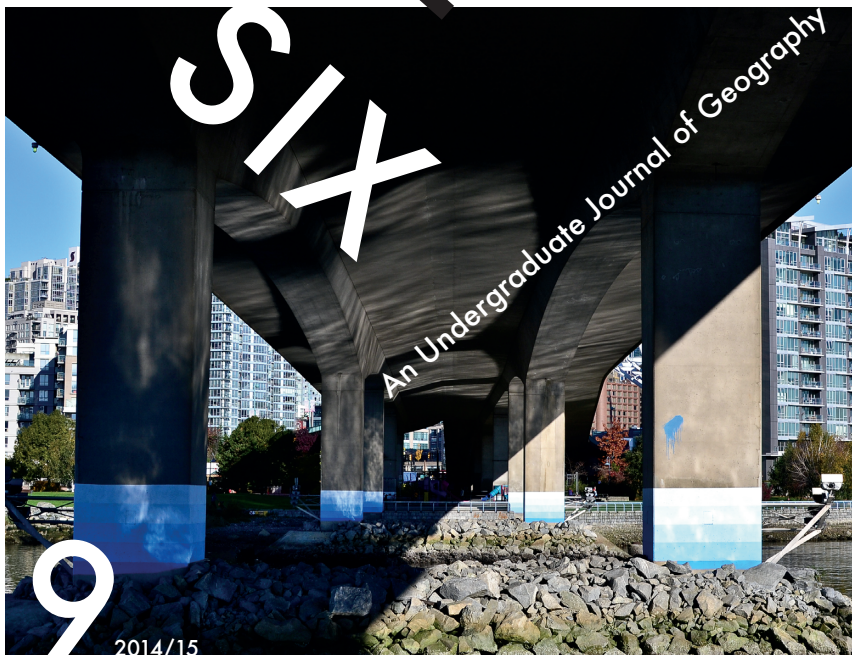


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Table of Contents

Livable Cities? Competitive cities: How urbanism ideals and millennials have made cities more competitive <i>Niklas Agarwal</i>	1
Porn Shops, Prostitutes and Broken Windows: An Analysis of the effects of New York City's quality of life campaigns and order-maintenance policing on the City's commercial and illicit sex industries <i>Kate Beck</i>	10
The Potential for Housing Policy to Influence Social Change <i>Kate Freed</i>	25
Decades of War: Lootable natural resources, the duration of conflict, and international action <i>Elizabeth Good</i>	39
Dynamics of Food Security and the Traditional Food System of the Arctic Inuit, with a focus on the Nunavut Community of Igloodik <i>Jessica Kiyomi Henry</i>	54
Privatization of Public Space: The High Line Park, zoning incentives and social demarcation <i>Emily Huang</i>	73
A Critique of the Assumptions in Favour of Expanding the Local Food Market <i>Ryen Mackaay</i>	84
Questioning Postcolonial Theory in Geography: Time, Place and Perceptions of Palestine and Israel <i>Eleanor Wearing</i>	93

Seeing things: readings from the book of nature

To Wander Through Nature <i>Carter Brown</i>	The New Landscape <i>Hazel Gichungwa</i>
Against Dead Hearts and Dead Minds <i>Rumbidzai Chikowero</i>	The Crocus as Conduit of Memory <i>Emma Kansiz</i>
Tweet Dreams <i>Maddy Collins</i>	

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

UBC has long been a place of learning, innovation, and excellence. It is vital to acknowledge that these processes could not take place without the unceded and ancestral territory of the Coast Salish peoples. We work and live everyday on occupied lands. We acknowledge this and strive to continuously cultivate an environment where students can critique, research, study, write, and discuss ideas with a keen sense of place.

The Geography Department prides itself on presenting an unpretentious and involved micro-community within the UBC campus. Within an institution that can often feel unwieldy or impersonal, the students and faculty in geography are constantly finding ways to better communicate and connect both inside and outside the classroom. From the numerous people that generously gave their time and hard work to this publication, it is clear that this spirit of collaborative and supportive growth is thriving on a social and academic level.

We'd like to thank all our authors, editors, managing editors, and faculty reviewers for putting so much effort into Trail Six this year. From the countless emails back and forth, to fitting meetings into already busy schedules, we thank you for your patience and commitment to the process. Your encouragement of one another through numerous reviews and edits helped to foster a productive accountability and a desire for betterment. We hope future editions can continue this collaborative process and work towards creating exciting issues in the years to come.

This year we tried to build off the legacy of our previous issues of Trail Six by selecting papers that put forth interesting research and broadened the scope of the discipline. Additionally, we added excerpts from Professor Wynn's class on the development of environmental thought. We wanted to showcase different styles of work in order to further expand the horizons of the journal. To everyone who got the opportunity to be published in Trail Six - congratulations and good luck in your future endeavors!

We hope this year's issue of Trail Six reflects the enthusiasm and diligence of all those who participated in its creation.

Kelly Cubbon and Jialin Yang

Editors-in-Chief, March 2015

FOREWORD

This year's Trail Six contains eight articles covering three important geographic themes: the Geographies of War and Protracted Conflict; Critical Urban Geography; and Geographies of Food Consumption. These themes reflect several important facets of humanity, such as: life in zones of varying degrees of conflict, urban spaces as sites of power, control and contestation, and the dynamics of supporting our burgeoning species on a limited supply of resources. The articles in this issue explore these themes and ideas at various scales and temporalities – reflecting the diversity of knowledge production within the discipline of Geography.

This issue of Trail Six not only demonstrates the breadth, depth and rigour of the academic writing produced by the students of UBC Geography, it is also a productive and timely contribution to a deepening geographic understanding of the world. On behalf of the Department, I offer my congratulations to the Geography Students' Association (GSA) on another excellent issue of Trail Six. Here's to many more!

Marwan A. Hassan
Professor and Department Head
UBC Department of Geography

Livable Cities?

Competitive cities: How urbanism ideals and millennials have made cities more competitive

by NIKLAS AGARWAL

Cities today are transforming at incredible speeds. Not only are more people living in cities, but cities are becoming more livable by supposedly focusing on new urbanism ideals that value walkability, access to transit, and maximizing creative potential. What caused this shift? This article argues that this can be attributed to competitiveness. It can be observed that there is increased media coverage regarding ideas of livability. However, while this trend is occurring, there has simultaneously been increased coverage on the ideas of being a competitive city.” This article will show how cities are increasingly following globalization patterns and retrofitting to attract young millennial workers, and how this increased coverage of “competitive cities” mirrors scholar-identified trends where when cities deemed more livable see increased living costs and gentrification. This article will first outline and explain the trend, conduct a brief media trend analysis, and then proceed to discuss the problems of livability with a focus on gentrification and competitiveness.

Every day it seems like we are living in an age of urban renaissance. Livable cities, walkable cities, healthy cities, and vibrant cities have all become part of the urban discourse. This can be observed if one casually follows the online conversation of news articles, tweets, blog posts, and other forms of communication (Bramley 2014, Walljasper 2014). However, often missing from this dialogue is the reasoning and consequences behind this renaissance. Each time a new bike lane goes in, a mixed-use, mixed-income, and mid-rise building goes up, or a pedestrianized square is built, the politics of these actions are rarely taken into serious consideration. Organizations like 8-80 cities and new urbanists heroes like Jan Gehl and Enrique Peñalosa, the former mayor of Bogota, are taking up the charge against car dominated planning and are trying to make “livable cities” (Peñalosa 2013, Bramley 2014). One could claim that this urban renaissance is occurring because as a society we have finally learned our ways from the 1950s automobile dependent modern era. Borrowing ideas

from several academics, this paper makes the argument that this shift is in part based on the economic competitiveness of the millennial generation. In a globalizing world, a city that is able to market an image of itself as “the best” will attract a young demographic aspiring to and signifying an upward economic future (Kipfer and Keil 2002, Ley and Dorbon 2008). However, it is important to examine the consequences of this duality in increased livability and competitiveness. In scholarly discourse, there has been extensive research in the trend of “creativity policy” (Peck 2011) and the issues surrounding the people that lead gentrification (Lees 2000, Ley and Dorbon 2008). Moreover, there has been significant discourse in the media on millennials and competition. To join this conversation, an in-depth analysis of how all these ideas work together, particularly in regards to media data, could increase understanding of livability in cities. In this article, explanations of trends, competition, and consequences will be detailed with a focus on gentrification and competitiveness. First, this

Livable Cities?

article will outline and explain the trend and competition before moving on to a discussion of consequences.

Although the politics are complex and multifaceted, one reason that cities are redeveloping into “livable cities” is to attract the “creative class” of millennial workers (Peck 2011). Young adults are rejecting the monotony of suburbia and demanding to live in complete, vibrant communities. This consists of places in cities where they have equal access to transportation options and a variety of land uses within close

proximity. They go where rent is cheap and create change (Lasner 2010). This can be observed in the mass of urban news sources that consistently document this change. News articles such as Millennials Prefer Cities To Suburbs, Subways To Driveways and Creating Attractive and Vibrant Places for the Upcoming 75 Percent not only showcase the transformations happening in cities, but are testament to the close coverage the media is paying to this trend. However, in all these articles we also see evidence that housing prices go up and property values go up

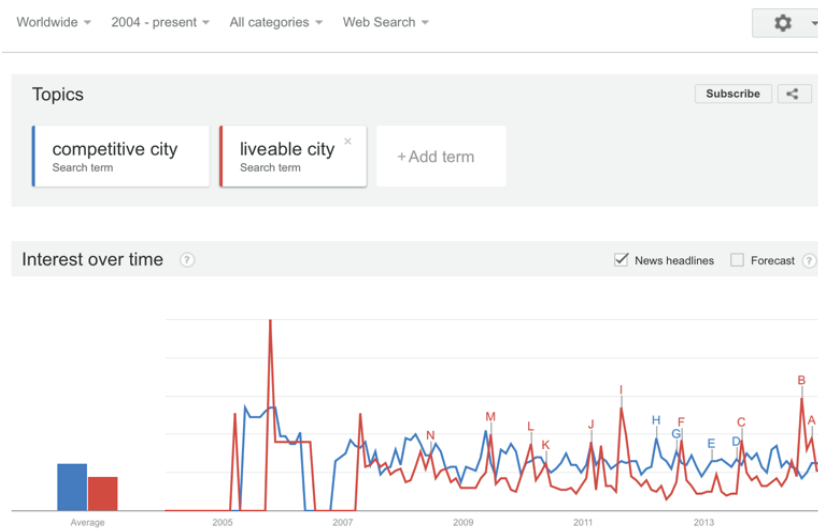


Figure 1. Data Source: Google Trends (www.google.com/trends)

Tweets per day: liveable city and competitive city

November 12th — December 12th

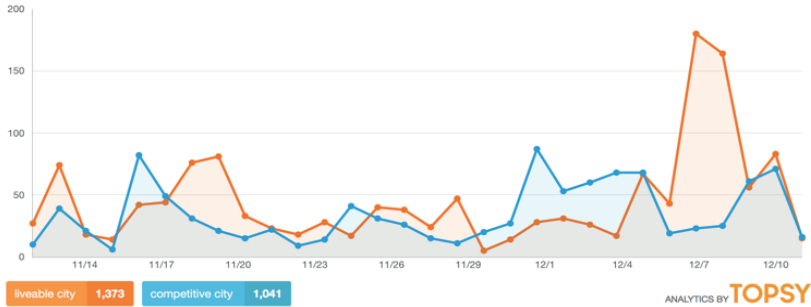


Figure 2. Data Source: TOPSY (<http://topsy.com>)

when millennials move in. Thus, it can be hypothesized that it is advantageous for municipal governments to compete for their cities to become “livable” in order to attract millennials, subsequently gentrify urban space, and provide more taxes. This has prompted a closer investigation into a media analysis of the terms “livable city” and “competitive city.”

These trends show media discourse in two different methods. Figure 1 shows Google news hits over a ten year period starting in 2004, while Figure 2 shows tweets from November 12 2014 to December 12 2014. This information was presented in two separate graphs instead of using one, for the purpose

of demonstrating that this discourse was mostly present online and through social media channels. Over a ten year period, the news article averaged twenty hits per month. In contrast, Twitter produced one thousand tweets in one single month. This is reflective in the generation of young people who use social media and are leading this livable/competitive cities movement. And interesting part of this analysis is that the graphs in each figure are almost parallel. This of course is merely a correlation, but it could indicate that a trend of increased competition and livability is occurring simultaneously, keeping in mind that the media tends to be a good indicator of phenomena. Additionally, the

Livable Cities?

lack of news prior to 2005 may indicate that this is a recent change which aligns with logic as older millennials are starting to come of age.

It is vital to first define what is meant by the term “competitive cities.” Drawing from Kipfer and Keil in their discussions on Toronto, we can define competitive city policy as:

“An overarching (imputed or material) imperative of intercity competition that treats cities as homogenous units that compete with each other for investment and mobile segments of new urban middle classes through strategies of municipal state restructuring and policies of economic development, finance, taxation, land-use planning, urban design, “culture,” diversity management, policing, and workfare.” (Kipfer and Keil 2002, 234; emphasis added)

Next, this paper will explore the idea that cities compete for the middle class. As

mentioned earlier, millennials, the generation born between 1980 and 2000, are attracted to cities that have cheap rent, accessible public transit, a booming arts scene, and other youthful passions (Lasner 2010). As cited by Forbes Magazine, millennials will make up the next biggest job population by 2025 (Bettles 2014). This demographic has been referred to as the “creative class” by Richard Florida as they are made up of young individuals who go against traditional career paths (Peck 2011). These are young, fresh out of college, working adults, and thus this demographic of creative millennials can be said to form this new “urban middle class.” Cities are looking to attract them, as again they will make up a high part of the workforce, so they compete with each other.

Kipfer and Keil go on to state that the competitiveness of attracting this middle class millennial population, and the subsequent urban restructuring, is essential if cities want to be recognized as global cities (2002). In other

words, cities are trying to become the best at what Begg calls “investability” (2002). That is, cities are trying to focus “on how a locality can be made more attractive to potential investors (Begg 2002). In our discussion of municipalities, the idea of the “investor” can be looked at two-fold: (1) Investors as millennials investing their lives into cities, or even more importantly (2) Investors as in real-estate investors. Often where millennials go, urban processes such as gentrification and rising property values follow. An example of this can be seen in a study of Louisville, Kentucky. In Louisville, a city with a high millennial population (Boyle 2014), they found areas with a higher “walkscore” generally had higher property values (Gilderbloom et al. 2014). Additionally, they found that during the recession, property values in neighbourhoods with high walkability continued to increase (Gilderbloom et al. 2014). We can see how these millennial are acting as “investors,” buying houses in cheap cities that ensure both the city’s economic prosperity as well as their own. Whether this was an intentional or

not, by attracting a millennial population, Louisville has put itself up with the ranks of cities who are also competing to attracting millennials and achieve global status, such as Seattle and San Francisco. (Toppo and Overberg 2014).

With this online literature being generated, there is often a piece of information left unmentioned. While articles talk about property values going up, they do not mention gentrification largely led by young adults or the “new middle class” (Lees 2000). This erasure is not a unique phenomenon. As Ley and Dorbon state, when a creative city starts to attract new residents “the unjust impacts of gentrification are less visible, less discuss[ed], and less resisted” (2008, 2472). They use some local Vancouver examples of Grandview-Woodland and the Downtown Eastside to define gentrification as a process where middle and upper class people move into portions of a city that were historically working class (2008). Lees explains how this “new middle class,” which we’ve described as millennials above, enters a neighbourhood

Livable Cities?

due to low rent and settles there, causing property values to go up and thereby making it uninhabitable and unlivable for the original residents (2000). Lees goes on to say that “gentrification in the guise of urban livability/sustainability is constructed as the medicine for the problems endured by British and American cities” (Lees 2000, 404). In other words, gentrification can be the result of projects conducted with the goal of improving livability. New projects that improve walkability for example, are actually seen to raise property values and this can be seen as a process of gentrification. This demonstrates how livability programs and urban planning contribute to the expulsion of people who don’t fit into the increased competitive nature of a city.

Kipfler and Keil use the scholars Dundcan and Goodwin to show us that in order to understand cities and the process of competition, “the local state must be understood as a crystallization of the uneven development of capitalist development” (Kipfler and Keil 2002). The city must

be understood as a process where competition drives uneven urban development that benefits a select few, while displacing many others. This paper has demonstrated how and why cities are competing and one of the consequences that occurs when that happens. Millennials will make up a huge portion of the future workforce and thus cities are seeking to attract them in order to ensure that they have financial security. In order to do this, not only do they compete nationally, but also globally (Lees 2000) to create more “livable cities.” Many may claim that common sense is the driving force behind the recent transformations occurring in cities. However, a significant motive is the desire to attract millennials. This is a key concept and self-perpetuating factor in the competitive city. In order to improve our cities, there must be more research in ways to improve livability for the people existing in neighbourhoods without attracting competition.

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Livable Cities?

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Porn Shops, Prostitutes and Broken Windows

An analysis of the effects
of New York City's
quality of life campaigns
and order-maintenance
policing on the City's
commercial and illicit sex
industries

by KATE BECK

This paper examines the use of order-maintenance policing and rezoning policies by New York City's municipal government and the New York Police Department (NYPD) targeting businesses, solicitors, and customers of the city's sex industry. Drawing on urban crime and security theory, two reports written by non-governmental organizations located in New York City, as well as recent NYPD data, it is argued that these policies have effectively limited the sex industry, its workers and its customers to marginalized, unprotected, and increasingly dangerous spaces.

Porn Shops, Prostitutes and Broken Windows

INTRODUCTION

Revanchism, as defined by Neil Smith, is the act of taking back urban space from the inner city poor by limiting civilians' basic rights and liberties, and has been crucial in reshaping New York City from the "grit, grime and glamour" of the 1980s to the sanitized, crime-reduced "cosmopolitan playground" the city is today (Greig 2014). Under the mayorship of Rudy Giuliani (1994-2001), who promised to bring back social order to New York City in the 1990s, the upper middle class acquired a greater role in defining order and disorder, and creating new boundaries between orderly and disorderly people and spaces. The New York City municipality has since created bylaws and zoning regulations that aim to illegitimize existing housing and businesses that serve the lower middle class, remove spending on social services by replacing them with order-maintenance policing, and effectively "retrench a narrow set of social norms" which defined the legitimacy of the city's residents (Smith 1996).

Representing the revanchist upper middle class, Giuliani and his administration redefined the public and private lives of inner city citizens. Their policies not only blurred the lines between the government's involvement in the private and public lives of its citizens, but also gained the authority to determine the intimate sex lives of newly defined outsiders. By applying rezoning laws and new forms of policing to New York City's sex trade, the revanchist administration authorized where and how inner city residents had sex. This paper argues that through the introduction of adult-use zoning laws and policing, the municipal government and the New York Police Department (NYPD) have effectively limited the sex industry, its workers and its customers, to marginalized, unprotected, and increasingly dangerous spaces. Firstly, I will examine how sex and sexual expression have been defined as forms of urban social and physical disorder, and how sex as urban disorder creates legitimate and illegitimate people and spaces. Secondly, I will examine how adult-use zoning laws and

proactive policing implemented in the 1990s effectively marginalized the sex industry into unregulated, unprotected areas of the city.

SEX AS A FORM OF URBAN DISORDER

Mayor Giuliani's attempts to improve the quality of life in New York City by reducing crime, attracting investment and increasing property values were based on Wilson and Kelling's Broken Windows Theory (Wilson and Kelling 1982). This theory states that serious crimes occur in areas that are perceived as disorderly and uncared for (Wilson and Kelling 1982). Therefore, to reduce serious crimes, policing efforts and the attention of the municipal authority must focus on reducing petty crimes and disorder rather than serious crimes since minor offenses create spaces that attract perpetrators of more severe ones. Another aspect of Broken Windows Theory is the promotion of private, informal security, which grants individual citizens the right to regulate public behaviour through informal social controls, such

as the orderliness of the neighbourhood (Jeffrey and Davies 2000, 457). Wilson and Kelling argue that in disorderly spaces fraught with petty crime, "drugs will change hands, prostitutes will solicit, and cars will be stripped... drunks will be robbed by boys who do it as a lark, and the prostitutes' customers will be robbed by men who do it purposefully and perhaps violently" (Wilson and Kelling 1982, 3). They conclude by stating that the decriminalization of "harmless behaviours", such as drinking in public, prostitution, and public pornographic displays, has the ability to "destroy a community more quickly than any team of burglars" (Wilson, Kelling 1982, 9).

Since the concept of disorder is central to Wilson and Kelling's Broken Windows Theory, the definition of disorder is crucial to how this theory is applied to policy and policing. Wilson and Kelling define disorder as follows: "in its broadest sense, disorder is incivility, boorish threatening behaviour that disturbs life, especially urban life" (McArdle and Erzen 2001, 20). In studies following the publication of

Porn Shops, Prostitutes and Broken Windows

The Broken Windows Theory, disorder has been defined more specifically as being either physical or social disorder (McArdle and Erzen 2001). Physical disorder includes ill-kept buildings, garbage-filled lots, abandoned buildings, and pornographic displays, while social disorder includes catcalling, sexual harassment, drinking, prostitution, smut (adult pornography businesses), loitering, insulting language and vandalism (McArdle and Erzen 2001, 20). By this definition, any public display of the commercial sex industry, whether legitimate businesses or street prostitution, becomes subject to formal and informal discipline by police, municipal authority or citizens themselves.

By determining the boundaries between order and disorder, The Broken Windows Theory categorizes groups of people as orderly or disorderly, outsiders or insiders. These dichotomies create two groups of criminals: insider criminals (those participating in petty crimes, like prostitution or public drinking), and outsider criminals (those who participate in serious crimes) (Harcourt 1998, 304). By controlling

and excluding the former – loiterers, panhandlers and prostitutes – orderly citizens, who are mainly upper middle class white families, effectively safeguard themselves and their communities from outsider criminals (Harcourt 1998, 298). When implemented by municipalities and citizen groups, the Broken Windows approach creates legitimate and illegitimate spaces and dictates which groups of people belong in these spaces (Sanchez 1997, 545).

In the neoliberal system of privatized security and social exclusion legitimized by the Broken Windows Theory, public displays of sex, drinking and other vices are considered disorderly and individuals who publicly display involvement in these activities, like sex workers, customers of sex workers and adult businesses, are redefined as outsiders in what were once their own inner city communities. These individuals and the activities they participate in become illegitimate, and the businesses that cater to them become undesirable in the neoliberal city. Orderly, insider citizens are given authority to control

and monitor disorderly people's involvement in these vices, police are given authority to ticket, arrest and remove, and municipal authorities create bylaws and zoning regulations that limit these individuals and the businesses that cater to them to marginalized, undefined zones. Through these neoliberal security mechanisms, the state and the revanchist class produces and entrenches the marginality of the lower class (Wacquant 2010, 75). As Neil Smith argues, the upper middle class and municipal and state authorities are given the ability to react with revenge against those they believe are unfit in the new, orderly city, which in the case of New York City includes sex workers, adult businesses and their customers (Smith 1996, 12).

The Broken Windows Theory remains the main source of Giuliani's Quality of Life Campaign, which was introduced in 1994 and is still in effect in policies today. William Bratton, the Police Commissioner while Giuliani was in office, applied Broken Windows Theory to his new, proactive and order-maintenance policing

strategies, and New York City's planning department used it as the basis for the introduction of new bylaws and zoning regulations attempting to control and exclude specific groups of people (Harcourt 1998, 302). Giuliani and his administration did not simply apply the Broken Windows Theory as a means to reduce crime in inner city residential areas, they applied it with the aim of attracting international business, increasing investment, and increasing property values in New York City, inadvertently creating today's neoliberal, sanitized, "post justice" city (Vitale 2008, 26).

With specific reference to the sex industry in the Broken Windows Theory, street prostitution is considered a petty crime that must be controlled and limited by police and citizens in order to control the serious criminals that are attracted to areas where sex is being sold (Wilson and Kelling 1982). However, under Giuliani's initiatives to increase investment and property values in New York City, prostitution and legitimate adult businesses, including

Porn Shops, Prostitutes and Broken Windows

movie stores, bookshops, theaters and cabarets, were redefined as forms of physical and social disorder that were not only unsafe for communities, but also led to cycles of disinvestment in areas (Harcourt 1998, 384). Through the NYPD's order-maintenance and proactive policing, prostitution arrests increased significantly for customers, sex workers and those allowing prostitution to occur in or near their businesses. By applying these policies to urban investment and real estate, Giuliani effectively redefined sex-related businesses as illegitimate and excluded them from the new, sanitized, tourist-friendly neoliberal New York City (Vitale 2008).

MAINTAINING ORDER AND MARGINALIZING NEW YORK'S SEX TRADE

Mayor Giuliani's use of adult-use zoning laws and NYPD's order-maintenance policing aimed to limit the sex industry to a few, marginalized industrial areas on the outskirts of the city. By defining aspects of the sex trade industry as disorderly and unfit for a city occupied by the upper middle class, the New

York City municipality excluded and redirected these aspects to the peripheral and industrial outskirts of the city (Sanchez 1997). The municipality and the NYPD have effectively created "safe spaces for violence" in these under-protected, marginalized zones and have defined sex workers and clients as 'sexual outlaws'" (Sanchez 1997, 546). In these spaces, sex workers are denied rights to citizenship and are more vulnerable to violence and coercion by clients, residents, and in many cases, police officers (Sanchez 1997, 546). In these zones, clients, police and residents feel authorized to physically "discipline" sex workers based on their identity and overt sexuality through the use of violence. Because illegitimate people only occupy these illegitimate spaces, acts of violence perpetrated against sex workers lack legitimate witnesses, and are thereby ignored by judicial authorities and perpetrators go unpunished (Sanchez 1997, 575).

ADULT-USE ZONING

After two years in office, Giuliani and New York City's planning division expanded

the “sustained economic and social battle against the city’s poor and sexual subcultures” by introducing the Adult-Use Zoning Resolution in 1995 (McArdle and Erzen 2001, 404). It stipulated that adult businesses must be at least 500 feet away from residential and commercial districts, 500 feet away from churches and schools, and 500 feet away from other adult establishments (Fahringer 1998, 404). An “adult establishment” was defined as a business where “a substantial portion of the stock-in-trade is characterized by an emphasis on specified sexual activities or specified anatomical areas, or a business that regularly features films or live performances [with] an emphasis on the defined form of sexual activity”, excluding lingerie and marital aid stores (Fahringer 1997, 404-5; Cardozo 2001, 1). Due to New York City’s high population, business density and multi-use neighbourhoods, this zoning regulation aimed to remove many of businesses from the inner city, only allowing them to relocate to isolated industrial areas on the outskirts of the town (Fahringer 1998, 424).

Beginning in 1989 during the economic recession, adult establishments were presented as the cause of disinvestment in the urban economy, creating “dead zones” by limiting patronage of other businesses located nearby (Papayanis 2000, 342). The municipality’s decision, however, was based on theory rather than reality. Three separate studies carried out in New York City during the early 1990s found no conclusive evidence that adult establishments were linked to increased crime or decreased property values (Fahringer 1998). In some areas, adult establishments were actually linked to fewer criminal complaints than average, and in four of the six surveyed areas, property values increased by a higher percentage than in the control areas (Fahringer 1998, 416). Although studies showed no empirical evidence of adverse secondary effects, the use of anecdotal evidence from adjacent business owners, city planners and real estate experts supported the revanchist battle against adult establishments and New York City’s visible sex trade, determining that the adult establishments were linked

Porn Shops, Prostitutes and Broken Windows

to increased crime, reduced patronage for other businesses and decreased property values (Fahringer 1998, 416).

In the end, the New York State Supreme Court concluded that the municipality “was not required to show specific impact from the operation of adult theaters”, allowing the Zoning Resolution to continue (Fahringer 1998, 346). As a result, in 1998, the city authorities began shutting down adult establishments through the use of abrupt police raids without warning during working hours. Unlike most rezoning regulations, which may have been grandfathered in or provided businesses the chance to amend to fit within new regulations, or, at the very least, provided businesses with fair warning of closure, the closure of New York City’s adult establishments was abrupt and many reports stated that police treated employees and customers of these legitimate businesses as criminals (Allen 1998). The municipality has since amended and strengthened its zoning regulations in 2001 and attempted to toughen the laws again in 2012, but this

was struck down by the New York City Supreme Court (Kuo 2012).

The majority of adult-use businesses were located in Manhattan before these zoning bylaws were implemented, however after 1995, most of these businesses were forced to shut down while a few relocated to manufacturing districts in outer boroughs (Simson 1995, 213). The exclusion of adult businesses from the inner city and into peripheral, under-protected zones further marginalized the employees and customers of these businesses. If employees chose to remain in the sex industry, they were obligated to participate in one of the few adult businesses located in the manufacturing areas or to turn to illicit street solicitation or illegal escort agencies.

NYPD ORDER- MAINTENANCE POLICING

Introduced in 1994 by the NYPD, order-maintenance policing aims to remove sex workers and customers of the illegitimate sex industry from the inner city and into the same, peripheral areas

that the legitimate sex industry was marginalized to. Order-maintenance policing is a “law enforcement strategy that seeks to create public order by aggressively enforcing laws against public drunkenness, loitering, vandalism, littering, public urination, panhandling, prostitution and other minor misdemeanors” (Fahringer 1998, 416). This zero-tolerance policing approach seeks to deter disorderly urban dwellers from participating in petty crimes. Order-maintenance policing not only targets minor criminal activities, it also targets specific groups of citizens, subjecting their public and private lives to increased surveillance and public scrutiny (Fahringer 1998).

Beginning in 1994, the NYPD focused on targeting street prostitution in order to deter other crimes that arose in areas where prostitution occurred. The NYPD and community groups were less concerned with prostitution as a crime, and were instead concerned with the environment street prostitution created (Wolf 2013, 348). Street-based sex workers were deemed to be the “broken windows” that attracted the

criminals, and therefore had to be removed from the inner city. However order-maintenance policing did not aim to remove sex work from New York City altogether, but aimed to, “move [it] off the streets, become less visible, and allow community stakeholders to reclaim their neighborhoods” (Wolf 2013, 359).

As Wolf argues in “New Strategies for an Old Profession”, order-maintenance policing paired with rezoning bylaws and community initiatives have drastically reduced “the public presence of prostitution” in residential neighbourhoods in Manhattan and Times Square (Wolf 2009, 357). However, these policing measures have redirected the sex industry into marginalized and increasingly dangerous areas. Unsurprisingly, these are the same marginalized locations that zoning regulations have diverted the commercial sex industry to.

The tactics used by police when stopping and arresting suspected sex workers and customers are also reported anecdotally as being forceful, violent, and most often

Porn Shops, Prostitutes and Broken Windows

unwarranted. In fact, new data on stop and frisk policing released by the NYPD in 2012 supports this claim (New York Civil Liberties Union 2014). In the next two sections, I will examine how this anecdotal evidence and NYPD data demonstrate the dangerous environments individuals participating in the sex industry now face.

i) Urban Justice Center Report and Pros Network Report

The Urban Justice Center's report (2003), and the Pros Network's report (2012), provide anecdotal evidence on the NYPD's use of force as well as verbal and physical abuse when stopping suspects of prostitution crimes, arguing that this has effectively forced sex workers and clients into marginalized, unprotected areas (Pros Network 2012, 1-74; Urban Justice Center 2003, 1-100).

The Urban Justice Center reported that 70% of the thirty street-based sex workers interviewed had nearly daily police-initiated interactions, with many reporting that they were targeted by police even

when they were doing non-criminal tasks, including grocery shopping or taking transit. This ultimately demonstrates that the NYPD's strategy targets specific groups of people based on identity and appearance rather than criminal activity (Urban Justice Center 2003, 6). In addition, 93% of the sex workers interviewed had been arrested by the NYPD in the last twelve months for prostitution-related crimes or other minor misdemeanors, and 77% of respondents reported being falsely arrested for a crime they did not commit (Urban Justice Center 2003, 7).

Nine years later, the Pros Network reported similar relationships between sex workers and the NYPD. However, this report focused specifically on the NYPD's confiscation and use of condoms as evidence against sex workers, arguing that this is both unconstitutional and undermines sex workers' health and wellbeing. Their findings indicate that 74% of respondents reported to have been stopped and searched by the police, 62.9% of sex workers reported being arrested based on prostitution-

related crimes, and 22.9% of sex workers reported that they had witnesses condom confiscation by the NYPD (Pros Network 2012, 21).

These reports also reveal sex workers' attempts to avoid interactions with police by relocating to marginalized areas, and soliciting via the Internet or escort services (Wolf 2013, 348). Street-based sex workers expressed their attempts to avoid police interaction by working in deserted areas of the city, arranging meetings with customers by telephone or web or by not carrying condoms in areas police are present (Urban Justice Network 2000, 8; Pros Network 2012, 20).

ii) NYPD Stop and Frisk Data

The NYPD's stop and frisk data provides ample evidence supporting the claims made by these two reports. Out of the 6483 stops made by the NYPD for suspected prostitution-related crimes between 2007-2010, 86.5% of suspects were innocent and 13.5% of individuals were charged with a crime or issued a summons (see Figure 1.). Out of this 13.5%, only 74% of these arrests or summons were related to prostitution, meaning that when officers could not file a prostitution-related crime, they would file crimes for loitering, trespassing, misdemeanors, and so on.



Figure 1. Source: NYPD Data

Porn Shops, Prostitutes and Broken Windows

When examining NYPD data, the spatial relationship existing between policing and the street sex industry becomes clear. Firstly, street prostitution in New York City has been reported to be limited to low-income, black majority neighbourhoods since the initiation of Quality of Life Campaigns in 1994. However only 9.19% of stops were made in predominantly black neighbourhoods while 50% of stops were made in predominantly white neighbourhoods. Secondly, prostitution-related stops can be examined by borough, which offers a better explanation

of the varied effects Quality of Life Campaigns have had on marginalizing the illicit sex industry. According to the data, 15% of NYPD stops were made in the Bronx, 31% in Queens, 28% in Manhattan, 22% in Brooklyn and 4% in Staten Island (see Figure 2.). This is noteworthy because the Bronx is home to the city's best-known sex worker strolls. However, based on NYPD data, it seems that this borough is under-policed compared to Queens, Manhattan and Brooklyn, the three boroughs that have been targeted most heavily during the campaigns. Furthermore,

Prostitution Related Stops Made by Borough 2007-2010

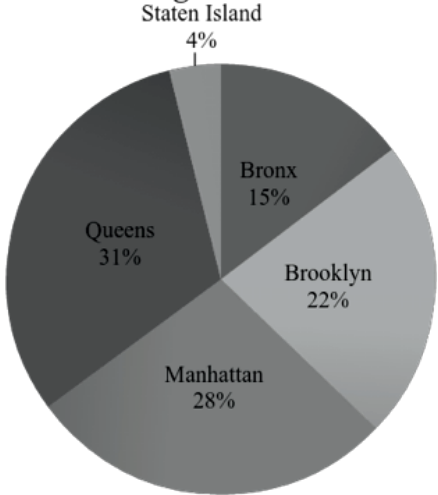


Figure 2. Source: NYPD Data

stops were concentrated on tourist-oriented streets and areas targeted for revitalization by the city including 8th and 9th Avenue, Broadway, Greenwich Street, and Roosevelt Avenue (Encyclopedia Britannica 2014; Nir 2012; The Ninth Avenue Renaissance Project 2014; New York Times 2014). From this data, the spatialized policing of New York's illicit sex trade becomes obvious; more prostitution-related stops are made in tourist-centered and revitalization zones, although suspects stopped in these areas are more likely to be innocent.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, both the rezoning laws implemented by the New York City municipality and order-maintenance policing initiated by the NYPD have worked to marginalize the commercial and illicit sex industry in the new revanchist New York City. As exemplified by NYPD data, sex workers and prostitution-related crimes are not the main target of Quality of Life campaigns and order-maintenance policing, but act as the "broken windows" that are claimed to attract other

forms of petty and more serious crimes. They are also alleged to reduce property values and business in areas in which they are located. Furthermore, these campaigns do not just target the providers of sex (adult shops and street sex workers), they are increasingly targeting customers of the sex industry. By implementing Quality of Life and order-maintenance campaigns, the New York City municipality effectively controls the publicly visible aspects of the sex lives of those who participate in the commercial and illicit sex industries, forcing these individuals and activities into under-protected, unmaintained parts of the city. However, the commercial and illicit sex lives of those with high incomes are not addressed by either campaign. Lingerie shops were not included in the rezoning laws, nor has any form of order-maintenance policing targeted illicit escort companies. The revanchist class has not only reclaimed New York City from the inner city poor, they have further marginalized, stigmatized and illegitimized the sex lives of the lower classes.

Porn Shops, Prostitutes and Broken Windows

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The Potential for Housing Policy to Influence Social Change

by KATE FREED

Housing policy is one of the means by which democratic governments can strive to effect social change. These decisions made at various levels of government have a significant impact on the life of their population and the decisions they make. However, once a housing culture has become entrenched, it can be difficult to change regardless of policy innovation. Furthermore, the capacity of policy to influence social change has limitations and is accompanied by inherent uncertainty. This paper explores the evolution of Dutch housing policy, starting with the initial framework laid out by the Housing Act of 1901, which initiated a path dependency by entrenching a national value of quality housing for all that continues to be upheld by Dutch society as an integral part of their housing culture. Over the years different policies have been implemented with the intention of attaining and maintaining these housing standards with varying degrees of success. The Bijlmermeer housing project provides an extreme example of how the well-meant intentions of urban planners and policy makers can negatively influence social change, while simultaneously demonstrating the positive impact that can occur when government policy takes into consideration the complex relationship between the social, economic and physical conditions of a time and given area. Governments have the power to allocate resources and direct the use of space and implement policy. However, their ability to influence and direct social change is unreliable. In the Netherlands, despite government intervention and regulation, problems of socio-economic inequality and spatial unevenness persist, demonstrating that government housing policy has only a limited ability to counteract socio-economic processes. The extent of the influence of housing policy on the ground and the potential for politicians and planners to attain specific outcomes must not be overestimated as the variables influencing social change are beyond the scope of simple government housing policies.

INTRODUCTION

In a democratic state the government has only a limited number of options when it comes to effecting social change (Koffijberg et al. 2012). Housing policy is one of the domains in which this can be attempted. Government actors influence the regulation and restructuring of the physical and social landscape by deciding where monetary funds will go, creating new legal policy and actively enforcing this policy on the ground (Gilderbloom et al. 2009). These decisions made at various levels of government have a significant impact on the life of their population and the decisions they make. Once the preferences, processes and modes of organisation that define a housing culture become entrenched, it can be difficult to change regardless of policy innovation (Lee 2003, Dol et al. 2012). Housing policy has the capacity to influence social change. However, it has limitations and is accompanied by inherent uncertainty (Hajer et al. 2000). There is only a finite chance that housing policy by itself can alter processes of economic and social change to achieve desired outcomes

(Bontje 2003). Determining the impact and public acceptance of a policy is almost impossible and many are created without consideration of important externalities (Rouwendal 2006). The outcome of housing policy is both spatially and temporally variable and constrained by its connection to existing social, economic and political conditions (Koffijberg 2012, Cassiers et al 2012). Due to this multitude of variables, policy implementation does not always have the intended effects, and can ultimately foster situations that can be thoroughly negative (Bontje 2003).

To exemplify the potential for housing policy to succeed in effecting social change while stressing the importance of recognizing the limitations of policy, I will address two instances of housing policy innovation in the Netherlands. The first will be the initial Housing Act of 1901 that laid the foundation for all subsequent Dutch housing policies. The second will be the policy developments in the 1960s that lead to the creation of the Bijlmermeer (Bijlmer) housing project.

Housing Policy and Social Change

THE SITUATION OF DUTCH URBAN PLANNING

The Netherlands is often applauded for its achievements in urban policy and planning (Bontje 2003; Hajer et al. 2000). The highly urbanized and compact nature of the Netherlands, along with its high percentage of land reclaimed from below sea-level, has required and facilitated a national focus on planning (Rouwendal 2006; Dolata 2008). Despite the numerous success stories, several scholars have emphasized significant failures in urban policy and have stated that the goals and outcomes of many planning policies demonstrate significant incongruities (Bontje 2003; Faludi 1992; Hajer et al. 2000; Rouwendal et al. 2006). From their perspective the urbanization process of the Netherlands “has been far from what Dutch planners intended it to have been” (Bontje 2003, 2). Many successful policies have only been devised after the re-evaluation of experimental and unsuccessful planning endeavours (Bontje 2003; Hajer et al. 2000).

The inability for Dutch planners to fulfill their stated intentions has been explained by “administrative or political problems, but much more to the generally limited possibilities for influencing or counteracting the effects of economic, technological and socio-demographic processes through physical planning policy” (Bontje 2003, 2). The structure of the Dutch constitutional system generally grants the national government the ability to construct a framework within which the regional and local governments act (Bontje 2003). This arrangement, often described as a “decentralised unitary state”, gives the local governments significant agency. However, it exacerbates the tendency for prolonged negotiations and creates significant lag times between the acceptance of plans at the national level and implementation at the local (Bontje 2003). The history of Dutch planning shows a greater success rate in productive housing policies as opposed to restrictive ones, demonstrating the ease with which policies that encourage or support socio-spatial patterns have

been accomplished while those that attempt to alter or counteract these forces have not (Bontje 2003).

THE HOUSING ACT OF 1901: LAYING THE FOUNDATION

The Dutch Housing Act of 1901 was a productive policy that was largely a success and put the Netherlands on the path to being considered one of the best housed nations in the world (Dolata 2008; Gilderbloom et al. 2009). At the start of the 20th century, concern regarding chaotic, rapid urbanization and industrialization, as well as their concomitant socio-spatial effects, was increasingly at the forefront of public debate in western societies, including in the Netherlands (Faludi 1992; Dolata 2008). Poor housing conditions prevailed throughout the Netherlands and yet the national government had taken little interest in involving themselves in the situation (Heijden et al. 2006). Local administrators had previously been involved in urban governance, but it was haphazard and arose unequally across the country (Heijden et al. 2006). Due to extreme urban

crowding and deteriorating housing conditions, this unregulated system was seen as no longer capable of managing the situation (Dolata 2008). The national government responded to this by instituting the Housing Act of 1901 which transformed their official stance in regards to housing regulation and development (Heijden et al. 2006; Vandevyvere 2012). The Housing Act represents the beginning of the Dutch government's involvement in social housing and the start of nation-wide urban and regional population forecasting and physical planning (Gans 1999).

The Housing Act stipulated that public housing was the responsibility of both the national and local governments and demarcated their respective powers (Koffijberg 2012). Public housing policy became the legal responsibility of the federal government while its execution was left up to the municipalities (Heijden et al. 2006). The main objective of the act was to ensure the health and safety of the population by "increasing the quality and increasing quantity of available housing" (Dolata

Housing Policy and Social Change

2008, 3; Heijden et al. 2006). The Housing Act also brought housing corporations under the regulation of the Dutch government, empowered municipalities to “recognize building associations created solely for the purpose of developing housing” and “required that large (10,000+) and growing municipalities establish extension plans, which would be revised every ten years” (Dolata 2008, 3; Vandevyvere 2012). The act was seen to considerably improve the housing situation across the country, illustrated by the subsequent increase in housing associations from six that were privately funded before 1901 to 1,341 government supported associations by 1922 (Dolata 2008). However, the national housing crisis, which was the impetus for this growth in housing associations, continued despite the steps taken by the government and was further aggravated by changing socio-economic conditions (Bontje 2003; Hellemen et al. 2006; Dolata 2008). The Housing Act of 1901 laid the foundations and legal basis for modern day regulation in the Dutch housing sector and

the nation’s large percentage of social housing (Vandevyvere 2012). Importantly, it fostered the evolution of a national housing culture fundamentally based on the availability of quality housing for all Dutch citizens (Dolata 2008).

Despite this strongly entrenched national housing culture, housing policies have not remained static over the years. The government has continued being involved in the support and regulation of the housing sector and the national understanding of quality housing for all has not been abandoned (Heynen 2010; Dolata 2008), demonstrating the path dependency that can be induced by key historical decisions and events (Dol et al. 2012). Path dependency refers to the idea that once certain practices or “paths” are adopted they become increasingly difficult to alter as time progresses, becoming socially entrenched and serving to influence contemporary geographical arrangements (Castree et al. 2013). The Housing Act of 1901 was an innovative policy that pertained to the needs of society and

provided a relatively broad framework for municipal governments to develop locally appropriate housing policies. Although it did not solve all the problems of the time nor prevent new problems from arising, it gave society a standard for housing, united communities to develop housing policy and empowered individuals to recognize their right to adequate accommodation.

THE MODERN ERA: RISE AND FALL OF THE BIJLMER

The housing shortages continued despite the involvement and intervention of the government, reaching a pinnacle in the housing crisis that arose in the Netherlands in the aftermath of the Second World War (Dolata 2008; Hellemen et al. 2006; Bontje 2003) as a result of “a freeze on new building, war damage and lack of materials,” as well as “poor housing quality, the internal migration to cities and in later years international labour-motivated migration and the continuing decrease in the average number of persons per dwelling” (Hellemen et al. 2006, 4). It was decided that the

situation required a more radical approach than that which had previously been employed and the national government set about developing and financing new housing initiatives (Judd 2014).

The small group of planners and politicians involved in the decision-making processes to address the crisis were inspired by the increasingly popular ideas and practices of the CIAM (Congrès International d’Architecture Moderne) movement lead by theorist and architect Le Corbusier (Musterd et al 2003; Hellemen et al. 2006). The CIAM movement proposed that housing production could be optimized by “reducing the variation in dwelling types, repeating construction patterns and using new construction techniques” (Hellemen et al. 2006, 4). Their perspective was thoroughly modern, a self-proclaimed “new architecture for new people” characterised by the use of high-rise buildings (Hellemen et al. 2006, 4). Through this new planning paradigm and architectural form it was theorised that they could foster and create “a new, modern, and egalitarian

Housing Policy and Social Change

society, where everybody was equal” (Hellemen et al. 2006, 4). The dedication of the Dutch planners to the ideas of the CIAM movement as well as several other popular planning principles, such as ‘concentrated deconcentration’, the ‘green heart’ and the ‘garden city’, is exemplified by the Bijlmer housing project which encapsulated the modernist ambitions of the era (Rouwendaal 2006).

The Bijlmer was intended to reduce the housing shortage and accommodate the anticipated population growth of Amsterdam (Smets et al. 2008). Between “1968 and 1975, 13,000 dwellings in 31 very large blocks (300–500 dwellings each) were built, each 10 storeys high and 200–300 meters long” (Hellemen et al. 2006, 5). In accordance to the ideas of CIAM and Le Corbusier, the buildings were in the shape of honeycombs and separated by large open spaces to simultaneously emphasize collectivity and compensate for the “limitations of high-rise living” (Hellemen et al. 2006, 5). The dwellings, even by today’s standards, were

of considerable quality with “large floor space, luxurious sanitary facilities, central heating and their own store-room” (Hellemen et al. 2006, 5). The majority were in the social rental sector but the intention was not to attract low-income inhabitants but families, the middle class and those looking to move out of the crowded city (Hellemen et al. 2006). However, this ambition was not realised, partially due to internal planning problems as well as to the wave of immigration induced by the independence of Suriname in 1975 (Smets et al. 2008). This caused the Bijlmer to become primarily an immigrant neighbourhood and helped propel its population to 50,000 by the 1980s (Smets et al. 2008).

Although the Bijlmer was intended to revolutionize the concept of urban living, the utopian ideals the planners had embraced, the “centralised bureaucratic structure of the organisations” involved in the planning process and the lack of public engagement, rapidly became hindrances to the community’s success (Williamson 2000; Hellemen

et al. 2006). One scholar poignantly described the collapse of this modernist dream :

“Privacy became anonymity, the collective and egalitarian ideas did not catch on, the advantages of traffic security turned into disadvantages of social insecurity, parking garages were hardly used and instead of friendly meetings in the covered walks and hallways, the numerous semi-public spaces were filled with litter, drugs-dealers and homeless people. The Bijlmermeer changed from a citadel of modernism to that of a problem estate, a place of poverty, of aliens and illegal immigrants, petty crime, unemployment, with a high incidence of truancy and drug abuse” (Helleman et al. 2006. 6).

The dire situation was not aided by the unfinished nature of the development, its relative isolation from important resources, the host of livability problems that arose from poor

upkeep and the lack of demand for housing, particularly among the target demographic (Helleman et al. 2006). As the image of the Bijlmer worsened so did its financial situation, which further inhibited efforts to remedy the plethora of problems it faced.

URBAN RENEWAL: TOWARDS A MORE SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

Since the 1980s the Bijlmer has been targeted with several redevelopment plans with varying degrees of success (Helleman et al. 2006). Many of these, particularly those that were imposed from the top-down and focused primarily “on demolishing housing instead of empowering people” (Smets et al. 2008, 1148) as well as implicit attempts at social engineering and “ethnic mixing” (Smets et al. 2008), have arguably been of little success (Judd 2014). In the 1990s a more intensive and multifaceted approach was taken (Helleman et al. 2006). It was suggested that the inhuman, alienating and homogenous physical layout of the Bijlmer and lack of diversity among the inhabitants was at

Housing Policy and Social Change

the core of much of the area's problems (Hellemen et al. 2006). Accordingly, monotonous rental housing was replaced by that which was differentiated in both physical form and ownership category (Hellemen et al. 2006). This increase in privately owned dwellings was aimed at diversifying the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood by attracting new residents to the neighbourhood who were "more representative of the average Amsterdammer" (Den Uyl 2008, 25). In actuality, it was more successful in encouraging middle-class residents to remain in the area and in appealing to local social-climbers (Wassenberg 2013; Hellemen et al. 2006). This unintended result demonstrates the difficulty Dutch planners have in implementing restrictive housing policies with the intention to create or alter social patterns as their interventions have been more successful in empowering local residents and demographic groups than reconfiguring the social mix of the neighbourhood.

Urban policy makers have learned from past mistakes and, in the vein of critics of modernism such as Jane

Jacobs and Kevin Lynch, are now focusing not on functionally divided neighbourhoods nor solely the physical housing infrastructure, but on the complexity of urban liveability and socio-economic vitality, and importantly are doing so with greater community involvement (Yegenoglu 2004; Hellemen et al. 2006; Smets et al. 2008; Leidenberger 2006). Urban renewal policies in the Netherlands have come to embody a more decentralised approach focused on three integrated pillars of physical, social and economic renewal, not top-down initiatives to engineer the urban and social conditions (Wassenberg 2013). The extensive renewal strategy in the Bijlmer is intended to revitalize the community and stop the ongoing concentration of poverty and, although some have expressed the belief that it merely disperses problems to other neighbourhoods and attempts to exclude the 'undesirable' demographics, it has shown signs of preliminary success (Den Uyl 2008; Hellemen et al. 2006). The Bijlmer has become widely viewed as a more liveable, safe and reputable neighbourhood

(Den Uyl 2008). Yet the success the planners have had in achieving their stated goals of increasing “social mix” and opening up the area to new, affluent residents, remains dubious as the turnover among residents is high and the only demographic that is experiencing growth continues to be relatively poor recent immigrants (Den Uyl 2008).

CONCLUSION

Developing and implementing housing policy is an inherently risky endeavour. Depending on the local context of as well as the nature of the policy and the ability of the government to follow through, it may prove successful. However, the outcomes often fail to live up to the official goals. Although Dutch housing policy has evolved beyond the framework laid out by the Housing Act of 1901, that policy can be seen to have initiated a path dependency by entrenching the notion of quality housing for all that continues to be valued by Dutch society and is an integral part of their housing culture (Dolata 2008). Over the years different policies

have been implemented with the intention of attaining and maintaining these housing standards with varying degrees of success. The Bijlmer provides an extreme example of how the well-meant intentions of urban planners and policy makers can negatively influence social change, while simultaneously demonstrating the positive impacts that can occur when government policy takes into consideration the complex relationship between the social, economic and physical conditions of a time and given area.

Governments have the power to allocate resources, direct the use of space and implement policy, although their ability to influence and direct social change is unreliable. In the Netherlands, despite government intervention and regulation, problems of socio-economic inequality and spatial unevenness persist. Government housing policy has demonstrated that it has only a limited ability to counteract socio-economic processes. Poor planning, insufficient follow-through and volatile global markets can challenge

Housing Policy and Social Change

the success of a policy while variations in capital flow and accumulation, demographic transformations, cultural values and the changing role of the public sector can further influence whether or not a policy will perform as expected. The Dutch housing sector has undergone processes of decommodification and democratization and has now almost come full circle as the highly involved nature of the government is incrementally rolled back. Simultaneously, in accordance with processes of neoliberalization and globalization occurring around the world, the state increasingly turns to market based solutions for housing issues that could very well be considered state-led gentrification (Bontje 2003; Uitermark et al. 2007). Despite this evolution, the Netherlands continues to promote housing values introduced in the Housing Act of 1901 and remains considered one of the best-housed nations in the world. Housing policy is undoubtedly influential but must be understood in relation to the broader socio-economic processes happening locally and around the globe. The

extent of its actual effects on the ground and the potential for politicians and planners to attain specific outcomes must not be overstated as the variables influencing social change are beyond the scope of simple government housing policies (McKee 2012).

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Decades of War: Lootable natural resources, the duration of conflict, and international action

by ELIZABETH GOOD

The onset of civil conflict cannot be attributed to a single factor, however this article argues that the presence of loutable resources drastically prolongs the duration of existing conflicts by financially supporting rebel groups, providing militant groups with incentive to continue fighting, and reducing the strength and stability of governmental institutions. The financial independence of resource-endowed rebel groups reduces the capacity of external actors to exert financial leverage through aid. However, third parties have the ability to dictate the demand side of the market and can consequently influence resource-fueled conflicts. As such, comprehensive sanctions have the capacity to reduce rebel groups' economic ability to wage war. This article generates a theoretical argument concerning the positive correlation between loutable resources and the duration of civil conflict using empirical evidence derived from civil wars in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola. This article goes on to explore the benefits of comprehensive sanctions and emphasizes the importance of governmental and private sector cooperation. Although this article uses diamonds to illustrate the relationship between civil conflict duration and natural resources, this positive correlation is applicable to any high-value loutable good.

The end of the Cold War resulted in the partial withdrawal of foreign military and financial support that had fueled conflicts around the globe for decades (Le Billon, 2009; Roser, 2014). The abolition of third state party support forced militant groups to increase their dependence on natural resource rents, subsequently amplifying the number, duration, and violence of civil wars (Le Billon, 2009; Lujala et al, 2005). Conflict lasted decades in Liberia, Colombia, Burma, and other nations, claiming the lives of millions (Fearon, 2004; Ross, 2004b; Le Billon, 2008; Tabb, 2007). While the international community was relatively unsuccessful in mitigating extreme violence at the onset of conflict, numerous academics generated theories attributing conflict to the presence of natural resources (Buhaug, 2006; Collier et al, 2001; Fearon, 2005; Koubi et al, 2013; Lujala et al, 2005; Ross, 2004a). Although these theories have been criticized for having unilateral perspectives that fail to consider geographic, historic, and ethnic influences (Cramer, 2002), they provide empirical evidence suggesting

a correlation between lootable resources and the duration of civil conflict (Fearon, 2005; Koubi et al, 2013; Le Billon, 2009; Lujala et al, 2005; Maystadt et al, 2013; Ross, 2004a; Rustad and Binningsbo, 2012; Rustad et al, 2008; Sarbahi, 2014; Tusalem and Morrison, 2014).

Lootable resources are high-value resources that are easily accessible (Le Billon, 2001; Ross, 2004b; Snyder and Bhavnani, 2005). Therefore, valuable lootable resources can be extracted with minimal capital and modest technology. The ease of extraction enables workers with minimal training to effortlessly appropriate profitable goods, subsequently hindering governmental control over lootable resources and reducing tax revenues (Ross, 2004b). As a result, lootable resources, such as alluvial diamonds, are often accredited with motivating civil conflict (Findley and Marineau, 2014; Le Billon 2008; Buhaug et al, 2009). Conversely, non-lootable resources, such as copper, oil, and deep-shaft Kimberlite diamonds have high economic barriers to entry

Decades of War

and require large amounts of capital and technology to exploit them for profit (Le Billon 2008). Governments have the ability to establish monopoly control over non-lootable resources and use the profits to strengthen military defense and governmental institutions, consequently decreasing the likelihood of war (ibid).

The onset of civil conflict cannot be attributed to a single factor, however this article argues that lootable resources have the capacity to prolong the duration of existing conflicts by financially supporting rebel groups, providing militant groups with incentive to continue fighting, and reducing the strength and stability of governmental institutions. Though the financial independence of resource-endowed rebel groups reduces the capacity of external actors to directly mitigate violence by supplying aid, international involvement can be effective by influencing the demand side of the market. This article generates a theoretical argument concerning the positive correlation between lootable resources and the

duration of civil conflict using empirical evidence derived from civil wars in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola for support. This article goes on to address comprehensive sanctions as a means of reducing rebel capacity to wage and prolong war and emphasizes the importance of governmental and private sector cooperation. While sanctions may be criticized as being a form of foreign judgment or punishment that ignores the complex motivations behind conflicts, sanctions are an effective means of mitigating human suffering associated with prolonged conflict. Lastly, although diamonds are often used to illustrate relationships between civil conflict and natural resources, the correlation between conflict duration and natural resources is applicable to any high-value lootable good.

FINANCIALLY SUPPORTING REBEL GROUPS

"Diamonds are the guerrilla's best friend" – Paul Collier

Although resources do not cause war, they undoubtedly

enable conflict. Regardless of rebel greed or grievance, rebellion is impossible without an economic means to finance action (Fearon 2005; Lujala 2010). Access to lootable resources provides rebels with an opportunity to finance their rebellion independent from external sources, subsequently enabling conflict (Fearon 2005; Rustad and Binningsbo, 2012; Brunnschweiler and Bulte, 2009; Koubi et al 2013; Lujala et al, 2005). Several contemporary conflicts, including those within Sierra Leone, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), were made possible by alluvial diamonds (Snyder and Bhavanani 2005). The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone, the UNITA rebel army in Angola, and countless rebel groups in the DRC were reliant on selling alluvial diamonds in exchange for artillery (Tusalem and Morrison, 2014). Without the presence of lootable alluvial diamonds, these rebel groups would be unable to swiftly recruit or sustain an army, significantly reducing their capacity to destabilize the state (ibid).

Lootable goods often prolong wars by making conflicts difficult to end and more likely to reoccur (Rustad and Binningbo, 2012). This is because rebel access to lootable resources negates traditional methods of establishing peace. Rebel groups have historically been the weaker party in a civil conflict and are consequently at risk of losing a war outright due to the opposition's military superiority, or being forced to negotiate due to financial and military attrition (Ross, 2004b; Rustad and Binningsbo, 2012). Access to lootable resources provides rebels with a means of generating profit during conflict, subsequently establishing an uninterrupted source of income (Lujala 2010). In other words, increased economic capacity derived from lootable resources enables rebel groups to overcome financial pressures that would otherwise result in surrender or peace negotiation (Escriba-Folch, 2010; Ross, 2004b). Hence, lootable resources effectively eliminate the stronger party's ability to "bleed them dry," preventing conflict termination through attrition (Ross, 2004b). This prolongs wars by generating

Decades of War

a stalemate between parties – exemplified by an eleven year impasse in Sierra Leone (Sarbah, 2014; Le Billon, 2008). Additionally, increasing the economic capacity of rebel groups increases the group’s relativestrengthcomparedtothe opposition. This subsequently prevents war termination through governmental military superiority. Although rebel groups may be surviving

marginally, the ability to retain the economic capacity to continue fighting consequently prolongs the conflict (Sarbah, 2014).

Despite the propensity for lootable resources to extend war duration, it is possible for conflict to shorten in the event that the stronger party, in most cases the national government, gains exclusive access to the

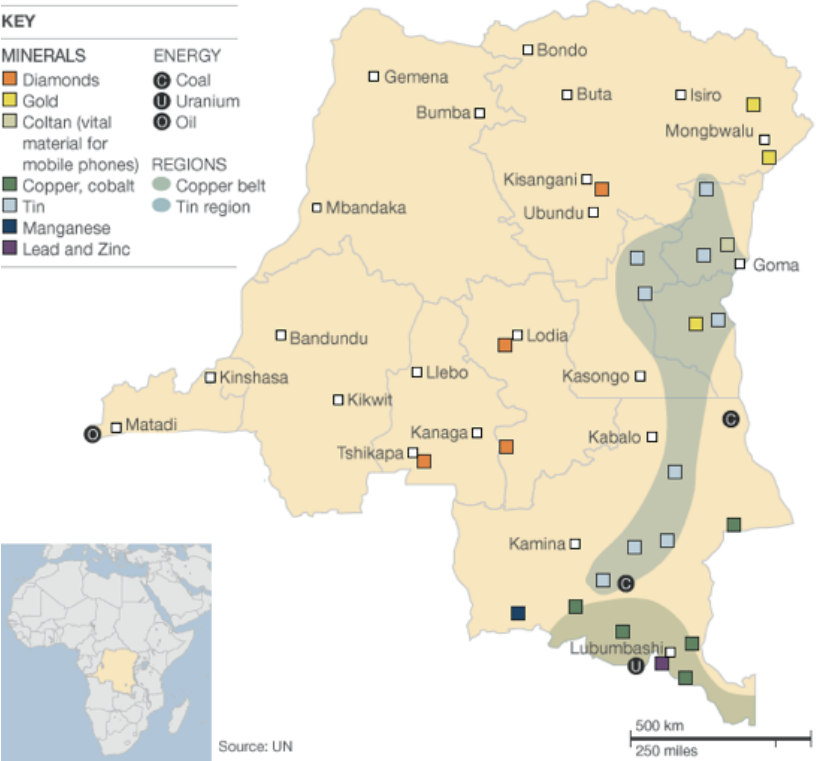


Figure 1. Resource Dispersion in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Source: News Africa, BBC. Explore DR Congo in maps and graphs. 27

profits derived from resources (Le Billon, 2009). While governmental control of non-lootable resources is common, as rebel groups are unlikely to attain the capital and technology required for extraction, exclusive governmental control of lovable goods is highly improbable (Snyder and Bhavnani, 2005). While there are several factors preventing sole governmental control, the most salient factor to take into account is the geographical location of these resources. Lovable resources are often geographically dispersed (Le Billon, 2009; Ross, 2004a), as is illustrated by the location of diamond and gold mines in the DRC (Fig.1). This dispersion increases the cost required to secure goods from rebels, and makes the implementation of government control or taxation particularly difficult (Le Billon, 2009).

INCENTIVE TO CONTINUE FIGHTING

A successful militant group necessitates a large number of combatants, a means of replenishing participants, and the ability to attend to the

casualties that arise in conflict. Ensuring a constant supply of soldiers often requires coercion or the bribery of civilians in the hopes that they will fight for a particular party (Sarbah, 2014). However, this process requires economic capital and is time consuming, forcing militant groups to develop and implement social mobilization strategies that convince individuals to enlist and ensure their loyalty (ibid). The presence of lovable goods mitigates this cost by inherently co-opting individuals to fight on the pretense of greed and grievance. Furthermore, this ensures the loyalty of combatants through the promise of economic prosperity (ibid). The tangible incentives associated with lovable resources generates a constant replenishment of soldiers. This enables rebel groups to forgo developing a costly social mobilization strategy, and is thereby correlated to prolonged conflict (ibid).

Although rebel groups fight for numerous reasons, many of which are rooted in a colonial history of injustice and oppression, rebel action

Decades of War

is generally understood by academics through “greed” or “grievance” theories (Collier and Hoeffler 2004). Individuals who partake in a civil war based on the hope of attaining economic prosperity are considered to be motivated by “greed” (Le Billon, 2009). People incentivized by greed are often attracted to the accessibility and high profitability of lootable goods (Le Billon 2009). This becomes readily apparent during conflict, when weakened governance and reduced military enforcement contribute to the exorbitant profits gained during wartime looting (Tusalem and Morrison, 2014). Therefore, individual actors motivated by greed often prefer conflict to peace (Lujala et al, 2005; Tusalem and Morrison, 2014). This preference stems from the fear that rebels will be unable to exploit reserves to the same extent during peace as during conflict (ibid). This belief has been correlated to rebels consciously prolonging war for personal benefit (Ross, 2004b).

The incentive to participate in civil conflict as a combatant is amplified when greed coincides with “grievance.” Factors such as political

instability, social vulnerability, chaotic cycles of violence and trauma may lead an individual into being more susceptible to participating in conflict. This is alternatively defined as having entry into conflict having a low opportunity cost (Koubi et al, 2013; Maystadt et al, 2013; Lujala, 2010). The combination of low opportunity costs and the potential for immense economic gains entices individuals to fight on the pretense that no other option exists (Lujala, 2010). For example, in the case of Angola, extreme poverty combined with the attraction of wealth generated by diamonds motivated numerous individuals to join UNITA. As a result, the constant inflow of rebel soldiers enabled Angola’s war to continue for 26 years (Le Billon, 2008). The propensity for lootable resources to attract willing combatants on the pretext of greed and grievance ensures a party’s capacity to continue fighting, which consequently prolongs the war (Koubi et al, 2013; Lujala, 2010; Sarbahi, 2014).

Lootable goods provide incentive for individuals suffering from grievances to

partake in conflict in the hopes of mitigating injustice through the acquisition of high-valued goods (Lujala, 2010). However, lootable resources can also cause grievances. While the relative accessibility of these goods in particular geographic regions does attract individuals seeking to gain economically, profits are often concentrated in the hands of a few high-ranking rebel leaders (Ross, 2004b). Disagreement over distribution of goods and profits generates economic grievances within rebel groups as well as between belligerents and civilians (Rustard and Binningsbo, 2012). This grievance provides incentive for individuals to take up arms, especially among those living in close proximity to the resource (Tusalem and Morrison, 2014). Thus, individuals motivated by greed perpetuate grievances, which encourages individuals pursuing justice to participate in conflict. In other words, dissonances between greed and grievances prolong conflict duration.

REDUCING THE STRENGTH AND STABILITY OF GOVERNMENT

The strength of a state is partially derived from a government's ability to tax individuals fairly and spend revenues accordingly (Snyder and Bhavnani, 2005). States that commit to creating and maintaining effective governmental institutions and strong military protection are unlikely to collapse into civil war (ibid). Various scholars suggest that states relying on resource rents are more generally inclined to suffer from slow economic growth, high poverty rates, high rates of corruption, and authoritarian governance, which ultimately results in civil conflict (Ross, 2004b; Snyder and Bhavnani, 2005; Maystadt et al, 2013). However, stable resource-rich nations such as Botswana, Canada, and Norway provide substantial evidence against this claim. Perhaps the correlation between natural resources and weak states is not inherent, but rather lies in a resource-rich nation's decreased ability to tax lootable resources due to sprawling geography, increased accessibility, and general rural location of the goods (Ross, 2004a; Koubi et al, 2013; Lujala, 2010).

Decades of War

The inability of governments to monopolize, control, or profit from lootable resources directly weakens the state by reducing the funds available to allocate towards governmental institutions and military defense (Maystadt et al, 2013; Ross, 2004b). The government of Sierra Leone failed to profit from the annual 25-75 million US\$ generated by the RUF's exploitation of diamonds between 1991 and 2000. Similarly, Angola's government failed to tax or control the 200-600 million US\$ produced annually by UNITA's control of diamonds (Le Billon, 2008). The inability to tax these substantial international transactions impedes a government's capacity to overpower an affluent rebel group. As a result, a state is less likely to quell a civil uprising and is less capable of terminating a war through military superiority (Fearon, 2005; Koubi et al, 2013). Hence, the weakening of a state through negligible taxation increases the susceptibility of a nation to prolonged civil conflict (Brunnschweiler and Bulte, 2009; Koubi et al, 2013).

INTERNATIONAL MITIGATION EFFORTS -

Comprehensive Sanctions

The ramifications of conflicts in Angola, Sierra Leone, and the DRC were astronomical, culminating in over 5.95 million dead and over 6.1 million citizens internationally displaced (Le Billon, 2001; Snyder and Bhavnani, 2005; Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003). The number of individuals severely affected by civil conflict warrants international attention and action to ensure violence of such proportion is not seen again. Despite lootable resources generating a source of income independent from foreign powers, it is possible to diminish civil violence by altering third party consumption through the implementation of sanctions.

Although sanctions do little to prevent war, they are statistically associated with shorter interstate conflicts (Escriba-Solch, 2010). Sanctions have the ability to reduce the duration of conflict by constricting belligerents' fiscal capacity and access to arms, consequently increasing

the cost of fighting and forcing groups to negotiate or to accept defeat (Fearon, 2005; Escriba-Solch, 2010; Escriba-Solch, 2010). Additionally, sanctions reduce conflict duration by diminishing the perceived benefits of joining a rebel group (Escriba-Solch, 2010). This decreases individuals' incentive to fight and subsequently results in fewer combatants and shorter wars (*ibid*).

In comparison to unilateral or multilateral sanctions, which are employed by one or a small group of states, sanctions imposed by intergovernmental institutions (IGOs) improve the likelihood of conflict resolution by increasing the number of states ratifying a sanction (Le Billon, 2009). A larger number of signatories impose a greater cost on rebel groups and increase the probability of forcing belligerents to negotiate or accept defeat (Escriba-Solch, 2010). Additionally, IGO advocacy reduces the likelihood of signatories backsliding on sanctions and overcomes state reservations to commit for fear of missing a lucrative business opportunity.

Alternatively known as the

commitment problem, this often impedes sanctions from operating effectively (Le Billon, 2009). Although sanctions are rarely fully effective (Le Billon, 2009), economic sanctions are far more valuable than UN arms embargoes and are preferred to military intervention (Escriba-Solch, 2010). Arms embargoes are considered futile due to rebels' ability to purchase armaments from omnipresent grey and black markets (Escriba-Solch, 2010). Although military intervention has a greater probability of reducing civil conflict, intervention is costly on an economic and human scale (Le Billon, 2009). Third party state actors are dissuaded by the cost of military intervention and often turn to the implementation of economic sanctions (Le Billon, 2009).

While there are multiple types of economic sanctions, comprehensive sanctions are the most effective at precipitating conflict termination, despite causing the most detriment to civilians (Escriba-Solch, 2010; Le Billon, 2009). Comprehensive sanctions block all trade with

Decades of War

sanctioned countries and intend to “maximize general cost” on a conflict-riddled nation. Conversely, target sanctions attempt to limit the economic costs to specific rebel exploited goods in order to alleviate civilian impact (Escriba-Solch, 2010; Le Billon, 2009). Unlike target sanctions, comprehensive sanctions prevent rebel groups from exploiting alternative resources and impede combatants from easily overcoming barriers to trade (Le Billon, 2009). Comprehensive sanctions effectively reduce the ability of rebel groups to wage war and ultimately terminate a conflict faster than in the absence of an economic sanction. Although economic sanctions have been widely implemented in the past, few have been successful due to their failure to facilitate cooperation between governmental and private sectors. The success of the Kimberly Process, a UN endorsed sanction intended to reduce the trade of “conflict diamonds,” illustrates the importance of collaboration between governmental and private sectors.

The Kimberly Process was instated in May 2000 (Fearon, 2005) and has successfully reduced the sale of “conflict diamonds” in Sierra Leone, Liberia, the DRC, and Angola (Le Billon, 2001). In addition to state sanctions endorsed by the UN Security Council, the Kimberly Process necessitates that the private sector restricts the trade of diamonds to those originating from conflict-free areas (Le Billon, 2001; Ross, 2004b). The Kimberly Process is unique in that it stigmatizes the sale and purchase of “conflict diamonds,” rather than simply making trade illicit (Le Billon, 2009; Le Billon, 2001). The “naming and shaming” of companies that continued to conduct business with rebel groups drastically reduced a company’s incentive to trade or purchase a “conflict diamond” (Le Billon, 2009; Le Billon, 2001). In fact, the steps taken by individual companies to ensure their reputation proved to be the most successful aspect of the Kimberley Process (Le Billon, 2001). Companies were eager to advertise the “cleanliness” of their diamonds, motivating businesses to ensure their diamonds were not linked to

conflict before purchase (ibid). As a result, the Kimberly Process successfully implemented an economic sanction by ensuring the cooperation between governmental and private sectors, overcoming the issue of grey and black market transfers of diamonds by reduced the demand for “conflict diamonds.” This partnership between governmental and private sectors altered the final step within commodity chains and ultimately contributed to the termination of wars in Sierra Leone, Angola, and, to a lesser extent, in the DRC (Le Billon, 2001; Le Billon, 2008).

Although sanctions have the capacity to reduce the duration of wars with minimal cost to third state parties, they carry significant ramifications for sanctioned nations. Countries sanctioned by governmental and private sectors are forced into a global trading system that exacerbates economic inequalities (Cooper, 2006). Additionally, sanctions can hinder all trade within the region surrounding an embargoed nation. For example, the Kimberly Process potentially stigmatizes all African

diamonds as “dirty,” regardless of the legitimacy of a diamond, thereby disadvantaging all African diamonds on the international market (Cooper 2001). Therefore, despite the capacity of sanctions to mitigate human suffering by decreasing the duration of war, third parties must acknowledge the potential detriments of a sanction before implementation.

CONCLUSION

No single factor initiates or prolongs civil war. Yet, the presence of high-value lootable resources appears to significantly prolong the duration of existing conflicts by financially supporting rebel groups, providing militant groups with incentive to continue fighting, and reducing the strength and stability of governmental institutions. These factors diminish a rebel group’s desire to negotiate due to their ability to continue fighting and prevent war termination from military superiority or attrition. Although lootable resources provide financial independence for rebel groups, third state parties are capable of mitigating the duration of conflict through

Decades of War

the implementation of an IGO endorsed comprehensive sanction that involves both governmental and private sectors. This type of sanction heavily affects the demand of lootable goods and hinders rebel groups' resource fueled economy. While it is easy to forgo action as an unaffected third party, it is essential that the international community prevent atrocities such as those committed for decades in Angola, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

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Dynamics of Food Security and the Traditional Food System of the Arctic Inuit, with a Focus on the Nunavut Community of Igloolik

by JESSICA KIYOMI HENRY

Climate change has already started to have an impact on the food security of communities in the Canadian North. While environmental changes have resulted in the decrease in availability of country foods, social and economic factors have also played a role in the survival of Inuit traditions. To understand the dynamics of food security, it is essential to not only consider physical and ecological factors, but the social and economic context which communities such as Igloolik, Nunavut, experience. These factors will have an impact on small Northern communities' vulnerabilities to variations in the ecological environment, and their responses to these changes. Practices of cultural reaffirmation, transmittance of traditional knowledge, and community food sharing will play an important role in regaining food security in these communities, along with other measures such as education, government funded-programs, and food subsidies.

Food Systems and the Arctic Inuit

INTRODUCTION

Climate change is an important factor in determining food security in the Canadian North (Meakin and Kurvits 2009). Warming temperatures have already begun to affect communities such as Igloolik, Nunavut changing the reliability of traditional knowledge of the environment (Ford 2005) and resulting in a decrease in availability of country foods (Beaumier and Ford 2010). However, the physical and ecological surroundings are not the only factors to play an important role in the survival of the traditions of the Inuit. Cultural, demographic and economic factors shape the ways in which Inuit adapt to these changing environments. The Inuit are adaptable, and it is important to recognize the coping mechanisms and adaptations that the Inuit have adopted to survive in their rapidly changing surroundings. The vulnerability of Inuit food security will be determined by the interaction of their adaptive capacity and their exposure and sensitivity to the factors which challenge their resilience (Smit and Wandel 2006).

Through an examination of the literature on food security and climate change in the Arctic, as well as looking at the available statistical data of the region and food prices reported by the “Feeding My Family” initiative, this paper assesses food security in the broader context of the changing Arctic environment. This paper includes specific reference to the Nunavut community of Igloolik. While it has its local nuances, Igloolik and its surrounding region are at the forefront of climate change (Ford et al. 2009), have been the focus of research in the past (Laidler et al. 2009), and are representative of challenges faced by other small Northern communities (Laidler et al. 2009).

FOOD SECURITY: DEFINITION, CURRENT STATUS AND PRESSURES

Food security is defined by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the UN as, “when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that

meet their dietary and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Meakin and Kurvits 2009, 10). It is considered as a fundamental human right, and an integral aspect of a worthy standard of living (Meakin and Kurvits 2009). To be food secure, criteria including the reliable access to food, an acceptable quality of food, and the availability of sufficient amounts of nutritious food must be met (Ford 2009).

In the case of the Inuit, this definition goes beyond pure physical and nutritional needs, but integrates the cultural significance of food, as Inuit partially derive part of their individual and collective identities from traditions associated with country harvesting (Theriault et al. 2005, 54). As Stairs (1992) notes, the intermediary role of animals is a central component of Inuit identity, with the rituals behind traditional foods of harvesting and sharing emanating certain Inuit ideals such as generosity (1992, 120). Food security concerns the ability to obtain safe and nutritious food of cultural value (Ford 2009), making country foods essential to the holistic

wellbeing of members in these communities.

The prevalence of food security stress is significantly higher in Inuit populations compared to the overall Canadian population. While the Canadian average of food security stress is at 14.7% (Beaumier and Ford 2010, 196), 56% of Inuit in Nunavut are classed as ‘food-insecure’ (Beaumier and Ford 2010, 196), and 64% of Igloodik’s population in 2010 was dealing with food insecurity (Beaumier and Ford 2010, 196). Country food has typically been described as being under stress, with reports of decreased access and availability in recent years (Beaumier and Ford 2010). The changing access, availability, quality and use of traditional food resources can have detrimental effects on the overall quality of diet for affected individuals. Traditional foods provide important nutrients, such as iron, zinc, protein, vitamin D, riboflavin, potassium, magnesium and omega-3 fatty acids, into the diets of those who consume traditional foods (Wesche and Chan 2010). A ‘nutritional transition’ away

Food Systems and the Arctic Inuit

from traditional foods in Inuit communities is partially due to youth preference for nutrient poor, high fat, high sugar store foods (Ford 2009), as well as women's limited knowledge of the nutritional value and available options of store foods, along with the challenge of planning food and other expenses (Beaumier and Ford 2010). This transition has been linked to increases in obesity (Wesche and Chan 2010).

Pressures on the traditional food system come from a combination of environmental factors (Wesche and Chan 2010), as well as economic factors (Ford 2009), and shifts toward a youth preference in certain communities to conform to 'Western' social norms (Ford, Smit and Wandel 2006). Environmental change and economic pressures primarily affect food security through pressures on food availability, access and quality, whilst the socio-intergenerational pressures particularly impact the access and the ability to use country foods (Wesche and Chan 2010).

AN INTRODUCTION TO IGLOOLIK, NUNAVUT AND THE TRADITIONAL FOOD SYSTEM

Igloolik is located on a small island just off of mainland Nunavut, in northern Foxe Basin (Nunavut Planning Commission 2014). Its population is roughly 1,454 people (Statistics Canada 2012b), with 94% being Inuit (Nunavut Planning Commission 2014). In Igloolik, widespread effects of food insecurity in the community are a cause for concern. A community's vulnerability to food insecurity is impacted by a range of economic, environmental, and social pressures (Wesche and Chan 2010).

A food system consists of "dynamic interactions between and within biophysical and human environments which result in the production, processing, distribution, preparation and consumption of food" (Ford 2009, 84). The modern Inuit food system is comprised of both traditional and store-bought foods, with the portion of each varying between communities, households, and years (Ford

2009). Such 'traditional foods' consist of locally harvested wildlife species, such as ringed seal (*Pusa hispida*), caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*), Arctic char (*Salvelinus alpinus*), and a variety of wild berry species (Ford 2009, 84). In Nunavut, it has been recorded that 41% of respondents in a study in 2007 obtained more than half of their meat and fish from traditional sources (Ford 2009, 84). In Igloolik, ringed seal and walrus are particularly important traditional food sources (Laidler et al. 2009). The traditional food system is characterized by activities including hunting, fishing, meat preparation, and community sharing (Ford 2009). These community sharing practices of food are fundamental to the traditional food system and play an important role in Inuit's adaptive capacity to stresses on food security. Additionally, it is an integral component of physical and emotional well-being, as well as being important in building a sense of community and cultural reaffirmation (Statham 2012).

The store-bought food consumed in Igloolik not only

has different content from the traditional food system, but in contrast to the traditional food system, it is characterized by industrial food systems external to the community, monetary exchange for food, and individual consumption (Ford 2009). Communities have a limited number of stores which stock a variety of fresh and processed 'southern' foods (Ford 2009). This drives up food prices as a result of limited competition in the food market, often making store-bought foods unaffordable. These foods are brought to the North by air, or by ship once or twice a year during the summer ice-free period (Ford 2009). Supplies of some non-perishables usually run out during late spring, prior to restocking in late summer (Ford 2009). Delays in transportation due to sea ice and weather conditions are a common problem in the Arctic, meaning longer periods without food on shelves and produce arriving shortly before or even after their expiry date (Ford 2009). These two food systems do not exist mutually exclusively, but interact to create a mixed food system, with a stronger

Food Systems and the Arctic Inuit

reliance on store food during times of environmental stress, and a stronger reliance on traditional foods during periods of economic stress (Ford 2009).

CLIMATE CHANGE AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE TRADITIONAL FOOD SYSTEM

The Arctic warming experienced in the past 150 years of 0.8 °C to 1.2°C exceeds the warming during the Pleistocene-Holocene transition (Post et al. 2009, 1355), which coincided with extinctions of faunal species and major shifts in vegetation patterns in the Arctic (Post et al. 2009). In the last 30 to 50 years, the western and central Canadian Arctic has experienced a 2°C -3°C warming during winter months (Meakin and Kurvits 2009, 13). These higher surface air temperatures are driving changes in the cryosphere (Dicks 2012, 7), which have affected sea ice conditions and the overall Arctic, having a direct impact on Inuit traditional food accessibility (Ford et al. 2009).

There is evidence of earlier onset of spring melt (Post et al. 2009, 1355), and with changing snow, ice and permafrost conditions, this affects the distribution and abundance of floral and faunal species (Dicks 2012, 78). These changes cause multiple adverse effects to hunters, both directly and indirectly. Reports of accidents during harvesting activities, such as that of two men in March 2006 perishing in a rattle in Nunatsiavut (Griffiths 2007), are not uncommon. With these changes to landscape surfaces, some aspects of traditional knowledge become less relevant (Dicks 2012). Not only do these rapid changes increase safety and other risks during hunting activities, but also affect species distribution (Post et al. 2009). Species including the bowhead whale (*Balaena mysticetus*), Arctic cod (*Arctogadus glacialis*), harp seal (*Pagophilus groenlandicus*), hooded seal (*Cystophora cristata*), ringed seal (*Pusa hispida*) and the Pacific walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus divergens*) are showing signs of decline in relation to sea ice loss (Dicks 2012, 72).

Much like in other regions of Arctic Canada, there is evidence of change in the sea ice environment in Igloodik (Laidler et al. 2009). The ice has been reported to be more dynamic, less predictable, and thinner by the local people (Laidler et al. 2009, 364). These changes have had an impact on the hunting of walrus and ringed seals, which are the marine staples of the community's traditional food system (Laidler et al. 2009, 371). Locally observed environmental changes include changes in freeze-up and break-up processes and timing, ice thickness, the position of floe edge, multiyear and moving ice, seasonal temperatures and weather and predictability, and the availability and health of wildlife (Laidler et al. 2009). Later freeze-up timing between 1969 and 2005 has had a rate of change of approximately 0.7 days per year (Laidler et al. 2009, 376). Local temperature changes have also showed increases in autumn temperatures of 0.2°C per year between 1977 and 2002 (Laidler et al. 2009, 376). Delayed freeze-up trends contribute to thinner and

non-uniform ice conditions, which can lead to more dangerous and uncertain on-ice hunting conditions (Laidler et al. 2009). There has also been a decreasing frequency of ice piling on reefs, which decreases proximity of the ice (floe) edge to ringed seals (Laidler et al. 2009, 379). This, along with decreased floe edge stability, increases the safety risks of hunting in these prime seal-hunting areas (Laidler et al. 2009). Walrus hunting is also more risky with ice pans being smaller, less consistent and less solid (Laidler et al. 2009, 381).

Shifts toward earlier spring break-up occurring in July instead of August has its own implications and risks associated with seal hunting (Laidler et al. 2009, 382). With temperatures being 1°C to 2°C warmer every decade, water begins accumulating on the sea ice earlier, which notably caused significant ice deterioration prior to break-up in 2004 (Laidler et al. 2009, 382-383). This uncertainty in ice conditions has led to limited access to seal hunting grounds and more danger associated with over-ice travel (Laidler et

Food Systems and the Arctic Inuit

al. 2009).

Not only have these changes in environmental conditions led to more unpredictable hunting territory, but they also indirectly affect hunting effort and create further uncertainty through impacts on local species distribution. Patterns of earlier spring precipitation and water accumulation on the sea ice surface has led to the washout of subnivean birth lairs of ringed seals (Post et al. 2009, 1355). This leaves newborns exposed to increased vulnerability to hypothermia and predation (Post et al. 2009, 1355). These warmer springs have impacted the distribution of ringed seals. Caribou have also been impacted, as plant-growing seasons have advanced while their calving season has not (Post et al. 2009, 1356). This has caused a mismatch in the resource demand and supply dynamics of caribou and the land, contributing to reduced survival of caribou calves in areas such as Low Arctic Greenland (Post et al. 2009, 1356).

Changes in the physical environment set-off a complex

chain of ecological responses through species interactions. These interactions can either obscure evidence of effects of climate change on a species (Post et al. 2009), or conversely, can intensify the impacts. As noted by Post et al. (2009), warmer summer temperatures may increase the insect harassment and parasitism experienced by caribou, which could potentially reduce communities' annual caribou harvest (1357).

As these environmental changes continue to occur, this puts stress on the local traditional food system. Women in the community have noted the declining availability of walrus, caribou and seal meat in recent years due to climate changes (Beaumier and Ford 2010). It should be noted, however, that warming temperatures and a shorter ice-period could lead to an increase in shipping opportunities (Dicks 2012), which could reduce store-food prices, mitigate store-food shortages and delays in produce arrival, and some episodic melting may benefit some animal populations (Post et al. 2009).

SOCIAL AND INTERGENERATIONAL PRESSURES

Beyond the physical environment, the social and economic environment also has an effect on food security in the North. Non-climatic factors play an important role in the exposure and sensitivity of a community to climate change (Ford et al. 2009). Such factors include (lack of) traditional knowledge transmission (Ford 2009), changes towards a wage-economy (Ford 2005) and the affordability of food and shelter.

There have been concerns over the disconnection of younger generations from the land as youngsters tend toward a desire to follow 'Western' social norms (Ford, Smit and Wendel 2006). With this 'legacy effect' (Ford 2009) and other factors such as the generational language differences and increased dependence on wages employment, the passing down of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), to the younger generation and its application by younger populations is increasingly

lacking (Ford, Smit and Wendel 2006). IQ is defined to include a way of living and thinking, knowledge of survival skills without the use of modern technology, and the tradition of passing teachings, knowledge, and values to younger generations (Bonny 2008, 17). The lack of IQ and traditional knowledge transfer has meant that skills necessary for harvesting wildlife have been lost, including knowledge of traditional forms of navigation, appropriate apparel for hunting, how to prepare for trips, and the ability to foresee potential risks or hazardous conditions (Ford, Smit and Wendel 2006). This also results in a loss of adaptive capacity on the part of the newer generation (Ford, Smit and Wendel 2006). It has been shown that this generation of young Inuit is often ill-prepared for and takes on unfamiliar, dangerous hunting situations (Ford, Smit and Wendel 2006).

This situation will continue to be exacerbated by community demographics since Igloodik, and Nunavut as a whole, have a much younger population than the rest of Canada. The median age in Igloodik is 21.1

Food Systems and the Arctic Inuit

(Statistics Canada 2012b), and in Nunavut, 24.1 (Statistics Canada 2012b), while it is 39.9 for the whole Canadian population (Statistics Canada 2012a). In other words, the median age of Igloodik's population is almost half of the Canadian population. The population under 15 represents 38.7% of Igloodik (Statistics Canada 2012b), while the same age group makes up 16.4% of the Canadian population as a whole (Statistics Canada 2012a). Rapid population growth associated with a high proportion of youth will increase pressure on a country's (or community's) resources (Leahy et al. 2007), and could very well increase pressure on food systems of Nunavut. To manage population growth investing in education, family planning and sexual health will be important (Leahy et al. 2007). Such investments could help to mitigate the potential for a continuously younger and rapidly-growing population. Investments in education could also integrate investments in traditional knowledge sharing and cultural learning, which further alleviate future pressures on the local food system.

ECONOMIC PRESSURES

As the younger generations move away from traditional food and environmental pressures continue to force Inuit away from traditional foods, there is a trend toward a greater reliance on store-bought foods (Ford 2005). This in itself puts more economic pressure on the household and community, and impacts food availability, access and quality (Wesche and Chan 2010). This has already manifested itself as a problem, as 49% of Nunavut households reported having "often" or "sometimes" not enough to eat, while this average was a low 7% in Canada (Chan et al. 2006, 417).

The unemployment rate in both Nunavut and Igloodik are much higher than the total population of Canada. For the total population aged 15 and over, the unemployment rate is 20.1% in Nunavut (Statistics Canada 2007), 17.9% in Igloodik (Statistics Canada 2007), and 6% in Canada (Statistics Canada 2008). Unemployment rates are higher for the Inuit populations in Igloodik and Nunavut (Statistics Canada

2007), and these percentages are probably much higher when taking into account underemployment. In a study conducted by Lamden et al. (2006), the high cost of food and low or no income were the most common reasons for being unable to afford adequate food. In addition, the local income in Igloolik is significantly lower than throughout the rest of Canada; reported median income being CAD13,995 in 2006 for Aboriginal identity populations of 15 and over (Statistics Canada 2007). In 2008, the median total income for Canadians was a CAD28,920 (Statistics Canada 2014). This has implications in food security and health, as there is an association between poverty and obesity due to lower-costs of energy-dense, high sugar and fat processed foods (Lamden et al. 2006).

During times of stress on the traditional food system, individuals and households often switch to store-foods, although this is often times not an option due to high costs (Ford 2009). Shipping CAD200 worth of groceries is said to cost CAD500 (Globe and Mail

2012), which accounts for the higher price of food. It has been reported that a basket of food in Igloolik for a family of four, per week in 2005 was CAD286: twice the cost in Ottawa (Ford 2009, 94), and Montreal (Beaumier and Ford 2010, 198). High food costs in the North have been a publicized matter, with protests organized over the issue in 2012 (Globe and Mail 2012). Feeding My Family is a grass-roots, online-based initiative that specifically aims to bring awareness to the high costs of food in the North (Feeding my Family n.d.). The effort keeps an inventory of photographs of food prices in Nunavut, including those of a 6x710ml still water packs costing CAD46.99 in Igloolik (Feeding my Family 2012b), and a small pineapple costing CAD11.59 in the same region (Feeding my Family 2012a). There have been reports of participants relying on their family members to share food, using the local food-bank, and purchasing poor quality store-food as coping mechanisms, while others may go without food for days (Ford 2009, 94). The high costs of food and the poor quality of produce can

Food Systems and the Arctic Inuit

make convenience foods a more practical choice in terms of ability to 'fill kids up' (Chan et al. 2006, 425).

Just as store-foods are expensive, modern hunting costs are also high. Modern hunting has become very capital intensive requiring expensive equipment, limiting the ability of many to participate in hunting practices (Beaumier and Ford 2010). Hunting 'capital' includes equipment such as snowmobiles, gas, rifles, ammunition and gear to travel safely, which is reported to cost approximately CAD150 per day (Globe and Mail 2012). In the case of fishing, access to equipment and the cost of equipment is also an issue affecting participation (Lamden et al. 2006). Rising commodity prices also have an impact on the affordability of hunting (Ford et al. 2009). In the case of Nunavut, the territorial government bulk buys fuel once a year, organizing its distribution to communities where it is stored and used for the remainder of the year (Ford et al. 2009, 147). Price of unleaded gasoline went from CAD0.90/L in 2004

to CAD1.20/L in 2006. In November 2006, the price of fuel increased by ~CAD0.10 per L in Nunavut, compounding the effects of financial pressures on the community (Ford et al. 2009, 147-148). These rising prices also affect the potential for hunting success, as changing climatic conditions and changing biogeographical patterns of species has meant that hunters may be required to travel longer distances (Ford et al. 2009), further exacerbating financial strains.

There are some government-funded programs such as the Harvester's Support Program, which provides financial aid to cover purchase of hunting equipment (Ford, Smit, Wandel 2006). However, it has been indicated that these programs are considered insufficient for community needs by locals (Lamden et al. 2006). Due to its limitations, such funding has heightened inequalities within communities, causing social tension (Ford, Smit, Wandel 2006). Such a social environment has weakened the relations of trust and reciprocity that facilitate the cultural practice of and belief

in sharing in areas of the Arctic Bay (Ford, Smit, Wandel 2006). Nevertheless, such efforts mitigate some costs for certain individuals.

ADAPTING TO CHANGE

Adaptation means finding a way to cope with a new circumstance, moderate change, or take advantage of it (Dicks 2012; Smit and Wandel 2006). The high level of adaptability of Inuit has been noted, with their food sharing traditions, flexibility in hunting, and switching between country- and store-food systems (Ford 2009). Adaptation can occur on different social levels; from the individual or household, to the community, and can occur at different temporal scales.

Iglulingmiut (people of Igloodik) have dealt with changing environmental and ice conditions since the mid to late 1990s (Ford et al. 2009, 149). Inuit ecological knowledge and the local knowledge of Iglulingmiut is highly dynamic and incorporates the constant observations made by active hunters as well as the dialogues which take place around

conditions and weather within the community (Stairs 1992).

In hunting, the changing climate has increased the unpredictability of environments, making traditional knowledge of the environment less dependable (Ford 2005); however, we see the flexibility of traditional knowledge and practices via the regular use of certain technologies such as GPS and satellite phones as safety equipment on hunting trips (Ford et al. 2009). In fact, it has been reported that the variability of environmental conditions is now a part of a community-level collective social memory that guides practice and decision-making (Ford, Smit and Wandel 2006). In fieldwork conducted by Ford in the early 2000s, increased climatic variations were interpreted to be part of the natural deviations from the norm but are now being integrated into a new normal (Ford et al. 2009). In an Inuvialuit community, switching species and flexibility in their hunting patterns and behaviors has been a way to cope with the changes in the surrounding environment (Berkes and

Food Systems and the Arctic Inuit

Jolly 2001). Despite these adaptations by the Inuit, the lack of hunting knowledge of the youth potentially reduces adaptive capacity in the traditional food system (Ford et al. 2009). There is also some concern that the changes in the physical environment will be too rapid for certain communities (Dicks 2012). It should also be noted that certain adaptations, such as the adoption of new technologies, are only available to those with the financial means to do so, or who are supported by government-funded programs.

Food sharing is part of the many traditional practices of Inuit, and country foods are traditionally shared in the extended household unit in Igloodik (Beaumier and Ford 2010). Food sharing is an important part of the traditional food system guided by kinship rules (Ford 2005), and is an affirmation of cultural identity (Ford, Smit, Wandel 2006). This practice has also been an important part of Inuit resilience in times of stress, with the sharing of country foods being practiced in the present and in the past (Beaumier and Ford

2010). In 2006, a shortage of walrus meat in Igloodik meant that sharing was important in allowing the community to have access to traditional sources of food (Ford et al. 2009). Despite the generosity of successful hunters, there was too little walrus and caribou meat during the summer and fall to supply the demand (Ford et al. 2009). Moreover, the transition from the traditional economy to the wage economy has also impacted food-sharing practices through the encouragement of individualized behavior and a withdrawal from the traditional social and economic system (Ford, Smit, Wandel 2006).

Another adaptation method that has been discussed includes the mixed-food system. As mentioned, households can rely more heavily on store-foods during times of environmental stress, and more on country foods during those of economic stress (Wesche and Chan 2010). The financial situation of most people in the community, however, means that this switching between different systems is not as easy and fluid as it may seem at first. Experienced hunters with financial means would be

the few who have substantial adaptive capacity in these situations (Ford, Smit, Wandel 2010). These individuals have the capacity to use traditional knowledge for safe and successful hunts, as well as afford appropriate equipment to facilitate their hunts. In the midst of severe environmental stresses, they would also be able to afford expensive store-foods, and may still be able to supplement it with nutritious traditional foods.

CONCLUSION

Food security is a multifaceted problem, and all of the interconnected social, economic and environmental factors need to be taken into account when considering food insecurity in the North. In a complex system, it is difficult to predict future outcomes; however, considering the extremely high percentages of people who experience food insecurity in Nunavut and the community of Igloodik (Beaumier and Ford 2010), changes need to be made to alleviate the current stress on the food system.

Cultural reaffirmation and intergenerational traditional knowledge sharing will be key in the survival of cultural food security. With the current age demographics of smaller communities, such as Igloodik, which have very young populations, this will be particularly important as the gap between food supply and demand could very likely create even more stress on the mixed-food system. The potential for further government-funded programs or subsidies to alleviate stresses on both traditional and non-traditional food systems remain, although more so the latter, which could potentially benefit from the lengthened shipping seasons and increased geographical accessibility of these communities.

The worsening of environmental stresses on the traditional food system, as we currently know are, at this point, inevitable. Not only would it be difficult to stop emitting greenhouse gases contributing to climate change in the near-future, but even if these gas concentrations were stabilized today, the global average of

Food Systems and the Arctic Inuit

warming would still be around 0.6°C in the next 100 years as a result of greenhouse gases already in the atmosphere (Riebeek 2010).

Uncertainties around what the future holds in terms of environmental and social change, permeates the future of food insecurity in Arctic communities such as Igloodik. However, with the importance of the traditional food system in the cultural identity of Inuit, the survival of aspects of the subsistence economy, food sharing and hunting activities will be key for food security in the future in Inuit communities.

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Privatization of Public Space:

The High Line Park, zoning incentives and social demarcation

by EMILY HUANG

The privatization of public spaces is examined in the era of neoliberal urbanism. Public spaces help define a city and foster social interactions. However, neoliberal urbanism and strained city finances have caused cities such as New York to partner with the non-profit Friends organizations and the private sector to fund parks. This creates spaces such as the New York High Line Park that often result in social demarcation and unequal distribution of wealth as some parks receive more maintenance while other parks continue to decay. Zoning incentives also drive gentrification around the High Line Park, thus displacing the original residents. Consequently, a livable city may only be livable to one group of individuals who are not faced with inequality or lack accessible resources. Cities are challenged to provide the general public with both the benefits of public space and resources from the private sector that are not too distorted by the interest of the donors. Privatized public spaces could also limit the voices of the broad public in decision making and bring into question the publicness of these urban spaces.

INTRODUCTION

Cities are increasingly becoming significant hubs of social production and consumption in the public realm. Since the 19th century, urban reformers, city planners, and municipal officials, developed and managed public spaces for the interest of the public to meet social and political means (Schmidt et al., 2011). Early designers, such as landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, argued that public parks should improve the health of the city and serve its inhabitants in the midst of rapid urbanization. Parks act as the 'lungs' of the city, providing clean air and access to the tranquility of nature. However, these ideals are changing in the midst of neoliberal urbanism. The new generation of public space is often dependent on substantial funding and support from the private sector, acquired with the help of non-profit organizations such as 'Friends' groups. Although privatized public spaces are not always problematic, examples such as the High Line illustrate some of the negative effects that result from privatization.

This produces a continuum of unevenly developed public spaces and parks that cater to a selective public, while parks in poor neighbourhoods remain neglected (Loughran 2014; Madden 2014; Németh 2009). This article seeks to discuss how neoliberal urbanism and land use reforms that encourage and intensify the development of privatized public spaces can lead to social demarcation.

CONSTANT REDEFINITION OF PUBLIC SPACE

Public spaces help define a city's identity. They are what make a city livable. They also benefit cities economically, culturally, and environmentally by creating a foundation for healthy, growing neighbourhoods. These spaces enhance cultural diversity through the intermixing of people, and also visually enhance and benefit the surrounding environment, providing a sense of safety to the users (Broder 2012). Many argue that publicly-accessible spaces should be universally inclusive, offering a comfortable

Privatization of Public Space

environment that encourages people to socialize and interact with one another in unplanned and unmediated ways (Broder 2012; Franck and Stevens 2007; Németh and Schmidt et al. 2011). However, not all public spaces are completely inclusive or meet the needs of all users. It is perhaps a utopian ideal that public spaces indiscriminately provide access to all individuals. Moreover, claiming that a publicly owned space is accessible to everyone fails to recognize the “subjective, situated viewpoints from which users of these spaces operate” (Németh and Schmidt 2010, 9). For instance, not everyone shares the same values regarding openness and inclusiveness in the public realm (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008). Everyone’s situations and circumstances are different; as a result, “the appropriate or desirable public for any given space is contingent on users, owners, and managers acting as conscious agents” (Németh and Schmidt 2010, 9). Thus, the definition of the public and private realm is constantly being redefined under changing circumstances that call for a variety of applications and

contexts (Németh and Schmidt 2010; Peterson 2006).

NEOLIBERAL URBANISM AND THE BIRTH OF THE PRIVATIZED PUBLIC SPACE

The impacts of neoliberal policies on public spaces have demonstrated important changes in the form and function of parks and urban spaces that parallel the transformations in capitalism, urban politics, and culture (Loughran 2014). One factor that is driving the privatization of state-of-the-art parks, such as the High Line, is their enormous maintenance cost (Ulam 2013). As a result, non-profit organizations, otherwise known as Friends groups, assist cities in the upkeep of these parks, and often reach out to the private sector to find funding for projects. (Friends of the High Line). Non-profit Friends groups “push for the public’s interests; [however] these names bear little relation to their actual role and do not necessarily indicate that they will be acting a particular way” (Project for Public Spaces). As a result of the private sector’s role in designing and maintaining

parks, they can regulate who has access to the public space and who do not, which in turn produces discrete inequalities. For example, in the case of the High Line, planning and maintenance is less focused on the broad public, but rather mainly on the interests of the wealthy who contribute the most to New York's economic growth (Németh and Schmidt 2010). This illustrates the power dynamic wherein the wealthy have a greater say compared to the general public, and are able to ensure that their interests are met. Consequently, privatization in the neoliberal city is now characterized by a decline in public life and an increase in exclusivity through corporate consumption and surveillance (Peterson 2006).

Security surveillance is one of the primary means to manage bodies in space. Bodies that stand out and take the brunt of surveillance are marginalized people such as the homeless. Thus, increased regulation of urban space through surveillance is a means of social regulation and deterrence for inclusion and exclusion of the public and its other (Peterson

2006). Additionally, increasing privatization of public spaces, such as parks, results in limits to citizen participatory and communicative planning, thus weakening the public's decision making on how public spaces should be managed (Kohn 2014). This is illustrated during the High Line planning process where many of the residents in West Chelsea district were underrepresented in community input. Many residents were excited to support and participate in the initial planning process of the abandoned railway; however, much citizen feedback was ignored. Furthermore, as more resources are poured into state-of-the-art parks, fewer resources are directed towards decaying parks in poorer neighbourhoods, which further limits the economically disadvantaged population's access to local amenities (Loughran 2014; Nettler 2013). Cities face the challenge of providing the general public with the benefits of public space through resources from the private sector without being overly affected by the interest of the donors (Ulam 2013).

Privatization of Public Space

PRIVATE MANAGEMENT, UPZONING AND PUBLICNESS

The High Line stretches across the West Side of Manhattan and is described by city officials and city planners as one of the most “people-pleasing and innovative reclamation projects in modern history” (Olive 2014, 1). It is owned by the City of New York, but operated by Friends of the High Line (FHL), a group that works with the city to manage the High Line’s operation and funding. They work with the private sector to raise funds to support more than 90 percent of the park’s operation. Prior to its transformation into a park, the High Line acted as a lifeline to New York’s manufacturing district. However, its use declined as New York moved away from being a manufacturing capital, and the highway system emerged throughout the United States. A railway line that originally went through the Park underwent a lengthy process that transformed a disused piece of transportation infrastructure into one of New York’s most visited tourist attractions. Nonetheless,

hidden underneath the glamour, is also a project of selective inclusion and exclusion within the public sphere. To attract private development, cities are scrambling to provide often controversial incentives to receive donations, such as offering naming rights, land use reformations, and setting aside land for commercial developments (Ulam 2013). In return, developers pay large sums of money to build corporate highrises and luxury condominiums, resulting in gentrification in areas such as Chelsea District where the High Line intersects (Minton 2006).

The use of zoning is often a feature of privately owned or managed public spaces (Loughran 2014; Németh 2009; Németh and Schmidt 2010; Ulam 2013). With city budgets being slashed across the country, many municipal parks agencies have partnered with conservancies and Friends groups in order to fulfill their mandates. At the beginning of the project, FHL worked with government officials to find federal and local funding opportunities and grants; however, the majority of funding

was received from celebrities and wealthy individuals with predetermined visions of the Park (Broder 2011). The upkeep of the High Line, considered to have the highest per-square foot maintenance costs in the city, is funded through the support of commercial developments and incentive zoning. In order to enable private developers to develop highrises and luxurious apartments around the High Line, the area had to up-zone from low density to high density (Broder 2011). This achieved a Zoning Resolution that created the “Special West Chelsea District” (SWCD) and contained a substantial increase in the Floor Area Ratio (FAR) that allowed for greater height and redistribution of bulk size in the northern end of the Park (Broder 2011). The New York City Department of City Planning outsourced the development of more than 500 privately owned public spaces to private developers in exchange to build over 20 million square feet of residential and commercial floor space (Ulam 2013). In return for the increased density, developers were required to provide amenities such as urban spaces (Kayden 2000).

However, Kayden critiques the 1961 Zoning Resolution of “formally [inaugurating] the public policy of encouraging privately owned public space” that reinforces further social demarcation and an unequal distribution of funding for parks (2000, 11).

The publicness of an area is dependent on individual private owners and managers who are responsible for implementing their own management and regulations, whereas publicly owned space is uniformly managed throughout a park district or jurisdiction. Németh (2009) notes that individual owners do not need to consult with a city’s planning department before implementing their own regulations on a public space. This illustrates the lack of accountability and public input into the design and management of privately owned space. The influence of the private sector can be beneficial in terms of revitalizing decaying and underutilized public spaces in the city. However, the goodwill of private donors to rejuvenate public spaces can also lead to the growth of transnational corporate power

Privatization of Public Space

that prioritizes the needs of elites and the global economy over local public interests (Németh 2009; Schmidt et al. 2011). This attracts the donations from private donors that give rise to discrete elite-centred public spaces and limits the publicness of urban space, worsening social demarcation across the city through the unequal maintenance of parks.

SOCIAL DEMARCATION AND SOCIAL SURVEILLANCE OF THE HIGH LINE PARK

The increase of tourism and the change in leisure and consumption patterns of the new urban middle class has resulted in gentrification of West Chelsea, with luxuriously designed condominiums and upscale restaurants continuing to spring up along the High Line (Ulam 2013). This has caused Manhattan's land values to rise from eight percent below the median to a 103 percent (Moss 2012). Gentrification in the SWCD has significant social and cultural consequences for the High Line Park itself. Controlled diversity of privately owned or managed public space is more profitable

than unconstrained social differences. Hence, even as new social groups are claiming greater access to the rights of society, homogenization of 'the public' continues apace. Powerful stakeholders exert strong influence on public space design in order to prevent uncontrolled use of space which is seen as a threat. The High Line's design and symbolic images are also mechanisms that determine who has access to the Park. This is implemented by placing 'best design' structures throughout the Park, such as the best flower garden, and having entertainment and other activities (with some events that only allow ticket holders) throughout the week. These mechanisms attract certain individuals to the Park, while simultaneously keeping others out. As a result, these mechanisms often foster the "illusion of a homogenized public by filtering out the social heterogeneity of the urban crowd." (Mitchell 1995, 120). Created in its place is a "flawless fabric of white middle class work, play, and consumption ...with minimal exposure to the horrifying level of homelessness

and racialized poverty that characterizes [the] street environment” (Loughran 2014, 120). Loughran highlights the regulation of the Park’s space through its typical day such as the upscale artisan food carts, long wooden bars for people to sit on, the uniformed security guard who stands watch, and people participating in leisurely activities (2014). The surveillance and the small-scale design features and events, encourages a specific type of individual to have access to the High Line, illustrating the social privilege of certain individuals in the contemporary public space that is designed by the private sector. The High Line Park’s role in the social demarcation of space can be illustrated by Loughran’s definition of ‘spatial privilege’— the “hegemonic ability to make claims on public space, based on high standing within socially constructed and intersecting hierarchies of gender, race, class, sexuality, and national origin” that reproduces social advantages (2014, 61).

Through mechanisms of discrete exclusion and surveillance by park

employees, park design, and symbolic images, FHL reinforces the privileged consumption of space, and further perpetuates social demarcation (Loughran 2014). This is further exacerbated by the neighbouring gentrification process that boosts property values, making it extremely difficult for original residents to continue residing in the Chelsea District (Ulam 2013). Thus the economically disadvantaged are easily displaced, producing a cycle of disinvestment and reinvestment in the area by both social classes, as wealthy individuals consume place and reproduce space (Rankin and McLean 2015).

CONCLUSION

In the midst of neoliberal urbanism, the maintenance and operation of public space and parks are heavily dependent on the funding support of the private sector. Funding from the private sector can be beneficial to public spaces, but can also have negative consequences if city officials make compromises in order to better the public realm. The proliferation of privately

Privatization of Public Space

funded and managed parks are deemed as an increase in overall welfare, but often have limited accessibility. The High Line Park demonstrates environments that are based on security and exclusions of certain bodies rather than encouraging public use and social interaction. Privatization is linked with commodification and surveillance because it is said to be safer for the general public. However, the safety of the High Line is only perceived as safer because of the discrete exclusion of those who are seen as dangerous or unwelcomed.

Today, privatized parks are emerging not only in New York City, but in cities such as Chicago, Seoul, Toronto, and Mexico City in hopes of creating their own state-of-the-art parks (McGinn 2014). Neoliberal urbanism results in cities' race to the bottom of who can build the best and boldest parks. This accelerates the incorporation of public places to spaces saturated with corporate images that drive consumption and world class amenities at the cost of the economically disadvantaged and the marginalized. Harvey (2012) notes in his book,

Rebel Cities, that "much of the corruption that attaches to urban politics relates to how public investments are allocated to produce something that looks like a common but which promotes gains in private asset values for privileged property owners" (79). Former New York Park Commissioner says that parks and open space are at the top of the list that attracts people to a livable city (Minton 2006). Yet often, a livable city in the era of neoliberal urbanism is only livable to one group of individuals who are not faced with inequality or lack accessible resources.

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A Critique of the Assumptions in Favour of Expanding the Local Food Market

by RYEN MACKAAY

It has been argued that expanding the local food market is a necessary transformation. Advocates of producing locally have endorsed a series of assumptions highlighting how this system promotes benefits for the environment, the consumers and the economies of food producing regions. But research has shown that a local market does not necessarily increase environmental sustainability, access to food for consumers or economic well-being for food producing regions. Studies have demonstrated that in some circumstances, buying locally may increase global greenhouse gas emissions. Other studies have highlighted the potential drawbacks of implementing urban agriculture and the food miles campaign at the global scale. By the end of this paper, it will be clear that the allegations in favour of implementing a local market are based on assumptions that can be discredited by factual evidence. This article provides a critique of the predominant assumptions in favour of increasing the scale of the local food market.

Critique: Local Food Market

INTRODUCTION

The food industry has developed immensely since its inception many centuries ago. Food distribution was once characterised by hunter-gatherer societies who fed themselves, but the current system operates by importing food to satisfy consumer demand. Despite the unprecedented growth of the current food market, many argue that increasing the range of a local system of producing food is a necessary transformation. The word “local” is difficult to define because it is an ambiguous term. Smith and Mackinnon define local as the 100 mile radius around which an individual lives (2007). In their book, *The 100-Mile Diet*, the authors conducted an experiment which restricted them to consuming food that was produced within the 100-mile radius of their home. The authors documented the limits of only purchasing locally produced food over the course of one year (Smith & Mackinnon 2007). For the purposes of this article, the word “locally” will be defined as the 100 mile radius around which an

individual lives. This article will examine whether or not the assumptions in favour of local eating are legitimate. It will begin by exploring whether or not local eating actually reduces the environmental costs associated with the transport of food. The next section covers urban agriculture, examining if the implementation of this structure could potentially feed 7 billion consumers. A following section highlights the effects of a local food system on the economies of regions involved in producing food. This article provides a critique of the predominant assumptions in favour of expanding the local food market.

ASSUMPTION #1: A Local Market is Environmentally Sustainable

It's widely believed that it is more environmentally-friendly to implement a local system rather than continuing to import. This belief stems from the idea that the long-distance transport of food leads to an increase in greenhouse gas emissions (Ballingall & Winchester 2010). Because the scope of possible environmental impacts

stemming from food imports is immense, the discussion will centre on the effects that the distribution of food has had on the atmosphere. The Food Miles Campaign was created so that individuals could interpret the distance that their food travelled and the environmental costs associated with its transport (Ballingall & Winchester 2010). The aim of food miles is to encourage consumers to reduce their carbon footprint by raising awareness about the carbon emissions that stem from producing food. Ballingall and Winchester note that several studies have highlighted that food miles are an inadequate way of measuring the sustainability of food transport (2010). In terms of the amount of energy being exerted, it can actually be more sustainable to import food rather than produce it locally. For example, it is more sustainable to import tomatoes from Spain to Britain, rather than harvesting them locally (Ballingall & Winchester 2010). The Department for Environmental Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) acknowledged that Britain uses heated greenhouses for harvesting

tomatoes. In this case, importing tomatoes locally leads to more greenhouse gas emissions than shipping them from Spain.

Research has also shown that the majority of environmental costs associated with food transportation are the result of domestic rather than international freight (Ballingall & Winchester 2010). DEFRA released a report stating that air and sea emissions only equated to a small percentage of total emissions, but road transport accounted for 75% of the total emissions in Britain (Ballingall & Winchester 2010). Engelhaupt argues that the focus of consumers should be diverted towards how food is produced, rather than how far it travels (2008). The author's research demonstrates that out of the 8.1 metric tonnes of greenhouse gasses that are emitted due to food production, only 11% are from transportation (Engelhaupt 2008). This figure pertains to the emissions generated by an average U.S household each year (Engelhaupt 2008). The emissions in the atmosphere are the result of the amount of

Critique: Local Food Market

energy that is being consumed during food production. When tracing emissions back to the source where the food is produced (i.e. the factories and the farms), there is a major discrepancy regarding which products require the most energy. Producing red meat and dairy products accounts for almost half of the annual food emissions of US households (Engelhaupt 2008). Engelhaupt notes that replacing red meat and dairy just once a week with chicken, fish or eggs can reduce the equivalent of driving 760 miles (2008). The basis for this discrepancy is that the processing of red meat requires the use of heavy machinery that relies on fossil fuels to operate. In 2007, US farmers burned 5 megajoules of energy per day, during the growth and maintenance of their steers (Capper 2011). To put this number in perspective, 1 megajoule is the energy required for a 1 tonne vehicle to travel at the speed of 160 kilometres for an hour (Capper 2011). Individuals need to be aware that their carbon footprint is largely a reflection of the type of food they eat, rather than how far it travels.

ASSUMPTION #2: A Local Market Increases the Consumers Access to Food

Research has indicated that many consumers are intrigued by the prospect of a localized food market. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) conducted a national survey based on consumer preferences regarding local food. The survey highlights a consensus in opinions, despite a contrast in the demographics of respondents. The study indicated that 63% of respondents were concerned with freshness of local food, 20% were focused on the convenience, and 16% were motivated by the price (United States Department of Agriculture 2010). Studies have shown that a large proportion of individuals not only buy local produce, but also grow it themselves. The National Gardening Association determined that approximately 36 million, or one third, of households in the US was engaged in some form of food gardening (McClintock 2013).

In a localized system, it would be necessary to implement urban agriculture so

that consumers living in urban spaces could have access to local food. Urban agriculture is a relatively new phenomenon which involves growing food in urban areas. Studies have demonstrated that in some areas, urban agriculture has provided affordable food to individuals suffering from food insecurity. McClintock conducted research in Oakland, California, highlighting that the introduction of urban agriculture in low-income neighbourhoods has strengthened the community's access to food (2013). Although some neighbourhoods will benefit from urban agriculture, it is essential to examine if this system is capable of providing food to consumers at the global scale.

A global study was conducted in 2014 to measure if the available urban area is capable of supporting the current food demand. Martellozzo et al.'s study measured the capacity of 165 regions to grow the recommended amount of vegetables on the available urban areas (2014). The authors determined that the

recommended amount of vegetables was equal to 300 g, per capita, per day (Martellozzo et al. 2014). At the global scale, urban agriculture could not support the suggested amount of produce for all of the regions that were included in the study. The results demonstrated that 51 of the regions that were examined have insufficient urban area to meet the 300 grams per capita, per day of vegetables (Martellozzo et al. 2014). The authors highlight that the amount of space per capita is a limiting factor for producing all of the vegetables consumed by urban dwellers; Bangladesh would require 5 times its urban area, in order meet consumer demand (Martellozzo et al. 2014). Consumers living in low-income and food insecure regions are the most vulnerable due to the high population density in marginalized areas (Martellozzo et al. 2014). It's true that urban agriculture has helped to mitigate food insecurity in specific low-income areas. An example is the neighbourhood in Oakland, California that McClintock highlights in his case study. However, Martellozzo et al.'s study demonstrates that

Critique: Local Food Market

the urban agriculture model would not be sufficient if it was implemented at the global scale. The study indicates that urban agriculture does not provide a viable solution for feeding the world's seven billion people.

ASSUMPTION #3: A Local Market Promotes Economic Well-Being for Food Producing Regions

Some believe that the economies of food producing regions are missing out on economic opportunities that a local market promotes. Recently, a professor at McMaster University wrote a study highlighting the economic incentives of implementing a local market in Ontario, Canada. MacRae argues that replacing ten percent of the top ten fruits and vegetables each year would generate a quarter of a billion dollars in revenue (MacRae 2015). The results of this study seem promising, but there are limitations to a local market in Ontario. The author acknowledges that “the province does not have the capability to produce tropical fruits and many fruit

and vegetable crops are only in season part of the year and have limited shelf life without further processing” (MacRae 2015, 27).

But Ontario isn't the only part of Canada which is constrained by seasonal and climatic patterns. The entire region of Canada is subject to the seasonality of its produce and the limitations of its climate to grow certain foods. Canada's official agri-food policy focuses on finding ways to establish the region as a major player in the global agri-food business (Kissinger 2012). Under Canada's agri-food policy, Canada has been importing heavily from outside of the region (Kissinger 2012). Canada imported 80% of the fruits and 45% of the vegetables that were consumed in the last decade (Kissinger 2012). In a local system, Canadian farmers will have to bear the brunt of limited growing seasons. For example, in Ontario and British Columbia, farmers can only grow green peas two months out of the year (Foodland Ontario 2012; Get Local 2012). Canada's climate also prevents farmers from growing

commodities such as rice and bananas, which are consumed on a vast scale by the general population. In 2012, Canada spent over 300 million dollars to import rice into the region (Statistics Canada 2012). Smith and Mackinnon experienced this limited availability during their 100-mile diet (2007). The authors were unable to buy bread locally during the month of March (Smith & Mackinnon 2007). There was only one farm that grew wheat locally, but unfortunately that particular farm was depleted of that commodity during that growing season (Smith & Mackinnon 2007). Seasonal and climatic restraints highlight the extent to which Canada is dependent on food sources from outside of the region.

Limitations that stem from regional growing seasons and climatic restraints are not the only issues associated with integrating a local system. Expanding the local market will lead to economic downturn for some of the regions involved in producing food. Ballingall and Winchester produced a simulated model examining how the economies of 87

regions would be affected if the food miles campaign was implemented (2010). Some regions, including Japan and the European Union (EU) would benefit from the food miles campaign. Japan and the EU countries benefited from the food miles campaign because their imports became cheaper as exports were diverted away from other regions (Ballinger & Winchester 2010). But not all of the regions in this simulation benefited from the Food Miles Campaign. Regions like New Zealand and Madagascar rely on exporting agro-foods to maintain their gross domestic product. They suffered huge economic losses following the simulation. New Zealand is a major exporter of dairy and red meat. If a local structure of producing food was implemented, New Zealand's exports would decrease by 75% (Ballinger & Winchester 2010). The simulation of food miles only took into account 87 regions and 57 commodities. However, the repercussions would be even more drastic if all of the regions involved in producing food adopted the food miles campaign.

Critique: Local Food Market

CONCLUSION

Supporters of locally produced food are in favour of the wide-spread implementation of a local market. One of the dominant arguments against the current food structure is the environmental costs associated with the long-distance transport. Advocates of the food miles campaign argue that reducing the distance that food travels will decrease the environmental costs. But in terms of energy, it's more sustainable in some circumstances to import food rather than grow it locally. In Britain, it is actually more sustainable to import tomatoes from Spain rather than producing tomatoes in heated greenhouses. Consumers are intrigued by local produce because of the benefits associated with its close proximity. But this notion only pertains to the consumers that have access to local produce. Martellozzo et al. conducted a study demonstrating why urban agriculture would not facilitate an increase in consumer access to food at the global scale. Implementing urban agriculture would be unsuccessful

because there is not enough viable urban area to support the local production of food. Some have argued that regions that possess the capabilities to produce locally are missing out on the economic opportunities of this market. But research has proved that a globalized local market would lead to negative economic repercussions for the economies of regions that produce food. Several regions will be affected by seasonal and climatic restraints that a local system will induce. Canada depends on importing food from outside of the region to ensure economic stability. A local system will also have negative repercussions for many of the regions that are reliant on exporting food. Ballingall and Winchester's simulated model demonstrates that the economies of many food producing regions will be negatively affected if the food miles campaign is implemented. This essay has provided a critique of the dominant assumptions in favour of expanding the local food market.

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Questioning Postcolonial Theory in Geography:

Time, Place and Perceptions of Palestine and Israel

by ELEANOR WEARING

This article offers an investigation of postcolonial theory and its relationship with geography through an exploration of the ongoing conflict in Palestine and Israel. It begins by providing a background of the various definitions and formations of postcolonial theory within the discipline of geography, discussing how the theory has been both employed and contested within the discipline. It further illustrates some of the limitations of postcolonial theory. This is done through an exploration of three geographical issues that arise when postcolonial theory is studied in the context of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict: alterations of perceptions of time; failure to distinguish between distinct locations; and Edward Said's Orientalism. Finally, there is a discussion of the responsibility of geographers to acknowledge the shortcomings of postcolonial theory, while working to find more productive ways it can contribute to geographical knowledge. This discussion is supplemented with relevant examples from geographers currently writing on postcolonial theory and how it might be reimagined in the discipline of geography.

**GEOGRAPHY AND
POSTCOLONIAL THEORY: A
Brief Introduction**

Within the discipline of geography, there is an ongoing discussion about the complexities of postcolonial theory. This discussion has included extensive debates and deliberation over the application, power and relationship between postcolonial theory and geography. Today, postcolonial theory can be thought to encompass two ideas: “post-colonialism” or “postcolonialism.” The hyphenated version attempts to encompass a clearly demarcated time period following a country or region’s independence from colonial powers, being both a geographical idea in the sense that certain places are post-colonial, and historical in the sense that it refers to a specific time period (Sharp 2009, 3-5). This definition contrasts “postcolonial” which refers more generally to the exploration of the impact of colonialism in the past and present, and the relationship between colonialism, knowledge and

power (Blunt and Wills 2000, 168-169). Some postcolonial theorists have asserted that though political or physical decolonization may have occurred in many areas, a “decolonization of the mind” or a cultural decolonization is a much more difficult process, and as such has yet to occur (Sharp 2009, 5). Henceforth, this article will use the term “postcolonial theory” when referring to the overarching ideas behind both “post-colonialism” and “postcolonialism,” and will refer to the specific terms when appropriate.

Since the introduction of postcolonial theory in the late 1970s, geographers have offered many of the strongest critiques over how it is applied (Gregory, Johnston and Pratt 2009, 612). This paper article will explore these debates through an investigation of the ongoing conflict in Palestine and Israel. Within the vast and varied arguments, opinions and studies presented on the conflict, one central concept can be identified: land ownership. This concept brings with it issues at the heart of geographical concern: place,

Questioning Postcolonial Theory in Geography

space, land, belonging and constructions of home. It also reveals why many scholars have written at length about the conflict's colonial nature (Massad 2000; Pappé 2011; Weizman 2007; Gregory 2004). To account for Blunt and Will's (2000) argument that geography resides at the heart of colonial power, this article aims to add to that body of work, and asserts that the conflict in Palestine and Israel is very much a colonial one. Through an analysis of the impact of postcolonial theory on perceptions of the conflict, this article will also identify the difficulties and prospects for geography and postcolonial theory going forward, whilst suggesting that geography has not come as far from its colonial history as one might think.

Through an analysis of the concerns surrounding postcolonial theory in the context of the situation in Israel and Palestine, three themes become clear. Each theme is related to and reinforced by the others. The first theme is based upon how the use of the hyphenated "post-colonialism" alters perceptions

of time, and that the lack of historical specificity in "post" collapses diverse chronologies (Shohat 1992, 103). The second theme is closely associated; it is centered upon postcolonial theory's failure to differentiate place or locations from one another. This theme will consider the argument that postcolonial theory carries with it a "globalizing gesture" which diminishes the significance and diversities of location (Shohat 1992, 104). The third theme considers Edward Said's Orientalism, which discusses how the Western world produces the "Orient" or "Other" (Said 2003, 1-8). Notions of Said's Orientalism have been brought forth in many discussions of postcolonial theory, where scholars have pointed out that the colonized positionality is often analyzed according to the "West," following a Eurocentric mold (Clayton 2003, 355-357).

POST-COLONIALISM AND THE ALTERING OF TIME

In order to understand how the application of post-colonialism can alter perceptions of time and historical specificity

with respect to Israel and Palestine, it is important to consider which time period is emphasized when the term is used. As Daoudi and Barakat (2013, 60) contend, the conflict between Israel and Palestine began with an assertion of land ownership, and has since centered upon the question “to whom does this land belong?” This is arguably a simplistic statement, and it should be noted that it represents only one perspective regarding the conflict’s beginning. However, in the context of postcolonial theory, it is worth careful consideration. The beginning of the conflict that Daoudi and Barakat (2013, 60) are referring to is the passing of Resolution 181 in 1947 by the United Nations, which called for a partition of Palestine into “Arab” and “Jewish” states (Figure 1). This resolution was followed by the Israeli-named 1948 “War of Independence,” in which Israel seized 77 percent of the land that Resolution 181 had entitled to Palestinians (Massad 2000, 317). One million Palestinians were expelled from their homes and 385 out of 480 Palestinian villages were destroyed (Massad 2000, 317).

And yet, it has been pointed out that the dispossession and dispersal of Palestinians following Israel’s seizure is largely unacknowledged by the larger scholarly community (Daoudi and Barakat 2013, 63). In other words, this event is not often recognized as the one of the major causes of the conflict. This lack of acknowledgment demonstrates the power of the “post” within post-colonial to emphasize more recent periods and events at the expense of colonial histories (McClintock 1992, 86-88). It also supports Shohat’s (1992, 107) argument of how using the term post-colonial implies a “narrative of progression.” This narrative, which places emphasis on more recent events, has the power to turn attention away from the serious work that must go into understanding and appreciating the history of ongoing conflicts. In the case of Palestine and Israel, it is exceedingly important to understand how the conflict is related to colonial projects of the past. Consider, for example, the argument for the role of Britain as the “original culprit” in the conflict, or for the creation of Israel as an event rooted in the

Questioning Postcolonial Theory in Geography

trajectory of British Imperialism (Gilmour 1999, xv). Working to understand this history has the potential to change perspectives of the conflict and its various manifestations. If geography falls into the

implied progression of post-colonialism, it may overlook its own history and, as Tronto (2003, 128-130) argues, deny the ways in which European colonial expansion still impacts contemporary life.

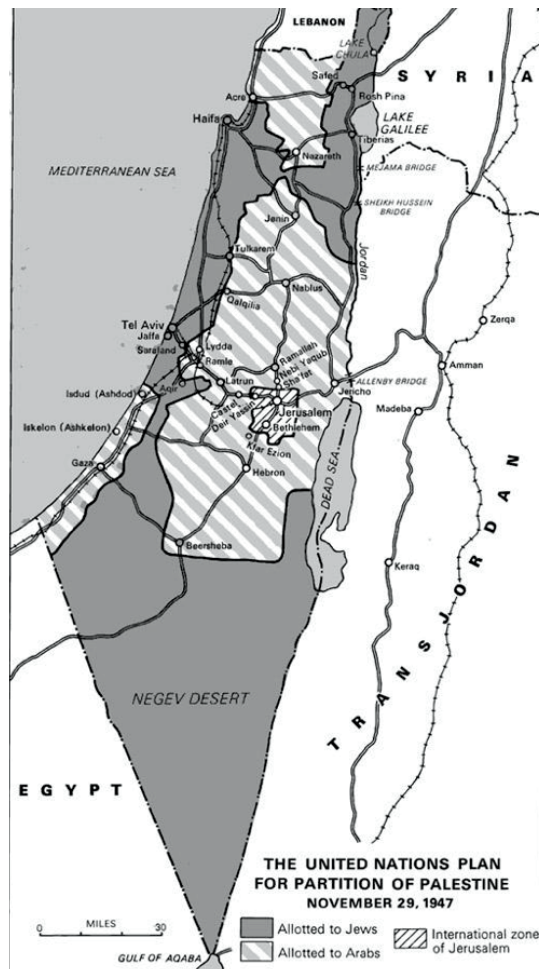


Figure 2. Figure 1. The United Nations Plan For Partition of Palestine, 1947. (European Institute For Research on Mediterranean and Euro-Arab Cooperation 1947).

Focusing on history, as emphasized by the notion of contemporary life, should not be used to overlook more recent events. Framing the focus however, must be congruent with an understanding of the past. The task of combining knowledge about the past and present identifies a problem with the “common-sensical” use of post-colonial, which is that it can overemphasize the break between past and present (Sharp 2009, 4). By altering the perception of time, this overemphasis has the power to change understandings of events that have occurred since the passing of the UN Resolution 181. Consider, for example, the 1967 “Six-Day War.” During the war, Israel occupied the regions of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, respectively governed by Jordan and Egypt, as per the guidelines of Resolution 181 (Khaldun 2013, 305-305). With respect to Israeli treatment of Palestinians, this occupation has been depicted as an “amplification of colonial conditions” (Khaldun 2013, 300). In contrast, Israel has negated claims that the areas were technically “occupied”

because they were never the sovereign territory of any state, and has used this to justify their invasion (Beinin and Hajjar 2014, 7). Without an awareness of Resolution 181, how might one make sense of these conflicting narratives? Israel could not have described the West Bank or Gaza as “lacking sovereignty” if it were not for Resolution 181. Furthermore, if one lacks awareness about Resolution 181, it is likely they will fail to consider the fact that both the West Bank and Gaza were sovereign Palestinian territories before the resolution was passed (Khaldun 2013, 305-305).

Today, it remains important to critically examine how the demarcation of a post-colonial period can influence how one conceptualizes the lasting legacy of past events. In July of 2014, the Israeli military launched “Operation Protective Edge,” a series of severe attacks on the Gaza Strip (Amnesty International 2014). The attacks killed 2,200 Palestinians, 86 percent of whom were civilians (B’Tselem 2014). The attacks also destroyed and damaged over 18,000 homes, leaving over

Questioning Postcolonial Theory in Geography

100,000 Palestinians homeless (B'Tselem 2014). Though Palestinian forces engaged in the conflict, the discrepancy between Palestinian and Israeli military forces is revealed in the fact that only sixty-seven Israeli soldiers and five Israeli citizens were killed in the fighting (Amnesty International 2014). This discrepancy is hard to understand without knowledge of the Israeli colonization and destruction of the Gaza Strip since Resolution 181 was passed. And though Palestinian combatants should be held responsible for their actions in the same way Israeli forces should be, their fight takes on different meaning when framed within the colonial history of the Gaza Strip.

POSTCOLONIAL THEORY AND THE GENERALIZATION OF LOCATION

The ways in which the application of a post-colonial time alters and impacts historical specificity work in collaboration with the ways in which postcolonial theory can neglect place, location, and context. It has been argued that in these generalizations,

postcolonial critics remove their work from the diversity and materiality of the subjects that postcolonialism was derived from: colonialism and empire (Clayton 2003, 357). This has been described as a “panoptic tendency,” to survey the world using general abstractions that overlook political nuance (McClintock 1992, 86). Consider the complications that arise when choosing the different definitions of post-colonialism with respect to Israel and Palestine. In 1939, when the British White Paper restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine, the resulting revolts by Jewish people were framed as anticolonial to Britain (Massad 2000, 319). This established the foundations for the aforementioned Israeli “War of Independence” in 1948 and the creation of an Israeli territory in Palestine as an action against, not through, colonialism (Massad 2000, 319). Viewed in this way, Israel after 1948 becomes post-colonial, while the view of the Palestinians as living in a colonized space is driven into the background. This is seen in our “post-colonial” world, where the experience

and voices of Palestinians are often silenced, especially in mainstream political debate and media coverage (Long 2011, 271). Much work has gone into arguing for the Palestinian experience as a colonized one (Massad 2000; Pappé 2011; Weizman 2007; Gregory 2004). However, there remain very real forces that both subtly and blatantly choose to support Israel's "Independence" in a way that benefits their agenda, and contributes to the continuing dispossession of Palestinians. Such forces will be discussed in the third theme for discussion, the relationship between Orientalism and postcolonial theory.

Though postcolonial theory has the potential to negate the influence of past events, its lack of specificity of place demonstrates that even when past events are emphasized, the postcolonial perspective that occurs may favor one narrative over another. In the case of Israel and Palestine, the colonial dispossession of Palestinians is an often disvalued narrative. Here, one may argue that postcolonial theory is therefore inappropriate to apply

to the situation of Palestine and Israel. Unfortunately, the attribution of post-colonialism to First World European countries (the narrative favored in Israeli "independence" from Britain) has turned postcolonial theory into a universalizing category that blurs geopolitical distinctions between different countries, states and nationalisms (Shohat 1992, 103). Simply put, the view that certain areas of the world are post-colonial has come to influence the way one regards the past with a postcolonial mindset. This demonstrates the influential relationship between the hyphenated "post-colonial" and the "postcolonial," as the definition of the former has the capability to shape the power of the latter. In his writing on post-colonialism, Stuart Hall (1996, 246) asserts that not all countries are post-colonial in the same way. What his argument lacks is what Trevor Barnes and Derek Gregory (1997, 6) have identified as the non-representational role of words, and how the meanings they carry take on a persuasive force. For there are some ways one may apply postcolonial theory to the history of Israel,

Questioning Postcolonial Theory in Geography

but what must be addressed is how this definition impacts the perception and ultimately the experience of Palestinian dispossession.

ORIENTALISM AND POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

The third theme for discussion in the context of postcolonial theory and Palestine and Israel, and final theme that will be discussed in this article is Edward Said's Orientalism. Though the study and discussions of Orientalism have been vast and varied, here Said's ideas are useful in offering insight into whose motives are served through the alteration and interpretation of time and place. Orientalism is generally accepted as the study of languages and traditions of the Middle East (Sharp 2009, 16). Beyond this, Said outlines that Orientalism is an elaboration of the geographical distinction between the two unequal halves of the world, Orient and Occident. He argues that Orientals "are always symmetrical to, and yet diametrically inferior to, a European equivalent" (Said 2003, 72). Furthermore, the

value in this dichotomy is determined by a Western viewpoint, resulting in the privileging of one value set (the Occident) over the other (the Orient) (Sharp 2009, 16).

To think about how the ideas in Orientalism fit in to the discussion of postcolonial theory, one can begin by thinking about the narratives that the western world provides in its descriptions of Israel and Palestine, and how these descriptions manifest tangibly into alliances and support. In his article on colonial legacy in postcolonial discourse on Palestine, Khaldun (2013, 301) discusses the process of "history falsification" as the practice of colonialists favoring a "particular biased narrative" that values colonial related materials, practices and histories. With respect to Palestine and Israel, these attitudes and approaches pose an immense challenge to the great deal of work that has gone into identifying how Palestinians have been violently colonized by Israelis. Furthermore, these attitudes do nothing to help improve the conditions of Palestinian dispossession. Such attitudes have manifested

tangibly into the “Israelisation” of US foreign policy, a term that has been used to describe the massive support Israel receives from US foreign aid policy (Said 2002). These attitudes are also evident in a speech delivered by Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper to the Israeli Knesset in January 2014, in which Harper declared Israel to be “the only country in the Middle East which has long anchored itself in the ideals of freedom, democracy and the rule of law.” (Harper 2014, 80).

Both of the above examples reveal what has been argued to be the motives of both Canada and the U.S., which are to legitimize their own “anti-terrorism” campaigns through supporting Israel’s attacks against Palestinian terrorist organizations (Hassan 2003, 176-177). Consider Harper’s claim that “many of the hostile forces Israel faces are faced by all western nations. And Israel faces them for many of the same reasons we face them. [Israel] just happens to be a lot closer to them.” (Harper 2014, 80). These statements at once group Israel with Canada and Canada’s allies while identifying

the forces they are all fighting (the Palestinians) as what Said would describe as the inferior “other.” As well, the statements ignore geographical concerns by stating that Israel “just happens” to be closer to such forces, dismissing any possibility that the “hostile” forces are a product of their proximity to Israel. This failure to specify the impacts of location illustrates not only the opportunity but also the necessity for geographers to engage with the discussion of such powerful contemporary colonial attitudes. Furthermore, it urges the question: how can one proceed with what postcolonial theory asserts as “decolonization of the mind” when there are states outside of Palestine and Israel, such as Canada and the U.S., carrying out destructive approaches that value colonial attitudes? Though there is no simple answer to such a question, it illustrates how the awareness of Said’s *Orientalism* can offer new ways to think about how colonialism continues to operate in the present.

Questioning Postcolonial Theory in Geography

CONCLUSION

In the essay “Postcolonial geographies: an exploratory essay,” James Sidaway (2000, 593) asserts that “any postcolonial geography must realize within itself its own impossibility, given that geography is inescapably marked, both philosophically and institutionally by its location and development as a western-colonial science discipline.” While it is undeniably true that geography’s foundations are located within the project of colonialism, it is perhaps more important to consider that geographers should not be attempting to “escape” such foundations. As was shown in the preceding arguments on postcolonial theory’s relationship with Palestine and Israel, failing to spend time with injustices of the past can have a devastating impact on the present day. If one considers the violence enacted against Palestinians within the past year, such as the recent events in the Gaza Strip, it becomes clear that more critical engagement with contemporary colonial forces is urgently needed.

Going forward, it is useful to consider the recent work geographers have started to do that challenges the notion of “escaping” the past through engagement with postcolonial theory. One such example is “Rethinking Responsibility,” by Noxolo, Raghuram and Madge (2009, 6), which offers a discussion of geographers’ increased interest in notions of responsibility and care, how these things emphasize relationships and interdependence, and how they can help to create a more ethical geography. To them, “postcolonial responsibility” means not discussing “distant others” but people whose lives and modes of living have historically and presently been nearby, and how these modes are impacted by neocolonialism and its various forms (Noxolo, Raghuram and Madge 2009, 6). Their writing is a hopeful example of how geographers can acknowledge the unique qualities of their position with respect to postcolonial theory due to geography’s relationship with colonialism. It shows how geography has potential to do what has been argued as the imperative work required

to inform, challenge and conceptually re-wire people's understanding of the world (Bonnett 2003, 56). Though this work will not be easy, it indisputably must be done, given the many ways in which postcolonial theory has failed to unsettle the current forces of colonialism within the world.

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Seeing things: readings from the book of nature

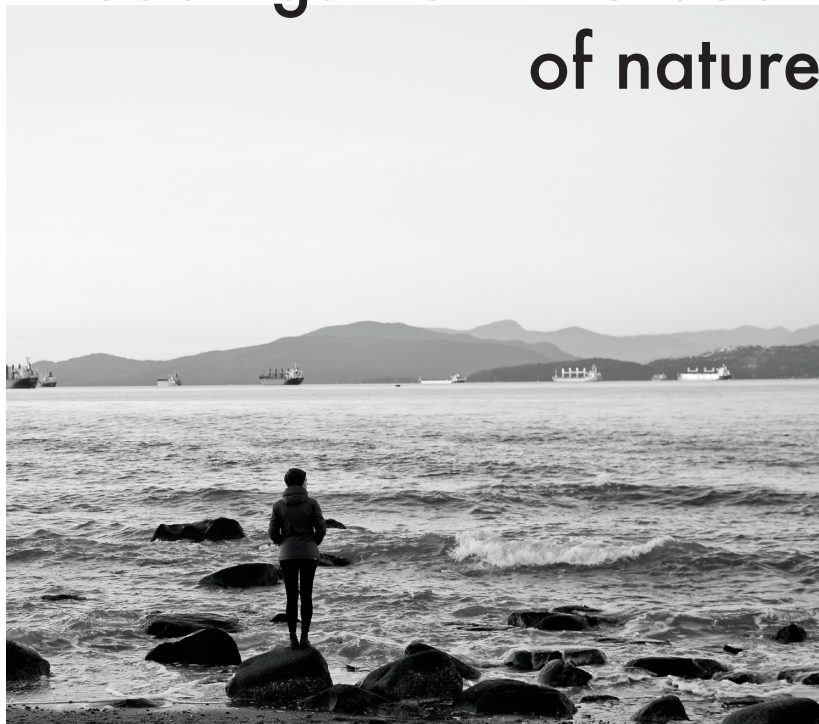


Photo: Ignatius But, 2014

Carter Brown
Rumbidzai Chikowero
Maddy Collins
Hazel Gichungwa
Emma Kansiz

Graeme Wynn

Geography 423 is a course on environmental thought.

We spend a fair amount of time reading and discussing classic texts written by important authors, from the great nineteenth-century polymath and environmental geographer George Perkins Marsh, through H D Thoreau, Gifford Pinchot, John Muir, Aldo Leopold, and Rachel Carson, to more recent commentators on Canadian and contemporary circumstances. We grapple with the ways in which leading North American intellectuals thought about the world in their time, and ask, all the while, whether and how ideas from the past can help us better understand one of the big questions of our own day: how can we best sustain life on earth?

Dealing in ideas and their effects, this course starts from the conviction that if we are to solve environmental problems we must understand their roots - that is, we must understand the attitudes, behaviours and ways of thinking that have given rise to these problems. To do this we must re-examine the ideas we have come to accept as conventional wisdom. Our approach is historical and humanistic, and the ultimate goals are understanding and wisdom, rather than the hypothesis testing, the quest for empirical regularities and the search for "explanation" (in a positivist sense) associated with the Geographical Biogeosciences and some social scientific approaches to human geography. Because humanistic learning is ultimately personal, and our lives in the world turn on how we understand and think about our earthly home, one of the three in-term writing assignments in this class requires each student to produce an up-close-and-personal reflection on "nature". Here students are encouraged to be innovative and creative in their responses. To begin, they read two essays by the American naturalist and nature-essayist John Burroughs: "The Art of Seeing Things" and "Nature Near Home."

Admired by Bill McKibben, editor of the course text, *American Earth* for his capacity to find large meaning in small things closely observed, and for the quiet, fluent grace of his prose, Burroughs offers both invitation to, and inspiration for, intellectual adventure (Burroughs 2008)

The five essays that follow, chosen with some difficulty from the 40 submitted, are not necessarily “the best in class”. Indeed, this exercise is not so much about competition and marks as it is about finding oneself. The essays published here are quite different one from another in the scale of their concern, the focus of their gaze, and the style of their presentation. There is no template to which they must fit and against which they can be measured right or wrong. But each of these brief and intriguing forays honours John Burroughs’ conviction that “The book of nature is like a page written over or printed upon with different-sized characters and in many different languages, interlined and cross-lined, and with a great variety of marginal notes and references. There is coarse print and fine print; there are obscure signs and hieroglyphics. We all read the large type more or less appreciatively, but only the students and lovers of nature read the fine lines and the footnotes”(153). Collectively, they demonstrate the importance of Burroughs’ injunction that “Familiarity with things about one should not dull the edge of curiosity or interest” and his insistence that “so far as seeing things is an art, it is the art of keeping your eyes and ears open”(169, 151).

By the freshness of their insights and their capacity to make us think anew about the world around us, these essays remind us of the value of Burroughs’ conviction that “the place to observe nature is where you are; the walk to take today is the walk you took yesterday. You will not find just the same things: both the observed and the observer have changed” (169). They also invite us to become more attentive to our surroundings and more reflexive about who we are and how we act in the world.

Graeme Wynn

To Wander Through Nature

Carter Brown

"After long experience I am convinced that the best place to study nature is at one's own home.... At home one should see and hear with more fondness and sympathy. Nature should touch him a little more closely than anywhere else.

He is better attuned to it than to strange scenes" (168)

I am lucky enough to live in an area split between city and nature. Not a five- minute walk away from my front door begins a dyke that extends from my home town of Tsawwassen, British Columbia, to White Rock, running along the coast of Boundary Bay. It has long been a part of my life: spending my childhood on the beach, taking family walks along the dyke, running through the forest and cycling in the summer. It has become widely recognized as a home for bird watchers, and on any given day you can observe a variety of birds, as well as a wide array of cameras with which people shoot the birds. It is important to understand in the observation of nature that you must enter with a free mind. As John Burroughs said: "if you are occupied with your own thoughts, you may go through a museum of curiosities and observe nothing" (152). With this in mind, I ventured out from my home to observe nature.

As I climbed the dyke and began to walk along the path I opened my ears to listen. I could already hear the birds talking back and forth, both from the forest that lies to the west of the dyke, and the beach that lies to the east. While listening to the birds, my attention was caught by a slithering in the bush behind me. It was presumably a garter snake who felt his home had been compromised, slinking away from me. As a runner overtook me, I realized that had I not been listening I would not have heard the snake. I would have walked past that spot without realizing, or thinking, that a snake could be lying so close to me.

I continued along the dyke, occasionally being passed by runners focused on their heart rate, cyclists focused on their destination, and walkers focused on conversation. I noticed how different the beach looked, on that mid-February day, than it did months ago. The winter tides had brought logs up against the dyke, and the bit of sand between the logs and the ocean was covered with seaweed. In the distance I could see a tree with two birds in it, and as I approached I recognized two bald eagles. They sat in the upper branches of the tree looking and watching. At this point I decided it was time to venture off the dyke and

To Wander Through Nature

into the grassland between the dyke and the beach. As I did so I became an object of the eagles' gaze.

As I pushed aside branches and side stepped wet patches of mud, I stood on a log crawling with red ants. Their little black bodies with red heads, and twitchy mannerisms, conveyed a sense of purpose as they crawled about. They did not fear me; quite the opposite. After standing still on the log for a couple of minutes my shoes were crawling with ants. "Maybe they should learn to fear me," I thought, as I stepped off the log, shook my feet and continued on through the grass.

I continued through the grass slowly, observing everything near my feet and in the distance. I walked with no in particular purpose, my mind open to what was around me. I realized that I did not know where I was going, but I did not care. Yet soon I came to an area surrounded on three sides by impassable wetland. As I stood plotting my course of action, a rabbit darted out from underneath a log that I had just passed. I had not seen him, heard him, or expected him. If he had not jumped out I am not sure I would have noticed him, but he darted out from underneath the log as if his life was threatened.

I turned around from the wetland to walk back the way I came. I paused on a log and stood still, letting nature become accustomed to my presence, and observed. Underneath a tree, a small bird was pecking at something in the ground. Another joined him, looking for food perhaps. I decided to step off the log and my movement disturbed them, sending them flying away.

I backtracked to the dyke and noticed one of the eagles had flown away. I could see him just down the dyke, circling the beach before flying out over the ocean, sending a flock of birds who were lounging in the calm water flying in every direction, before coming back together once the eagle had passed. Hierarchy in nature. Behind me I heard what sounded like a gust of wind, but I felt no increase in the pressure of air around me. I turned to see

a flock of birds flying from the farmer's field across the dyke and into the ocean; over one hundred birds, flying as if they were one. Moving left to right, all taking a wide turn before settling in one area, as if one of the birds was an acting commander directing his comrades.

On the walk back I noticed how far the tide had moved since I first began my walk. I'm sure a few hours have passed, but it doesn't matter what time it is. Time is nothing out here, society is nothing out here; Nature just exists. After nearly three hours of observing nature I had not gone thirty minutes away from my home. Out in Nature I never realized the time, I never worried about the time, or stressed about it. It is something separate from life, but so close to it.

Photographs cannot do justice to Nature, no matter how clear the lens, or how large the photo. A photo appeals to only one of the senses, and there is so much more to a scene. The seaweed that has washed ashore has a smell to it, not a particularly nice smell, but a distinguishing smell nonetheless. A photo captures an image that the photographer wants you to see, but you don't see what is around that; the snake in the bushes behind you, or the rabbit that you just passed on your walk through the logs. How will you ever see those if you live your life through a lens, or if you listen to the music in your pocket instead of the sounds all around you? Runners focused on their heart rate, cyclists focused on their destination, walkers focused on their conversation; they all miss what is going on around them. Everything is so close, yet so far from their experience. Nature is not only something to be seen, but to be heard, felt, and experienced. It is also something that you can experience when you step out your front door; all you have to do is be aware of it.

Against Dead Hearts and Dead Minds

Rumbidzai Chikowero

Every now and then, one finds spaces that lift the heart and fill it with incomprehensible lightness. Small chirps by creatures hidden in the foliage, the sharp smell of pine, cool air hanging still beneath the branches of trees so tall their crowns blur in your vision. It is in these spaces we are reminded that we are alive. The demanding energy of the trees I hear growing around me, the saturated hues infused in every leaf and feather – these unavoidable signs of vitality demand that I acknowledge my own immediacy, the flush of blood under my skin, and my silent breath that feels small and minute in the blowing wind.

Such spaces seize the individual: grasslands so vast the air and land stitch and merge into a hazy horizon; lone trees scattered across a space so wide that the heart feels open and exposed to the full magnitude of an open sky; short shrubs and tufts dusting pollen on my heels, as the sun beats on my forehead to entice rivulets of salty sweat to pool on my tongue; dusty patches of iron-rich red earth staining my skin from the feet to the tops of my calves; tree trunks of taupe, tan, and black lifting within arms reach thorny branches sprouting leaves no bigger than my smallest fingernail. Such an extensive sight, land so broad you sense the smallness – and brevity – of your existence and yet feel that you just might be suspended, eternally, in this air that seems ever self-generating and buoyant.

These spaces need not be on the ground upon which you walk. Most stunning of all might be the image from an airplane

window, of blinding sunlight reflecting off woolly cloud tops. Captivated by a rare sight available only occasionally, I press up against the thick window. The skin on my nose cools as my eyes strain to see the limits of the aerial wonder before me. White blobs peak like whipped egg whites and strain uncapped into the darker blue above. Riddled with pale gray and lavender, the clouds are topped with swaths of a glossy, ice cream white. In this metal tube I will sit and strain to follow the gradients of azure, to cobalt, to the blinding silver of the unfiltered sun. A seemingly simple image, the sky as seen during a flight encourages the primal mind to swallow in great gulps a view previously reserved for the gods on Olympus.

Like the sky seen from 30,000 feet, unusual realms and rarely contemplated perspectives hold a particular potential to strike wonder. The open water, a pool of undeniable marvel, produces in swirling parcels brilliant schools of fish, undulating patches of corals and shimmering waves topped with cool foam. Efficient life forms capture the surrounding fluid and draw oxygen from it. Boneless masses with eight limbs intrude narrow crevasses and when provoked, stain the pure blue a muddy black. Hard-shelled and paddle-finned turtles glide above spiraling beds of skeletal coral. All around, life is cycling. This hidden arena begins to exemplify the range of bodies, the range of homes, and the range of experiences that cover the Earth's surface. Pulsing with life, open water remains a tap for sensation.

The everyday and the repetitive dilute the human experience by overexposure. Along the everyday path, lived and re-lived spaces dissolve into an invariable backdrop. The common is truly common, inspiring little sense of spectacle in the everyman. Unchecked, a blasé attitude toward one's immediate environment can extend to all known and unknown spaces. The dulled mind declines the experience of excitement and is indifferent to the transience of the flesh. Only by turning our eyes, minds, and hearts towards the forest, the savanna, the sea, the sky, and the non-everyday can we grasp and preserve what remains of our wonder for nature.

Against Dead Hearts and Dead Minds

Void of this regular effort and injection one remains suspended, unresponsive in a cloying fog wherein the comfort of routine erases all semblance that life is brief. To thrive and maintain the health of what surrounds us we need to be reminded of what is valuable. Earnest effort requires sincere concern. Fewer paths are shorter than the one between a passionate experience in nature and fierce protection of our most vulnerable natural spaces. Dead hearts, dead minds, and mute voices beget a dead world. Happenstance and the primordial resilience of nature cannot sustain beauty in the absence of conscientious human action.

TWEET DREAMS

Maddy Collins

John Burroughs' "The Art of Seeing Things" provides a new lens to understand how we interact with and perceive nature. Nature, Burroughs argues, is complex and full of "fine print that escapes the hurried eye and that is so full of meaning" (151). He insists that passion is crucial to the keen observation of nature. "To know is not all; it is only half. To love is the other half" (146).

According to Burroughs, there is no greater variability than in people's powers of observation. He makes the distinction between two types of personalities. The thinker who "puts all the powers of his mind in reflection" and the observer who "puts all the powers of his mind in perception; every faculty is directed outward." Observers are able to "see" nature because they are fueled by love. Thinkers by contrast are preoccupied by their own meditations, and unable to see nature truly: "If you are occupied with your own thoughts, you may go through a museum of curiosities and observe nothing" (152).

The increasing modernization of our world is cultivating self-absorption and blurring our impression of nature. The world of emails, tweets, and text messages is condensing the substance and detail of our ideas. Increasing importance is placed on obtaining information as quickly and easily as possible, removing an earlier appreciation for the embellishment of ideas. We no longer have the patience to sift through the contents of our lives slowly, analyzing each detail, as this would seem too cumbersome and time consuming in our fast-paced schedules. We are increasingly filtering out what we deem to be extraneous information to get to the "point" faster. This is carrying over into how we view nature. Our minds are trained to only "read the large type more or less

Tweet Dreams

appreciatively” which causes us to merely take in the “general features of the sky, plain and river” (153). This macro perspective is exacerbating the fact that already in natural history many “things escape us because the actors are small, and the stage is very large and more or less veiled and obstructed”(149).

Our shortening attention spans and the failure to cultivate the powers of concentration are thwarting peoples’ ability to recognize and believe, and to deeply appreciate the full extent of nature’s offerings. While the information society makes available a plethora of information on every subject in regards to nature, it is merely regurgitating the information rather than fostering a passion for it. The increasing importance placed on material possessions is turning the desire that was once satisfied by nature towards new consumer products and a lavish lifestyle. Burroughs argues: “what we love to do, that we do well”(146). If our desire and love is focused on material goods and extravagant living separate from nature, we will not develop a passion for nature and its diverse elements.

Burroughs makes a good case advocating for the study of nature near home. He argues this will create a sense of familiarity and intimacy with nature and foster a love for it. Landscape and society have changed significantly since he wrote, however. Industrialization and modernization have reduced the areas that Burroughs described as “nature.” The natural landscape we see today is segregated and severely fragmented as natural flora and fauna occupy shrinking niches among the material artifacts of our society. As populations increasingly concentrate in cities, the spaces around our homes have shrunk and changed from farms, mountains and plains to congested city streets and segregated suburban communities. Nature as traditionally defined, is now isolated and distanced from the urban centers where the majority of society reside. The birds and flowers are no longer so easily accessible and are fast becoming less private and personal. Unfortunately this is changing the familiarity and intimacy we once shared with the wild creatures near our homes.

We can build this relationship, however by changing our interactions with nature. Burroughs emphasizes a need for society to understand the cyclical nature of our earth and its history. By making a concerted effort to go out into the natural landscape and by seeking to understand the processes of our earth we will be better attuned to the world around us. Burroughs gives the example of being aware that “your lawn and your meadow are built up of the ruins of the foreworld” (161). He argues that we must not forget the geological time that it took to create the complexity we witness. Adopting a micro scale perspective to understand the importance of and connection between each small alteration in the fine print of the local landscape and the greater book of the earth will create a love and passion for nature. Connecting with nature and slowing down the pace of our lives will work towards making us true observers and adept at the art of seeing things.

THE NEW LANDSCAPE

Hazel Gichungwa

I sit in my cage, listening to the monotone tick of the clock. Each tick the same rhythm as the last, each one a reminder that I am confined to a concrete cage. I gaze forward at a computer screen, focused on the typed letters appearing as I quickly press my fingers on the fixed keypad. The rhythm of the earth has given way to the uniform tick of a clock; the feel of the East African sun on my skin has been replaced by the cold emitted by concrete; the secrecy of the tropical forest has become nothing but a pixelated screen; I am in a cage. But today is different. A co-worker has invited me to go for a run at Karura forest during our lunch break. I am reminded by the recurring ticking of the clock that I am still sitting at my desk, but the tick that leads to the always-awaited one o'clock is different today, because I am about to explore where I ought to be.

I get to leave my cage.

As I step into the forest I feel a flush of heat run under the surface of my skin, my lungs open as I inhale the deep smell of the Eucalyptus plantation mixed with Araucaria and Cupressus shrubs. I stretch out my arms and take in the warmth of the inviting sun. As I run through the leafy forest my eyes cause dismay as I realize the contrast of colors I had erased from my mind; each green leaf different from the last. I embrace the energy being emitted from the earth with every step. I feel my heart beat faster as I jump over roots protruding from the ground. With each stride, I become more conflicted; do I look up at the landscape I used to call home or look down at the earth watching each step I take. I reduce my pace; I now jog slowly through the forest. I begin to hear past my

heartbeat and discern the distant melody of a waterfall. My pace decreases further as I become engrossed in my surroundings; I feel the cool breeze run through the trees as the leaves follow through by rustling vigorously. This results in minute chills tingling from the tip of my fingers to my shoulder blade and down my back. At the same time, the soft touch of the sun shines through the canopy and I realize the stark contrast between the concrete cage in which I was trapped and the ultimate freedom I'm feeling not so far from where I was imprisoned. I mark this hidden beauty inside me as I come to a stop, finding myself at rest in the middle of a trail.

Just as Burroughs says, seeing things is an art, and nature has a way of concealing itself. As I stood there soaking up my surroundings I realized that I had concealed the person I really am from myself. Memories flooded back to me as I stared past the surface of the trees. I saw a little girl running through these standing logs feeling the soil on her bare feet. The little girl who took note of all the leaves as they lay over each other covering the forest floor; she would run her fingers along the bark of the trees tracing back to her ancestors. The girl would never get lost or have to stay on the trail as she saw the forest from her soul; she was a part of the forest and the forest was a part of her. She would listen to the change in rhythm and melody of the birds throughout the day, likewise feeling the change in temperature, as the sun rose and fell each day. The little girl was who I was before I left the forest.

As I drift into this nostalgic reverie, I see that different forms of life surround me, but only one fixates me. It is a tall and sturdy structure that has been standing for generations beyond mine. I start noticing the size and darkness of the leaves every single one of them bigger than the palm of my hand; it is a majestic tree that is rich in chlorophyll. I grew up listening to old Kikuyu tales about the Muthiga tree; my ancestors viewed this tree with fear and superstition, although as I stand here in the very same place that my great grandmother's mother stood, and the people before her,

The New Landscape

I see a source of life in the tree. Science changed the perception people had of the tree; it is now a source of medicine curing everything - from a simple stomach ache to joint pains. I stare at the tree through the eyes of a new generation. My generation that sees the world as “school, job, marriage”, my generation that views trees as a source of profit, my generation that doesn’t even know there is a difference between clocks ticking and the gushing sound of water crashing from a waterfall in a nearby forest.

I stand in what used to be a forest of Muthiga trees. Imprisoned by a canopy of skyscrapers, a weave of roads, and a never-ending snake of traffic jams, I am back in my cage.

THE CROCUS AS CONDUIT OF MEMORY

Emma Kansiz

"People where you live," the little prince said, "grow five thousand roses in one garden... yet they don't find what they're looking for...."

"They don't find it," I answered.

"And yet what they're looking for could be found in a single rose, or a little water..."

"Of course," I answered.

And the little prince added, "But eyes are blind. You have to look with the heart."

—The Little Prince, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry (Chapter 25)

Where do memory and place intersect? Can we trace the contours of our lives over the hills, through the forests, in the shape of the grass as it writhes in the wind? Why do the memories of discrete moments that pass by without our notice eventually form such grand narratives, sweeping over the landscape as though it were our dominion? Scott Sanders' and John Burroughs' explorations of the broad and minute aspects of the land, respectively, appear to suggest that nature is a conduit for memories and the recollection of sensations. Sanders (2008) speaks of a landscape etched in his experiences, his formative memories, his triumphs and failures. The signs of the land from

The Crocus as Conduit of Memory

the broadest scale to the minutiae (that which Burroughs would argue only those trained in the art of seeing would pay heed to) are all pregnant with individual meaning and connotation.

Burroughs' essay on how our familiarity with a natural setting informs our angle of vision resonated with me. It enabled me to see the spaces I move through as canvases drenched in the paint of my individual experiences and motives. Conscious of Burroughs' argument, I sought to escape the obliviousness that often overcomes me and instead turn a keen eye to observation; to collect sights and sensations that are typically precluded by my unfocused mind. I also had Sanders' more broad-ranging essay in mind, as I tried to flesh out what the natural settings on the street I grew up on really meant to me and whether they had the ability to fill me with the nostalgia or bittersweet longing he discussed in his essay. In the process of this exercise the smaller details of the scene monopolized my attention and I became attentively aware of the small purple flowers that signal the arrival of spring in almost every crack in the sidewalk: crocuses.

Nature is seen through the filter of our own vanities and emotional presumptions, and this was evident as I observed the budding crocus flowers. I felt that my privileged view as an "experiencer" of the flower gave me ownership of it; I felt, at first, that I possessed it. But then, more curiously, I became intrigued by the flower's ability to bring to the fore memories and sensations long kept hidden, or inaccessible to me in my mental archive. In this strange way, by way of its ability to conjure in me memories of my own life, this ubiquitous purple flower possessed me. Within this flower I saw the span of years, of the feeling of childhood novelty and the eager anxiety that awaited the arrival of spring. In the flower I saw the first time I attempted to ride a bicycle and ripped out stands of its predecessors, taking out my immature frustration on the earth beneath me. In the flower I also recalled a photograph in which the older sister I rarely saw had posed us with necklaces made of the purple petals. The flower evoked in me sensations rarely experienced in my workaday life and I was

stunned by the painful nostalgia and strange mixture of gratitude and regret that filled me. This was redolent of Sanders' experience wishing he could return home and recapture the nature and days that the vagaries of time and human ambition made inaccessible to him now. Within this small patch of earth were the notions and fragments that when taken as a whole are the basis of my life. These emotions echoed Sanders' evocative statement that "it's the landscape you learn before you retreat inside the illusion of your skin" (Sanders, 787).

Through this experience I now understand the art of seeing things as deeper than mere observation or an exercise in keen awareness. I feel that to be truly versed in the art we must not only turn our sights outwards, to soak in sights and inspirations, but that we must also have the ability to translate this raw material, to give it form and meaning internally. In this manner the art of seeing things is also the art of seeing oneself reflected in what one sees. It is not only about opening one's eyes to drink in the world but also about closing one's eyes to let the sights imprint one's mind and heart.

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Trail Six Team

Trail Six is only made possible with a dedicated team of student and faculty volunteers. Below is more information on the Trail Six team:

Editors-In-Chief

KELLY CUBBON is a fourth year History major who will be returning to UBC in the fall to round out her degree with a GRSJ minor. During her time at UBC Kelly has been fortunate enough to encounter Geography courses that have spanned themes of migration, the role of mapping in history, and the politics and power of cities. She is passionate about intersectional feminism, radical self-care, and ice cream.

JIALIN YANG is a fourth year Geography (Environment & Sustainability) major with a minor in International Relations. She is interested in biogeography, water management, and environmental justice. In her free time, she enjoys collecting Himalayan rock salt lamps and making maps.

Layout & Design

PEGGY WONG is a Human Geography major in her fifth and final year at UBC. She is interested in the ways urban design can impact city life and experiences. Outside of school she enjoys eating baked goods, being outdoors and going on travelling adventures.

Managing Editors

**KIYOMI
HENRY**

is a final year Environment and Sustainability major. She is passionate about social and environmental justice, with interests in resource management, GIS, and remote sensing. Her major projects include a GIS analysis of projected mountain pine beetle spread in British Columbia, and research into the feasibility of converting B.C.'s transport industry to natural gas. After graduation, she hopes to pursue a career in GIS- and sustainability-related fields.

**AUDREY
SCHALHOUB**

is an undergraduate student from Hong Kong with an academic focus on political geography and urban geography. In the past she researched urban food systems at the UBC Centre for Sustainable Food Systems, and more recently has been interested in researching information and communication technologies and its relation with the urban experience. Apart from her studies, she is a seasonal field-hand at UBC Farm, makes homemade ice cream, supports independent game developers, and is an aspiring animator.

**CYRUS
SIE**

is a sixth year Human Geography and International Relations double major finally ready to wrap up his BA, after which he hopes to embark on a years-long journey abroad. If you find him in town, he most likely will be rock climbing, cycling, eating, or hanging out with friends. His academic interests include urban studies, economic geography, conflict and conflict resolution, and international development.

Editors

CAITLIN CHAN

is a second year Human Geography major interested in urban and feminist issues. In her spare time she enjoys writing stories, sketching and figuring out everyone's Myers-Briggs personality.

MATTHEW CHUNG

is a fourth year human geography major who is fascinated by urban geography, migration geography and cartography. In his spare time, Matthew enjoys reading, playing with high-tech gadgets, ogling at maps, and looking at cat pictures online.

KEVIN ENG

is in his fourth and final year as a Human Geography major and is interested in immigration, multicultural, and international affairs. In his spare time he enjoys playing video games, trying new restaurants, surfing the internet, and discussing urban infrastructure issues. Born and raised in the Lower Mainland, Kevin enjoys Vancouver's unique atmosphere, culture, and environment.

CHESTER HITZ

is an Environment and Sustainability major in his fifth and final year at UBC. Originally from California, he is interested in the rapidly changing nature of many cities around the world and how humans interact with their natural environments. His other interests include GIS, resource management and climate change issues. He is hoping to pursue a career in one of these interests after graduation.

**FIONA
JONES**

is in her second year, studying Human Geography. Traveling from a young age, she has visited thirty countries and will be spending three months in her thirty first this summer. Fiona enjoys experiencing new places because it exposes her to very different perspectives. It is this desire to learn about the world around her that first spurred her interest in Geography.

**KNUT
KITCHING**

is a Canadian-Norwegian Arctic researcher completing his Masters with the McGill Climate Change Adaptation Research Group. Knut got his first taste of Arctic science while a UBC Geography student during his undergraduate degree.

**KEVIN
LAM**

is an Honours Geography and Urban Studies student passionate about urban planning, community development and active transportation. Born and raised on the West Coast, he has been fascinated by cities for as long as he can remember and is particularly interested in the livability and resilience of modern cities. Dedicated to improving social equity, he has recently transitioned his academic interests into internships with several community organizations and hopes to pursue a Master's in Urban Planning in the future.

**RACHEL
LOO**

is in her second year at UBC pursuing a double major in general music and human geography. She is considering to continue geography studies at the graduate level following graduation, and perhaps find work in the not-for-profit sector. In the meantime Rachel has plans to complete long distance hikes such as the Bruce Trail and Appalachian Trail during her summer breaks.

**GAVIN
LUYMES**

is a second year human geography major with plans to pursue an honours degree. He has a passion for academia and research, and is particularly interested in the geopolitics of borders and migration. In his spare time Gavin can be found poring over old, new and imaginary maps, trying to beat his high scores in the geography section of sporcle, or otherwise enjoying any outdoor activity associated with mountains.

**ISHA
PINTO**

is a fourth year student studying International Development. She is particularly interested in poverty alleviation and sustainable development. In her spare time she enjoys reading, yoga, and hiking.

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NIKLAS AGARWAL

is a second year student in the Environment and Sustainability stream of Geography. He is originally from Toronto and decided to come to UBC for its outstanding geography department. He is interested in the intersection of environmental and urban design and wishes for our cities to become slightly more wild. He is continuously amused by Vancouver's attempt to becoming a "hip" city and he believes it is important to think critically of these processes.

KATE BECK

is an aspiring urban planner and social change maker, and is passionate about streets, social justice, and active transportation. Kate is specifically interested in understanding the ways in which transportation design and policy affect the lives of traditionally marginalized groups in urban areas. Kate has recently finished her Bachelor of Arts in Human Geography and International Relations, and will be pursuing graduate studies in Transportation Planning and Urban Design at UC Berkeley in September 2015.

KATE FREED

is a fourth year student of Human Geography. Her interests lie in issues of social justice at both the local and global scale and using a variety of geographical lenses to help understand human culture and society in the past and present. She will be graduating this spring and is looking forward to embarking on new adventures that will enable her to take her passion for human geography out into the world.

**ELIZABETH
GOOD**

is a fifth year student, currently attaining a double major in Geography: Environment and Sustainability and International Relations. She hopes to pursue an academic career and plans to study the Geopolitics of War. Elizabeth has a particular interest in Third Party State actors' response to intrastate conflict. Elizabeth enjoys all outdoor activities and looks forward to her next summit.

**JESSICA
KIYOMI
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is also a managing editor and her information can be found under the Managing Editors section.

**EMILY
HUANG**

is in her third year, majoring in Human Geography with a focus on Urban Studies. Her academic interest includes community development and urban issues in North American cities but also in the Global South. During her spare time, she likes spending time in coffee shops, people watching, blogging for the Vancouver Public Space Network, and travelling.

**RYEN
MACKAAY**

is in his last semester of the Environment and Sustainability program within the Department of Geography. He currently lives in Vancouver and his academic interests include GIS and water management. In his free time, Ryen enjoys hiking, listening to music and teaching hockey to children. His future plans include travelling and later working in the GIS field.

**ELEANOR
WEARING**

is a fourth year Human Geography student at UBC. She is interested in exploring how geography can add to discussions of social justice, women's rights, urban environments, music, arts and the media. She is also interested in how such topics come

together to shape (mis)understandings of events in the Middle East. She cohosts a weekly radio show 'Femconcept' on CîTR 101.9 FM, which highlights female musicians and issues of social justice.

**CARTER
BROWN**

is in his fourth year of schooling in the UBC Geography department after transferring from Langara College two years ago. Having grown up and lived his whole life surrounded by wilderness in this beautiful province, he was eager to connect with nature as influenced by author John Burroughs. Geog 423 has offered Carter a way of thinking about the environment that will influence him in the future.

**RUMBIDZAI
CHIKOWERO**

is a 4th year Environment and Sustainability major. Through her studies she has found a space to explore, unpack and re-construct notions of sustainability, nature, progress, and what it means to engage natural systems in a changing world. Looking into the future, she hopes to continue her path of learning, to find more opportunities to develop her knowledge and to enrich the experiences of those around her.

**MADELINE
COLLINS**

is a Geography major at University of British Columbia within the Environment and Sustainability stream. Minor in Economics, Madeline has found Geog 423 to be an incredibly thought provoking course and has enjoyed discussing the ideas of different writers and their attitudes toward nature. Finishing her degree in May, she hopes to pursue a career involved in environmental economics or energy policy.

**HAZEL
GICHUNGWA**

is a fourth year Environmental Sustainability major. Hazel is passionate about contributing to sustainable development in third world countries. Her contribution to the piece is a reflection of her childhood, the forest she grew up close to, and a realization of the dire threat to our natural world posed by rapidly developing cities such as Nairobi.

**EMMA
KANSIZ**

is a fourth year Human Geography major with a passion for rural spaces and Western Canadian geography. She hopes to go on to pursue higher education exploring the environmental and social issues that face Northern communities in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Thank you to AMS Sustainability for their contributions.



