially the ease with which people understand the layout of the place. By presenting the diverse ways in which the city is subjectively experienced, cognitive mapping has proven to be an influential method for postmodern critical spatial theories seeking to represent the multiplicity of space.

Given the tendency of representation, or mimesis, to produce inequality through the totalizing narrative of modernist ‘common interest,’ reservations may be held towards the inherently representational nature of cognitive mapping. Representation within cognitive mapping, however, operates on an entirely different scale and can thereby be exempt of such criticism. Cognitive mapping is not mimetic in the modernist sense as the theoretical issues posed allow us to “renew the analysis of representation on a higher and more complex level”... the implication of this complexity is “the rethinking of geographical and cartographic issues in terms of the social spaces of class” (Jameson 51) as well as race and gender. Although Kevin Lynch’s motivations for *The Image of the City* fits within the modernist tradition of coherence and unity, his pioneering work in cognitive mapping has been very influential in the reassertion of multiple social spaces.

Social psychologist Florence Ladd (1970) used cognitive mapping with two young African American boys, Dave and Earnest, in the Mission Hill area of Boston to uncover the racial tensions embedded in urban space. The drawings indicated a scale of difference between the detailed sketch of Parker Street, from which they resided, and the other, blanker territory of the unknown predominantly white Mission Hill housing projects. This same space is then shown to be experienced differently by the cognitive maps of another African American boy, Ralph, who, enrolled in the Boston Latin School, presents a more detailed account of the projects. The maps drawn by the first two boys highlight the psychological barriers embedded in racially segregated urban space. Ralph on the other hand, is able to draw upon a much wider view of the area, and the emphasis on institutions of education in his drawings is indicative of his “perception of education as an escape route” from a segregated life (Gould et. al 15). The images and perceptions depicted in these cognitive maps present the ways in which urban space is experience along racial lines; however, Ralph’s maps show the fluidity of urban experience as the transcending of a racialized spatial identity is facilitated with socio-economic modes of mobility. In regards to socio-economic, or class based social space, cognitive mapping has also been influential

toward understanding how increased transportation mobility yields greater access to the city. In comparing cognitive maps in Los Angeles (Gould et. al 19), understandings of urban space vary greatly with income. With reliance on public transportation in a city which privileges the mobility of those who have access to automobiles, the urban space known to residents in neighbourhoods such as East L.A. is much more limited in comparison to wealthier residents in Beverly Hills.

Cognitive maps also give insight into experiences of urban space along the lines of gender and sexual orientation. For example, the fear maps of females have tended to be more spatially discriminating, highlighting the fears of open park space, peripheral roads adjacent to open countryside, and poorly lit streets (Pacione 415). The use of cognitive mapping in the research of Moira Kenney (1994, 1995), and Eric Reyes (1993), makes visible the historical struggle over space for gay and lesbian communities.

Ultimately, these examples show how cognitive mapping has been used to bring representation to the multiple subjective experiences within urban space that have been silenced by the dominant modernist representation of space. This inclusion of qualitative elements such as image, perception, and the fluid nature of urban identity within spatialized power structures, unveils knowledge of urban space inconceivable to the purely rationalist approaches of positivist spatial constructions. In making the invisible visible in urban space, the “aesthetic of cognitive mapping” provides an ability to see “an instrumental cartography of power and social control – a more acute way of seeing how space hides consequences from us” (Soja 1989: 63). It is from this perspective that cognitive mapping can serve as a tool to more fully engage with postmodern critical human geography through the radical deconstruction of space towards an “exploration of those critical silences in the texts, narratives, and intellectual landscapes of the past” (ibid 73). In the event of deconstructing the hegemonic forces which have overshadowed multiple subjective narratives, cognitive mapping can empower urban citizens by “re-presenting the world in the image of their subjective imaginaries” (Soja 1996: 79).

By understanding the spatial processes constraining each historically marginalized group, cognitive mapping furthers the postmodern cause of insurgent citizenship by representing the multiplicities of experience between citizens – as opposed to the totalization of citizen interest in modernism - and the ways in which various issues within

distinct and fragmented communities can be addressed for greater access to the city. Dis-alienation of the traditional city, as Lynch argues, requires a re-conquest of a sense of place through memory and perception. By targeting the marginalized groups which have been traditionally alienated from attaining such inclusive perceptions, and representing the spatializing processes of their exclusion, cognitive mapping provides a starting point in addressing spatial justice. Therefore, it can be argued that although Kevin Lynch intended that his ideas be used in the service of the modernist principle of a 'common interest,' his emphasis on the individual, bottom up subjective experience has facilitated the deconstruction of positivist spatial theory and planning. The top down modernist spatialization of a 'common interest' through scientifically derived methods, which has contributed to the aforementioned racial, class, sexual and gender based spatial inequities, can now be addressed by a community based urban planning which takes into account the various specific needs within a pluralistic society.

In considering the ways in which Kevin Lynch's cognitive mapping can be an asset in representing social space, this analysis has argued on behalf of the dynamic and adaptable nature of its use as a research method under different epistemological orientations. As a method for the post-modern analysis of cities, the technique itself is sufficient despite being associated with the modernist imagination because the epistemology ultimately defines the nature of what it will be used for; in the postmodern case, presenting plural narratives of urban experience. By advocating cognitive mapping as an important analytical tool, and postmodern critical spatial theory as an important epistemology, this essay does not claim to entirely disregard the use of practical scientific applications for organizing urban space. Indeed, traditional cartographic methods and geographic information systems analysis are crucial methods in the practice of urban planning, and can be used to assess the ways in which space is used by a plural society, albeit empirically. These methods, however, can fall into the trap of statically representing dynamic places, thus contributing to the simplified modernist notion that space is experienced equally among all empirically static and equal subjects. These methods are, therefore, incapable of representing the power relations between such subjects that result in the different uses (or lack of uses) of urban space, and ultimately make plausible the fiction of a singular common interest that can be addressed through planning, design or policy. Because quantitative cartographic methods cannot fully

address the ways in which humans experience the city on a subjective or psychological level, cognitive mapping is a vital tool in order to holistically and progressively plan for and design the post-modern city.

Jonathan Walker is a student in the Honours Human Geography program at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. He is an advocate for sustainable urban renewal and creative industry development, and is currently working with the Great Northern Way Campus to assist in an industrial redevelopment project in the False Creek Flats. After having grown up in several diverse settings, ranging from inner-city and suburban to rural hinterland, Jonathan has developed a fascination for human settlement in its many forms. Central to his interests, are the ways in which the built environment shapes the activities of everyday life and, furthermore, contribute to a practised sense of identity. In considering the importance of place as a mechanism for historical and cultural identity, Jonathan is interested in the ways urban design and policy can contextualize localities to promote creative, human-scaled, and diverse city spaces that are economically feasible in a global economy. By promoting the design of nodes and "imageability" districts which bring a diverse array of people together, Jonathan believes planning and design can play a role in economic development through sustainable, inclusive and innovative mixed use urban spaces. He plans on pursuing these interests further in the future with a Master of City Planning program.

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03/12/14

Unintended Consequences: How Pursuing Aboriginal Treaty Rights Inadvertently Strengthens Canadian Sovereignty

Aaron Lao

Abstract: *The issue of Aboriginal self-determination has been relevant in Canadian politics for several decades now, but Aboriginal groups seem no closer to their desired independence. I argue that Aboriginal groups are actually in a Catch-22 situation where the mere act of petitioning the Crown for their rights inadvertently strengthens the Crown's sovereignty, and thus reduces Aboriginal autonomy. This phenomenon happens in several ways. Discourse legitimizes the Crown's position as already dominant and valid, thus marginalizing the Aboriginal position. The Canadian court system has proved to be problematic, as their rulings are often very ethnocentric, therefore exalting the Crown's position and rejecting Aboriginal claims. Finally, even if some sort of recognition is granted to Aboriginal groups, I contend that they only serve as a means of limiting and controlling Aboriginal title, and are not beneficial to Aboriginal groups. Rather, recognition acts as a method of assimilating Aboriginal people into dominant Canadian norms. These structural problems make it almost impossible for Aboriginal groups to achieve the recognition they deserve from the Crown. Pursuing Aboriginal treaty rights through the current legal system will only lead to further assimilation, unless a major, unprecedented shift in political will takes place on the part of the Crown.*

The issue of Aboriginal self-determination has been a contentious one in Canadian politics, both historically and very recently. There are multiple on-going land-claim

negotiations currently taking place in British Columbia and elsewhere. One of the most significant developments in Aboriginal rights is the 1973 Calder ruling by the Supreme Court of Canada, which established the existence of Aboriginal title, the idea that Aboriginal peoples have a legitimate right to their traditional land. Many First Nations have since entered negotiations with the provincial government in hopes of gaining some degree of recognition of this ownership. Some, such as the Nisga'a, have negotiated a form of self-government, sparking debate on the consequences for Canadian sovereignty. How much authority would Aboriginal officials have? Would Aboriginal governments exist outside of the Crown? Who would have the ultimate authority in Aboriginal spaces?

Such grandiose speculation was perhaps unfounded. A closer examination of the nature of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown reveals a clear disparity in power, and interactions fraught with domination, ethnocentrism and assimilation. The present state of the relationship between Aboriginal groups and Canada represents no threat to Canadian sovereignty. In fact, as this paper will examine, the Crown's interactions with First Nations regarding Aboriginal rights may paradoxically serve as an assertion of Canadian sovereignty, not a danger to it. This reaffirmation of Canadian sovereignty is borne through the ethnocentrism and colonialism embedded in the processes of recognizing Aboriginal title. As a result, negotiations with the intent of advancing Aboriginal self-determination actually strengthen the Crown's authority, and legitimizes ideas of Native assimilation. The embedded ethnocentrism is manifest in a variety of ways, all of which serve to shift the balance of power in favour of the Crown.

Firstly, there exists a general discourse of the superiority of the Crown, one which legitimizes Canada as the sole holder of power and insists on the inferiority of Aboriginal peoples. As a result, Aboriginal peoples are marginalized in practice, and are pushed into a state of dependency vis-à-vis the Crown. The Canadian legal system has also served to subvert Aboriginal interests. The courts have shown themselves to be significantly ethnocentric in matters of Aboriginal rights, as it both inherently exalts the power of the Crown and denies the legitimacy of Aboriginal claims. Finally, even in cases where some Aboriginal rights are recognized, as in

Aboriginal title, they ultimately act to assimilate First Nations further into Canadian norms. These conceptions of Aboriginal peoples through an ethnocentric and colonialist lens are important, as it constructs them as the inferior other. As Edward Said notes, “knowledge of subject races...makes their management easy and profitable” (30). By constructing First Nations peoples in this way, Canada is empowered to control and exercise sovereignty over them. Ultimately, engagements between the Crown and First Nations regarding Aboriginal self-determination often serve to assert and strengthen Canadian sovereignty. This relationship is manifest through a variety of ethnocentric and colonialist interactions which, ironically, promote assimilation into the mainstream “Canadian” norms.

Trash Talk: the role of discourse

From the onset, Aboriginal peoples are at a disadvantage when negotiating with the Crown, as the discourse surrounding the issue portrays First Nations as inferior and dependent on the Crown. As this discourse informs practice, Aboriginal peoples are actually put into a position of dependency, thus decreasing their autonomy. The discourse surrounding treaties is especially significant. Treaties are the predominant form of reconciling Aboriginal title in Canada. However, an examination of the history of the discourse regarding treaties reveals that they are in fact tools of colonization (Russell 2). They were used as colonial powers were settling in the ‘New World’ as methods of legally seizing land and resources from indigenous groups, perceived to be inferior. For example, when Canada signed treaties in the 1840s with Aboriginal peoples, they agreed to make annual payments in exchange (Neu 173). However, instead of referring to the technical term “annuity payments,” the payments are called “presents” in the accounting records of the time (ibid 174). The discourse around “presents” suggests the payments are made voluntarily, out of kindness of the benevolent colonizers, whereas the Natives are dependent receivers (Neu 174). While views on treaties have certainly changed, the underlying condescending discourse and its implications have not.

In British Columbia, these negotiations are taking place in the form of

Comprehensive Land Claim (CLC) treaty negotiations. The CLCs are meant to address the issue of ownership and Aboriginal title to land in disputed areas, ultimately producing a land use plan for the area. As the owner and sovereign authority of these areas is under dispute, the existence of Aboriginal title dictates that Aboriginal peoples are presumed to hold title. This title remains until the state gains sovereignty legitimately, with the burden of proof lying on the Crown. However, the Supreme Court of Canada has been unable to determine that Aboriginal peoples had been legitimately conquered with a degree of proof consistent with “conventional justifications for the assertion of sovereignty” (Burrows 566). Aboriginal groups saw the dynamic as equal, but the provincial government saw negotiations as being between “representatives of the Crown” and “minorities within Canada” (Alcantara 347). The treaty discourse remains as condescending as ever: not only are Aboriginal peoples seen as an inferior minority, but one further step is taken and they are assumed to be subjects “within Canada”, that is, already under Crown control. As this discourse is carried through land use discussions, as well as public consultations on the issue, Aboriginal groups are immediately placed at a disadvantage.

Some argue that the CLC process itself is inherently biased against First Nations because of a discourse embedded with colonial history. The exclusive focus on western ideas of “sovereignty” and “self-government” - a colonial discourse long present in the relationship between the Crown and Aboriginal groups - means that any agreement ultimately remains within the parameters of the Canadian norms and institutions that have historically marginalized First Nations (Alcantara 348). Essentially, it represents a discursive form of assimilation. Patricia Monture-Angus suggests an alternative that has no implication with the Crown’s historic mistreatment of indigenous peoples, advocating the use of Aboriginal “independence” (Alcantara 348). If the discursive framework of the CLC - the principle channel for recognition Aboriginal rights - is inherently damaging to the position of the Aboriginal party, there is little recourse for First Nations seeking recognition.

It is also important to look at the public discourse surrounding Aboriginal

entitlements. Public opinion certainly shapes the provincial government's position regarding land claims, and public hearings are often a component of the land claims process. The mainstream Canadian press has, in the past, depicted Aboriginal groups willing to enter treaty negotiations as "good", while those who resist are "bad" (Roth 150). The Nisga'a were one of the first groups to reach a settlement with the government, which some perceive as a forfeit of their Aboriginal interests for a small area of land and a few narrowly-defined treaty rights, while foresters gained acres of woodland (Rynard 297). The mainstream Canadian praised the Nisga'a for eventually reaching the agreement, however imbalanced it may be (Roth 150). This contrasts First Nations groups who were steadfast in their negotiations with the Crown and private companies; they were portrayed as disruptive and malevolent in the media (Roth 150).

There exists another binary discourse in the public regarding First Nations: that Aboriginal land ownership is against the public interest, whereas ownership by private resource companies is positive. This attitude is firmly based in ethnocentric, Western neoliberal perspectives on the best form of land use, that is, one which exploits land for economic gain. The generally more sustainable and environmentally respectful practices of certain First Nations are given no credit. This unfair discourse manifests itself with great clarity in the *Delgamuukw* ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada. While the decision grants Aboriginal groups title to land, it also has a clause reading that Aboriginal title can be revoked by the Crown in cases where "the general economic development" of British Columbia is at stake, including forestry, mining, infrastructure, hydroelectricity, and more (Burrows 567). Aboriginal land ownership is seen as so contrary to the public good and "general economic development" (need a citation) that the legal right of Aboriginal groups to land ownership must be revoked to protect it. Such a view - the result of the reification of discourse - is blatantly insulting and ethnocentric. These unfair forms of discourse, which have as their bases assimilation and ethnocentrism, are perpetuated and realized each time a First Nations group in so much as interacts with the Crown. It is clear how Aboriginal peoples are placed at an immediate disadvantage, both in the treaty process itself and in public opinion.

Trial By Amateur Anthropologist: The Role of the Courts

Much of the debate surrounding Aboriginal title has taken place in the courts, which have proven to be a site of much ethnocentric and narrow-minded decision-making. Prior to the 1997 decision in the Supreme Court of Canada on *Delgamuukw*, the case was heard at the Supreme Court of British Columbia. The presiding judge, Judge McEachern, made numerous decisions based on Western views and the English Common Law system, and eventually declared Aboriginal claims to title void. While some of his more blatant ethnocentric perspectives were accounted for in the retrial at the Supreme Court of Canada and Aboriginal title was eventually recognized, some underlying prejudices still remain. Ultimately, even disregarding the bias of Judge McEachern, there are fundamental structural disadvantages for First Nations in the legal system.

Firstly, it is important to recognize that by entering the Canadian legal system at all, Aboriginal groups are placed at a disadvantage. In acknowledging the authority of the Canadian courts, they situate themselves as subjects of a Canadian sovereign. Supposedly, the purpose of these land claims is to determine ownership where land title is unclear, where Aboriginal title is presumed to exist until the Crown proves otherwise. However, the presence of the court - an assertion of the sovereign power of Canada - subjugates Aboriginal peoples to the status of a conquered people (Borrows 566). Furthermore, Aboriginal groups enter the legal system as petitioners, requesting rights from the government, which becomes a rights-granting entity (Alcantara 354). As a result, an odd irony forms: by entering treaty negotiations, which is a process meant to increase Aboriginal autonomy, the Crown assumes the position of the sovereign distributor of rights and land, and thus, inadvertently, it is the Crown's authority that is asserted and reinforced. Aboriginal groups are hence left in a Catch-22. They have little recourse but to pursue their rights through legal channels, but doing so serves to validate the notion of Aboriginal peoples as the conquered people of the Crown.

Judge McEachern's original 1991 ruling at the Supreme Court of British Columbia regarding *Delgamuukw* has been the subject of much criticism. His

ethnocentric, positivist opinions led to changes in the guidelines for what constituted evidence in later trials, but a detailed reading of his judgement can reveal underlying prejudices that may still be relevant today. In the case, the Delgamuukw First Nation claimed Aboriginal title based on the fact that they had lived continuously on their traditional land since before the arrival of Europeans. Because sovereignty had never been transferred to the Crown, the Delgamuukw people should still have ownership of their traditional land. The case revolved around proving the existence of an “organized society” with a notion of land ownership prior to European arrival (Gruikshank 40). The First Nations plaintiffs in the case presented proof of their presence through traditional Aboriginal oral histories, *adaawk* and *kungax*. These oral histories are a collection of sacred reminiscences, traditional Aboriginal expressions of territoriality which included songs about the land, and the trails between sacred places (Gruikshank 34). The Delgamuukw people also presented their totem poles as confirmation of these oral histories. McEachern, rejected this unfamiliar form of territoriality, dismissing it as “vague” “myth” (Gruikshank 35). His ethnocentrism is clear as he holds Western written records, a journal by a Hudson’s Bay Company employee, in high regard. In fact, he even criticizes the oral histories when they do not match the white HBC employee’s account of “primitive” Aboriginal institutions such as native Houses, as if the journals were the standard for interpreting First Nations history (Gruikshank 36). As a result McEachern ruled that organized society did not exist prior to European arrival, and hence, there was no Aboriginal title.

Fortunately, McEachern’s ethnocentric views were recognized by the Supreme Court of Canada and oral histories were given more weight in those proceedings. However, there continue to exist other inequalities in the English Common Law system which are much more difficult to change, and may represent an inherent structural disadvantage for Aboriginal groups. The mere fact that it is the English Common Law system that is in use presents difficulties for Aboriginal groups. The English language requirement means that certain aspects of Aboriginal culture may be lost in translation. An example may be taken from the Chinook language, in which there are no words to express limits on the right of taking fish,

thus creating a clear problem when negotiating resource rights (Russell 12). More importantly, the use of English means that First Nations are disempowered, as they are unable to define their cultural activities and traditions on their own terms (Borrows 554). It is difficult to express oral histories, which are meant to be performed at large feasts (Gruikshank 31), in an English judiciary system controlled by English authorities (Borrows 556).

It is not only perceptions of history that differ between Aboriginal and Western cultures. Aboriginal perceptions of land, for example, are manifest in performative trail songs and recollections. The framework of Canadian legal treaties, however, requires that space be perceived cartographically, as absolute space denoted on a map. Because of the superior position of the Common Law system, Aboriginal peoples cannot be understood on their own terms, and must assimilate into Canadian legal norms if they are to engage the courts. This ethnocentric bias is in fact defined in law. In outlining guidelines for evidence, note 1 at page 1066 of the Supreme Court of Canada *Delgamuukw* ruling states that evidence must not “strain the Canadian legal and constitutional structure,” a blatant assertion that Aboriginal evidence must be distorted to fit in Western frameworks (Borrows 557). In the *Delgamuukw* case, the Aboriginal plaintiffs were forced to present their cultural evidence not as it was meant to be presented, but through a Western lens, using anthropologists, linguists, lawyers and historians. Once again, by engaging in the legal system, and by adopting this Western conception of evidence, Aboriginal groups are forced to legitimize the Western system as the one that has jurisdiction, even in disputed lands. Simultaneously, they become unable to present their own culture and traditions as they are.

Two Rights Make A Wrong: The Paradox of Aboriginal Title

Despite the damaging discourse and critical court cases contributing to the subjugation of Aboriginal peoples, the courts ultimately did recognize that First Nations had *some* sort of right to the land with the *Delgamuukw* ruling. Once again, however, there arises a paradox: the mere constitution of Aboriginal rights affirms

Canadian sovereignty in that such an act is an exercise of sovereign power, and hence it further emphasizes colonial relationship between the Crown and First Nations (Christie 38).

The idea of Aboriginal land ownership in and of itself represents not the height of Aboriginal interests, but a Western, assimilationist stand-in for Aboriginal interests. Gordon Christie contends that the best manifestation of Aboriginal interests - including the ability to express their culture, determine their own identity, and reach self-understood conclusions of their relationship to the land - is in unsettled land claims, as they are open to interpretation and the possibility of Aboriginal self-determination (Christie 46). They represent an unstable political entity, and, as the only entity not constructed within the Canadian legal system, the only real threat to Canadian sovereignty. This insecurity is reconciled only by assimilating the political entity into the Canadian system, by transforming into some safe construct that exists under the Crown (Christie 46).

With the *Delgamuukw* decision and treaty processes, the assimilationist construct of choice is Aboriginal land ownership - essentially a form of fee simple ownership, subject to colonialist Crown regulation. Therefore, the idea of Aboriginal title is a tool of assimilation, meant to bring Aboriginal rights under the control of the Crown, and represents a reduction and clear limitation of what entitlements First Nations have. The Nisga'a Final Agreement (NFA), the self-government settlement of the Nisga'a First Nation, represents the substitution of Aboriginal legal rights with written treaty rights (Rynard 290). It "exhaustively sets out rights," effectively freezing them with absolutes and specifics, instead of relying on broad agreed-upon principles to be refined over time (Ryanrd 290). The goal of the NFA is clear: to delineate clear limits on Aboriginal rights which lie comfortably within the framework of Canadian sovereignty.

Additionally, Aboriginal title has little to do with empowering Aboriginal peoples to reach self-understanding on ideas of culture and land relationships, but rather, is a construct that imposes Western ideas of land-use (Christie 42). Fee simple ownership and government land-use negotiations revolve around the Western vision of land-use, one which sees land as a resource to be exploited for

wealth creation for its owner. By adopting Aboriginal title and entering into land-use negotiations and consultations, Aboriginal groups essentially allow the government to set the parameters of the discussion. By undertaking fee simple ownership and entering in land-use negotiations with the government, Aboriginal groups are assumed to have accepted this neo-liberal conception of land. There is no discussion of Aboriginal visions of land-use, which has traditionally been seen as a partnered relationship with the land, one which, if treated with respect, will provide for the society; the land and its spirits are incorporated into the social fabric of Native society (Christie 48). Hence, land-use negotiations are ultimately inconsequential, as Aboriginal conceptions of land relationships are never even considered. Christie likens the superficial consultations to being asked how you would like your house looted (42). Unfortunately, given the power of the state, if Aboriginal groups want any input whatsoever into the land-use of their territory, they must participate in these assimilationist, ethnocentric consultations.

Another reason why Aboriginal title affirms Crown sovereignty is that it conveniently gives the government the right to extinguish ownership rights and dictate land-use, if necessary (Christie 42). As mentioned earlier, a clause in *Delgamuukw* allows for government infringement on Aboriginal title in the interest of general economic development. The government is required to consult with Aboriginal groups if such seizure occurs, but as explored before, such consultations are inconsequential. In the Voisey's Bay case in Labrador, the government invoked its authority and removed certain tracts of land from treaty deliberations after large deposits of nickel were discovered there (Alcantara 353).

Some argue that in many cases, Aboriginal title has decreased the autonomy of First Nations groups. In the Nisga'a Final Agreement, the Nisga'a title to the majority of the disputed land - the Nass Wildlife Area - was extinguished, effectively converting it to Crown land. The government can use the land for economic purposes, requiring only superficial consultations with the Nisga'a (Rynard 293). The remainder, a small patch of Nisga'a heartland, was converted to fee simple ownership, with further limits, such as restricted ownership of rivers (Rynard 293). The taking of such vast amounts of land reveals the colonial nature of the treaties,

while the conversion of Aboriginal rights into the construct of Aboriginal title, existing under the Crown, shows the assimilationist nature of the policies.

In a final exercise of power, the government has incentive to prolong treaty negotiations, as a means of increasing legal costs for Aboriginal groups. Some First Nations have withdrawn from the treaty process because of high costs. Other groups are forced to borrow money from the government, sometimes borrowing more than the value of the claim itself, thus ironically becoming economically dependent on the government as they seek political autonomy. It is clear that the treaty process is fraught with implicit elements of ethnocentrism and assimilation. The institutions meant to recognize Aboriginal rights are in fact tools used to bring them securely under the sovereign authority of the Crown.

Conclusion

The situation of Canada's First Nations is a difficult one. Though they may rightfully pursue their yet-unrecognized rights to the land and to self-determination, the mere act of seeking recognition reaffirms Canadian sovereignty, because of a series of ethnocentric, colonial and assimilationist institutions and processes. Discourse reinforces the subjugation of Aboriginal peoples, while ethnocentric public opinion paints those seeking Aboriginal rights as negative. The legal system, based in English Common Law, places Aboriginal forms of expression at a huge disadvantage. As well, the treaty process and Aboriginal title as fee simple land ownership serve only to limit and contain potential Aboriginal entitlements. The largest problem is that the only way Aboriginal peoples can engage Canada in seeking self-determination is through the Canadian system; they must play by Canada's rules, whether that be Western conceptions of land-use, English Common Law, or imbalanced treaty negotiations. As a result of doing so, these institutions are inadvertently validated, and are given more strength. Although theoretically no one system has jurisdiction in disputed territories, Canadian sovereignty is given the gift of jurisdiction by the First Nations' mere act of engaging with it. This leaves Aboriginal groups little recourse, if the Canadian system will not recognize their

rights, and has been a point of contention within First Nations. It is for such reasons that some First Nations have removed themselves from treaty negotiations entirely. Either a completely new, independent system is required, or First Nations must appeal to an international authority. An international third party adjudicator may also play a role in ensuring fair negotiations. Both being unlikely, fair allocation of Aboriginal rights appears unlikely without a major paradigm shift from the Crown. Given the relatively poor socioeconomic situation many Aboriginal populations find themselves in at present, one hopes this shift comes soon.

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Bogota, Colombia: A Hard Core Geography

Esteban Izquierdo

Abstract: *This sessay explores Colombia's capital city through an alternative epistemology that asks each reader to think of their personal connection with any given geography and reflect on how that relationship shapes their understanding of the place in question. Through the experiences of the Hard Core Punk music movement in Bogota in the late 1990's, the socioeconomic divisions of the city and their implications with regards to the population's experience of its geography are examined as the author puts forward his embodied geography. Taking the reader through the downtown streets of the nearly four hundred year-old city, author utilizes his love for local Hard Core music to expand both his physical and social understanding of Bogota at a time when it was considered the most dangerous city in the world.*

A city nestled 2600 meters above Colombia's Pacific and Atlantic coasts, the nation capital of Columbia bustles in a continuous outward expansion. It was in this ever-growing geography that I first opened my eyes some 26 years ago. Although it is now known by the cosmopolitan title 'Bogota D.C', when I met the city it went by the name of 'Santa Fe de Bogota'. It is the former name with which I'm intimately familiar. The latter is, to me, an entirely different geography.

My personal understanding of Bogota has been shaped by my choice (and ability) to look at the city through a cultural, rather than an economic lens. You see, Bogota is officially divided into economically stratified neighborhoods categorized by numbers from one to six for property tax and service price regulations. This

complex socioeconomic grid has a deep epistemological consequence: the physical knowledge that most inhabitants of Bogota have of their city is shaped largely by (often tense) class relations which constrain their personal geographies. Through my involvement in the Hard Core Punk movement, however, I was able to transcend the social boundaries erected by the habitus of class difference through concentrating on cultural affinity.

I begin my embodied geography by situating myself within it. Omitting this step often obscures the role played in research by the identity of the researcher. I came to my understanding *because* of my social identity and separating them would be impossible.

In 1986 I arrived to the 'Athens of the Andes' via caesarian, only months before the *Palacio de Justicia* (equivalent to the Supreme Court) was besieged by M-19 Guerrillas. The palace stands (after years of reconstruction) facing the north side of the central plaza around which the city was built. The army responded with tanks, which opened fire against the building, burning most of it to the ground. To put it lightly, my city boasted of a politically exciting environment.

At the national level, the Galeras volcano further traumatized the collective conscience that had formed later that year, and the town of Armero was wiped away by mud and ash, leaving an estimated death toll of over twenty thousand people. These eruptions, both geographic and geopolitical, were in my opinion, foreboding. An unbridled violence started manifesting itself intensely around 1986 as drug *capos*, rebel groups, and the armed arms of the Colombian and U.S. governments sought control of the country, and the psychology of the population.

This period of Colombian history corresponded with to my childhood years. It was the decade of 1985-1995, known widely as the era of 'Narcoterrorism'. What started as the 'silencing' of journalists and editors escalated quickly to a culling of senators, ministers, judges, and civilian populations. While the 'internal conflict'

(which I always found to be a poor euphemism for civil war) was fuelled by the fungible power of cocaine, so was much of the local economy, putting the public in a complex dilemma.

As expected, my youth was marked in many ways by this national paradigm. As a child, I remember a period of growing phobia towards shopping malls due to the mandatory bomb-search to which all entering vehicles were subjected made me quite scared. Of course, back then it was just the way things were and the idea that children should not have to fear bomb attacks while procuring necessities at their neighbourhood mall was, sadly, outside of my mental landscape.

My weariness was compounded when the movie I was watching in the cinema with my mom and cousin was interrupted by the sound of automatic machine guns (located inside a mall). We all instinctively ducked, and out of the corner of my young eye, I saw two men with guns drawn descending from their seats towards the theatre door. We later learned that the shoot-out had been a botched heist. The men with guns in the theatre must have been bodyguards, an increasingly common phenomenon in those tense times. Through the inner corridors of the mall, we made it to my mother's car. What I remember the most is how utterly baffled she was at the fact that the mall was charging parking fees and holding all the cars in a traffic jam, as the guns kept going upstairs. Living in Vancouver, I now have the pleasure of loathing shopping malls for reasons entirely unrelated to the terror of machine guns.

Through the decade-plus of my immigrant experience in North America, telling people that I am Colombian (and if there is further curiosity, that I grew up in Bogota), elicits a not-so-wide range of reactions that I have long grown accustomed to. I get asked many times if I know Pablo Escobar. I stopped using the sarcastic response of 'he was actually my uncle' because enough people looked confused by my humour and did not know what to make of it. People also tend to think that, due to its proximity to the tropics, Bogota must be nice and hot all day, every day. The

reality is not so. Among the tops of the Andes, the city's temperatures have earned it the nickname of '*la nevera*' (the fridge) across the rest of the decidedly hotter nation. I often feel as though my lack of cocaine pedigree and the fact that my city can actually feel a bit like Vancouver, weather-wise, slightly disappoints some of the people.

My placement in the socioeconomic grid of Bogota fluctuated through the 1990's (a particularly volatile economic decade). This is a common phenomenon even today because the two extremes of the socioeconomic spectrum (strata one and six) have virtually no mobility while the remainder of the population operates in a manner similar to a very active game of chutes and ladders. In the city, I was one among an official estimate of seven and a half million (an estimate that consistently fails to account for the continuous waves of internally displaced migrants fleeing the war-torn country side).

Until the eve of my teens, growing up in a variety of middle class neighborhoods on the northern quadrant of the city dictated my understanding and actual physical knowledge of the city. My travels were limited to the houses of family and friends, parks and commercial establishments, all of which were occupied mostly by middle-class folk, much like myself (economically, that is). My awareness of the 'others' -- those in absolute wealth and absolute poverty -- was consistent as well. Knowledge of the 'other's' geographies and a physical familiarity with *their* chunks of the city, however, was not part of my daily reality.

The 'extreme' geographies of the city included the polo and tennis private clubs of the elite, the 'same-but-bigger' clubs built by the *mafiosos*, rejected as *nouveau-riche* from the old money establishments, and the large swaths of tin houses, precariously built on the steep slopes of the *cerros orientales* (eastern hills) that surround the city. These slums, as well as those in the southern and occidental outskirts of the city, house many of the uncounted citizens of Bogota.

My personal experience of the city changed with my discovery of Hard Core Punk music. Bogota was (and still is) an aggressive city: its weather, its traffic, its economy, its politics, and its geography. It is therefore not a surprise that, since at least the 1980's, all forms of aggressive music have taken hold of the city like a bad herb. The multitude of denominations of Metal, Punk, and Rap music were represented by thousands of youths from all corners of Bogota.

In 'hard core' subcultures, the city lacked nothing. Having two soccer teams afforded the youth the chance to jump, shout, and attack in the name of the *barras bravas* (a *criollo* version of England's hooligans, with chants borrowed from Argentine cheers). The violence in the stadiums during these games became legendary during the early 1990's. The internalized racism of Colombian society also spawned nationalist skinhead and neo-nazi movements. Many members of these groups, as could be expected in a Latin American country, had dark skin. The joke around the underground music scene was that they preached a German-inspired nationalism (often taking violent stances against cover songs in English) while wearing American bomber jackets and British boots. The Hard Core scene was an unofficial space of communion among *barras bravas*, punks, sharps, rudeboys, and even those with more metallic inclinations (I would fall under this subcategory in those days). This can be attributed to the fact that Hard Core music, although formulaic to a considerable degree, presents itself as a musical dialogue (perhaps shouting match) between several fringe musical expressions.

I became enamoured with Hard Core partly due to geography. The band 'Exigencia,' among the first in the city's burgeoning scene, came from a few blocks away from my house, which fostered an early feeling of belonging. My Hard Core experience started not too far from home, yet it was soon to take me all over the city. As soon as my age earned me the privilege of independence, much to the chagrin of my mother, I started venturing more and more often towards downtown, towards the hard music mecca known as *la calle 19*.

This geographic space affected me upon first visit much in the same manner I felt years later as I first exited the subway in New York and emerged in Times Square. As much as I told myself to 'be cool,' my eyes independently doubled their size. Nineteenth Street in downtown Bogota was a testament to the city's aggressive taste, a formal and informal marketplace of heavy music. For about four blocks, and just south of the 'tropical music' specialty stores, entire strip-malls were populated by establishments purveying hard rock recordings and merchandize. Black Metal, Death Metal, Hard Core, Punk, Oi, Ska, Heavy Metal, Grind Core, and Gore adorned storefront after storefront. These small independent businesses relied on the encyclopedic knowledge of their storeowners in order to keep up with extreme musical undercurrents at a national, and worldwide, level.

These stores were our Google -- our Internet. In those days, the market of *la 19* doubled as an underground music college. I fed my love for all things metal through the 'tape black market,' a magnificent shadow economy that stocked decent cassette copies of amazing catalogues. The album covers were skillfully color-copied and resized to cassette-format, then glued onto the blank tape papers. The track lists were then faithfully hand-written in the back. I found these precarious cottage industries built on metal quite romantic, wondering if the people transcribing titles such as '*Altar of Sacrifice*' or '*Impaled Nazarene*' shared a passion for the music, or if it was all strictly business.

Unlike regular stores, these tape entrepreneurs' place of business was the sidewalk. Their storefronts were wooden boxes, similar to those employed across the city for single cigarette and candy hustling. If your request was not 'stocked' by one of the many sales-folk around, you could just come back next week or in a few days, and the tape would be located and copied for you. The efficiency of such an informal system still amazes me.

Hard Core, unlike the more popular metal denominations, was a more specialized taste. This meant initially only *some* stores would carry Hard Core bands.

I particularly remember a storeowner, deemed 'the Beatle', as an early supporter of Hard Core. Through the locale of his store, musicians networked to promote shows and provide a source of Hard Core stocked from 'the outside.' Most importantly, local bands' demos, E.P.s, and eventually albums, were also sold. This, upon reflection, was another crucial space that allowed Hard Core Punk to flourish in Bogota, and the mythical *Beatle* acted as an unofficial cultural gateway and platform, controlling to a degree that which was accepted and consumed from the international catalogue, while influencing the creation of a community by providing a communal space.

The breadth of my physical understanding of the city expanded immensely with my interaction with this music. From the neighborhood where I rehearsed with my band (*Malicia Urbana*, a play on the then much-reported presence of rebel urban militias in the outskirts of the city, and the racialized concept of *malicia indigena*, the 'indigenous malice' that Colombian identity curiously attributes to itself), to concert halls, tattoo parlors, illegal military surplus stores, and many other establishments. My travels often took me around 200 blocks of the city. The concerts took place in several different locales, but they always brought together youth from various neighborhoods (and by implication social strata) in a manner otherwise never witnessed in the city (except perhaps for the soccer stadium on Sundays, which was in a lot of ways like gigantic mosh pit). The scene preached unity and came under the banner of "SBHC" (*Santa Fe de Bogota Hard Core*) yet at the same time, each band would 'rep their hood' and bring along their 'crew'.

The outcome was not always peaceful. I remember regretting the fact that I missed a certain festival in which a band from one of the neighborhoods in which I had lived was playing. I regretted it, that is, until I heard what happened at the show. During the first song, a small group of skinheads started a fight that cut the band's already-short set shorter. The infuriated drummer leaped from behind his kit and proceeded to smash a skin's head with a microphone. This spurred a riot leading to

the group of skinheads being cornered and threatened until one of them took a machete out from his bomber jacket.

The skins left the place. The festival was completely deflated and the aura of ultra-violence reminded everybody of the social context in which the small 'SBHC' community was embedded. The memories of those days, however, present a largely positive balance for me. A while after the trips through the formerly forbidden class lines of my city had become second-nature to me I realized what had happened. It took the countless hours of artistic communion, the experiences in neighborhoods previously unheard of to me, the ritualistic experience of sweating and singing along with people every bit as human as me, to remove my classist lens and, most importantly, to becoming *aware* that I once had one. By experiencing affinity with those who I was socialized to think I couldn't, I became aware of the subjectivity and ambiguity of the social axes of differentiation through which a large part of our identities are developed.

I believe the degree of social critique which most bands presented in their lyrics played a crucial role in these personal realizations. The common lyrical themes of the day included challenges to classism, the militarization of Colombian society, and the subjectivity of criminality in a country defined by an internal war paradigm. Massacres were a common poetic image. The plethora of social injustices that created our national reality acted as muse to most bands.

The music took me to neighborhoods unheard of to many of my classmates, and halls once reserved for the 'high arts'. Through soup-kitchen benefits, a conference with the Mayor, newspaper editors, and local musicians, Hard Core gave me access to geographies crucial to the city as an entity, yet wholly unknown to millions stuck within the socially-dictated class divisions of Bogota.

Donna Haraway's concept of 'situated knowledge' illuminates this process for me (Haraway, 1999), as my embodied, embedded presence and position within my

social circle and city affected (and to a large degree determined) my experience of Bogota. I can see clearly how my understanding of the city came about through “acts of connection, translation, and contestation” (Sundberg, 25). The translation of the commonalities and shared experiences of living in Bogota into a cultural movement allowed for a powerful level of human connection. These two, in turn, could not have occurred without the contestation of the dictated ways of knowing the city that were handed down to us.

In the heat of my Hard Core days, as the millennium approached, Colombia’s economy bottomed out in spectacular fashion. As Ernesto Samper spent the better part of his 1994-1998 presidency battling the judicial branch to retain power due to the surfacing of ‘narco-cassettes’ involving his campaign funding with ruling drug lords of the day, a recession sent shock-waves through the nation. A massive wave of emigration occurred in the latter half of the 1990’s, largely to the U.S. and Spain, although many people went wherever they could.

I landed in South Florida with my father in late 1999. Thanks to the abundance of touring bands that stopped through, I was exposed to another scene in which I observed a similar dynamic as that of the cross-class communion of Bogota, but in ethnic terms. As I’ve grown older and expanded my musical tastes widely, Hard Core still remains in heavy rotation (now in digital format) in my household. What I continue to draw from it is inspiration from the conviction that permeates the music for my everyday endeavors and challenges.

I have come to believe that in creating and participating in a vibrant, socially aware youth culture, our biggest challenge to the status-quo did not come from the over-communication of markers (such as shaved heads or tattoos), nor from the actual musical content of the movement. The most revolutionary and extreme of our actions was deconstructing the invisible borders that once separated our physical geographies.

As I realized how I came to understand Santa Fe de Bogota through my affiliation in a group which I considered my cultural kin, Rachel Saltmarsh's question resounded in my head: "how could I not write my culture autobiographically?"(147). Thinking back to the scientific obsession with detachment from one's studies, I can't help but ask myself: without an acknowledgement of our personal selves, how can we obtain knowledge that will be of any significance to us? This is a question that should not be ignored by academia, as the neglecting of what is an integral part of any research (the researcher), perhaps does more for dehumanizing the conclusions, than for universalizing them through objectivity.