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We acknowledge that UBC's Point Grey Campus is located on the traditional, ancestral, unceded territory of the x^wməθk^wəyəm (Musqueam) people. The land it is situated on has always been a place of learning for the x^wməθk^wəyəm community, who for millennia have passed on in their culture, history and traditions from one generation to the next on this site.

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FOREWORD

The papers in this issue of *Trail Six* were developed from essays written in eight different classes in our Geography undergraduate program, and give a sense of the astonishing breadth of what is learned and taught in our classes. They convey rich and sophisticated theoretical and methodological training, and offer a sense of both the timeliness of class materials and the creative ways that students are working with theoretical concepts and geographic methods to create new insights into urgent issues and themes.

Common threads run through several papers. A critique of the individualism that structures our relationship to place and environment and positions land as property runs through a number of papers. Anique Baillon argues that many white middle-class men rely on consumption to uphold their gender identity and this creates a barrier to adopting sustainable consumption practices. Admonishments to use green products threaten a masculine sense of autonomy, questioning the perceived "unmanliness" of vegetarianism. Finnigan Duffield writes about the maps of John Arrowsmith, a British commercial cartographer who created imaginative maps of Australia and North America in the 19th century from the sketches of explorers. He argues that Arrowsmith's mid-19th century maps of British Columbia solidified colonial power through representations of Indigenous territories within colonial regimes of land and property. They worked as a "road map" to navigate power relations and support natural resource extraction. Jessica Low & Lucia de Kleer make a close study of the 2004 Environmental Assessment (EA) for the Jumbo Glacier Resort, critiquing the failure of the BC provincial government to be accountable to First Nations' cultural, spiritual and environmental concerns. Through an analysis of temples in urban, Japan Marco Mayer examines the co-existence of different forms of social organisation, with an increase of individualism with industrialisation.

In very different ways, Sannah Stainsby and Oskar Steiner turn that critique of European individualism onto the production of scholarly knowledge. Stainsby explores the limits of the philosopher Giorgio Agamben's concept of bare life through case studies of Korean comfort women, and femicide in Mexico. Implicitly, Stainsby is arguing that Agamben's theory is masculinist, and by considering gender Stainsby pushes his theory to imagine a more expanded spatiality of bare life, including spaces of everyday life. Oskar Steiner asks us to rethink our approach to teaching about ecological concerns, away from

compartmentalised subjects (which feminist science studies scholars have seen to be both Eurocentric and masculinist) to transdisciplinary experiential forms of learning and knowing.

The strong urban focus of our undergraduate program also shines through, in Marco Mayer's paper on urban Japan, and also the analysis by Nkemjika Morah, Aidan Haigh, Cara Cripton-Inglis, Zoe Malou Runia, and Elliot Landor of the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya. These authors examine this refugee camp as a form of unintentional urbanization. Intended as a temporary refugee camp, it is now 30 years ago and home to almost 150,000 people. Working with a range of important urban concepts (peripheral urbanization, encroachment of the ordinary, place of exception), the authors argue that the camp holds the problems and promise of other informal settlements. Recognising the camp as an established urban place, they argue, provides leverage to residents' claims to state recognition. How this figures in relation to the Kenyan government's 2021 ultimatum to UNHCR to close the camp is a fascinating question. A strong sense of social justice also runs through the essays by Shirley Zong, Silvana Martinez and Zoe Lin. Shirley Zong unpacks a photograph of the upscale restaurant, Sai Woo, in Vancouver's Chinatown, considering the restaurant in the context of a gentrifying neighbourhood, and reflecting on urban neighbourhoods (and photographs) as sites of change and memory. Silvana Martinez does a quantitative analysis of New York City "stop and frisk" data from 2007-2012 to make the argument that "order-maintenance" policing of sex workers in the Bronx was a response to demands from gentrifying homeowners who were concerned to maintain their property values. Zoe Lin explores the ways that building new forms of "cognitive technology" throughout urban infrastructures has transformed the urban experience, including the loss of privacy, new subtle forms of coercion, and the creation of inequalities tied to variable access to digital technologies.

This volume of *Trail Six* did not come into existence without a lot of hard work on the part of many different people, some visible and others less visible. First, I want to thank the instructors who aspire to provide the kind of education Oskar Steiner urges: transdisciplinary in the way that our discipline allows us to be and deeply grounded in the pressing issues of our day, often through experiential forms of teaching and learning. For me, one of the great pleasures of *Trail Six* is to learn a little of the fascinating discussions that go on within our classrooms and the journal is testimony to excellent teaching. Second, reviewers work hard to assist the authors in reworking course papers for publication, and for this I am grateful. The hard work of revising papers often comes at a busy time of term: thank you to the authors who took the time to do this crucial work of revision

and rewriting, and for producing such excellent work. And finally, a huge thank you to the Editors of this journal: Matt Campos, Manager of *Trail Six* and the 17 other students who assisted with revision.

Geraldine Pratt

Department Head

UBC Department of Geography

LETTER FROM THE MANAGER

‘Trail Six’ refers to the pathway connecting Northwest Marine Drive to Wreck Beach. Hundreds of people trek across the 500-step stairway every year and, at peak hours, the trail can get more crowded than many sidewalks in the City of Vancouver. As visitors interact and commiserate together about their exhaustion on those steps, we see space become place as memories and events imbue the environment with meaning. In the summer of 2020 when nightclubs, bars, and many indoor social spaces were closed, we also saw Wreck Beach itself become a hotspot for parties and outdoor hangouts – sometimes in ways that violated public health guidelines during the pandemic. This mirrored a global trend of increased park usage as urban dwellers moved some of their activities from indoor spaces to outdoor ones.

I am introducing Trail Six with this context because it reminds us that borders and boundaries in geography are continually questioned throughout space and time. Danny Oleksiuk and Chris Chan, the managers of this journal’s first publication, said that, like the real Trail Six, this journal “straddles the boundary between the human- or, more specifically, the urban.” The analyses by this year’s authors are similarly concerned with the human element of urban and non-urban geographies. The papers frequently challenge social, political, and academic conventions in ways that enrich our discourse and question disciplinary boundaries. From photographic ethnography to statistic and theoretical analysis, this volume retains the diverse and transdisciplinary spirit of Trail Six.

Akin to last year’s publication, the team behind this journal demonstrated remarkable dedication and passion in unusual times. With the introduction of vaccines and other measures to control the COVID-19 pandemic, many of us expected to have a more ‘normal’ editing process this year. However, the advent of Omicron and new restrictions in December 2021 threw a wrench in our plans. Despite those circumstances, the team persisted and produced some of the strongest bodies of academic work I have ever read.

In light of the pandemic and the busy schedules of students and staff, I could not be prouder of the work everyone put into Trail Six. I would like to reiterate Geraldine’s gratitude to the team of editors, authors, and faculty

members who made this publication possible. I would also like to acknowledge the incredible support that the Geography Students' Association, Department of Geography, and the University have provided to Trail Six for 16 years. I sincerely hope that the journal continues to bring students, staff, and faculty together for years to come.

Matt Campos

Editor-in-Chief

The Role Pictures Play in Shaping Urban Relations: An Urban Photo Essay on Restaurants as Byproducts of Gentrifying Neighbourhoods

by: Shirley Zhong

It is often noted that restaurants accurately reflect an area's demographic and history. Amidst the current rate and scale of gentrification, this assumption is currently being challenged in Vancouver's Chinatown. In this paper, I use a photograph of Sai Woo as an analysis tool to offer a deeper look into the role of restaurants as a byproduct of gentrifying urban spaces by examining the off-camera processes that produced the resulting photo. Photographs can unknowingly create illusions where many narratives are underrepresented, hidden, and lost in the tale. The Chinatown I was familiar with now exists in my memory alone, as local family-owned businesses and supermarkets are currently replaced by new upscale restaurants. My personal memories of one of the city's oldest neighbourhoods are part of a larger collective story and by conducting an urban photo essay, I hope to contribute a vital piece to the puzzle of Chinatown's deeply woven history.



Figure 1. Sai Woo's storefront, with its distinctive neon marquis, depicting a rooster on top and traditional Chinese translation of the restaurant's name beneath it. October 10. (Photograph by the author.)

“... I seize every opportunity to wander across a city with a camera, and my collection of photographs expands faster than my ability to give each image what it deserves in research, reflection, writing and thinking. I have ‘read’ a shrinking fraction of my photographs, and [Walter] Benjamin would say that I am becoming more illiterate. He’s right. Every snapshot is a debt, a promise made to the subject. I’ve been sliding deeper into bankruptcy for years...”

(Wyly, 2010, p. 500)

Introduction

Growing up in Vancouver, when the name “Chinatown” is mentioned, memories of crowded supermarkets stacked with mandarin oranges by the entrance and cozy shops serving fresh pork buns on winter mornings first come to mind. Twenty years later, strolling down Pender Street just before sunset, chic restaurants decorated in modern glass chandeliers cast long shadows onto smaller and older stores with names written in traditional Chinese characters. It appears as though many of these family-owned businesses have become abandoned storefronts or transformed into large upscale restaurants. The Chinatown I was familiar with now exists in my memory alone as it is currently replaced with new eateries — chain coffee shops, countless restaurants with trendy, glowing neon lights that light up the streets after dark. One restaurant named Sai Woo is particularly eye-catching. By six o’clock in the evening, a waiting line forms outside the door with the crowd’s faces illuminated by the restaurant’s neon marquee (see Figure 1), reminiscent of “the old days of purposeful Orientalism” in

Vancouver’s Chinatown (Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p. 3).

Outside Sai Woo, the neighbourhood is for the most part deserted except for a few similar new upscale eateries. As you step inside, immediately noticeable is an image of Chinatown portrayed as younger, global, and more diverse, with young, urban, stylish and predominantly white staff and clientele. A dim, buzzing ambience welcomes customers with vintage brick walls and Chinese red envelopes hanging on artificial plants. The iconography of memories of Chinatown is all around — the name, in the decor, and referenced in every menu item. Here, you can eat Szechuan vegetarian potstickers while sipping on a cocktail made with whiskey, dubonnet, maple syrup and walnuts. New upscale restaurants such as Sai Woo attempt to maintain its cultural heritage while fusing modern tastes with an entirely different target audience that caters towards the cliente’s tastes. Private spaces, such as the interior of Sai Woo, capitalizes on the culturally aesthetic ambience of Chinatown outside, while selling “easy” and recognizable Chinese food such as fried rice and potstickers (Pottie-

Sherman, 2013, p. 1). In addition, menu prices are catered towards customers from the middle-upper class with an average of \$50 CAD per person, excluding the most vulnerable low-income populations living in the neighbourhood.

The dim sum place across the street receives far less attention than Sai Woo; the customers that do frequent it are from a completely different cultural and socioeconomic class. Despite standing right in the heart of Chinatown, half of my fond childhood memories that once were shaped by this urban core's unique identity feels missing. Today, Vancouver's Chinatown is a vulnerable battleground, struggling to balance between development and preserving its unique cultural heritage, at the same time watching other areas of the city receive more investment while local businesses are being forced out of the neighbourhood due to rising property taxes. In this paper, I use a photograph of Sai Woo as an analysis tool to offer a deeper look into the role of restaurants as a byproduct of gentrifying urban spaces.

Chinatown & Gentrification: A Dichotomy of Past and Present

Cities around parts of the Global North today are in the midst of a controversial structural shift within neighbourhoods in the urban core. Residential gentrification — the redevelopment of inner cities accompanied with the influx of affluent populations and displacement of local

residents — is taking major bites out of Vancouver's Chinatown (Gold, 2016). Chinatown has become a site of gentrification through numerous intersecting and coevolving processes. In the 1800s, Chinatown was first established by a community of Chinese railway workers as a social space in which Chinese residents felt a sense of belonging. The neighborhood quickly grew into a rich cultural hub and thriving business core for the Chinese community. In 2012, the Chinatown Revitalization plan was introduced to preserve Chinese heritage, increase tourist attraction, and improve living conditions in Chinatown, by primarily focusing on encouraging economic development (Gold, 2016). Although the strategies state the preservation of the culture in Chinatown, its focus seems to be on commercialization and development; residents and activists claim that the Plan is simply an agenda for gentrification in Chinatown. For many low-income residents and seniors living in Chinatown, low-barrier traditional businesses and culturally appropriate establishments provide key functions and safe spaces for a sense of place and important social interactions (Lee, 2019). Yet with the Revitalization Plan's emphasis on market-driven strategies, Chinatown may be fundamentally altered, becoming a more homogeneous community that will exclude existing residents and do not reflect values of the community.

In November of 2017, a crowd of local community voices made victorious history by convincing the Vancouver City Development Permit

Board to reject the application for a proposed condo project called “105 Keefer”. In fact, it was the first time in its history that the Board rejected a development and agreed with activists that “the condo didn’t fit contextually into Chinatown” (Robinsin, 2018, para. 1). If so, what is the context of Chinatown? Is it one that is dependent on its history or those who inhabit it and how they currently use the space? The role of Vancouver’s Chinatown as

positioned in the larger City is always changing, and a photograph simply captures part of this context that existed in the moment the shutter was released. Gentrification in Chinatown is the framework in which I will interpret my urban image of Sai Woo; it is the unseen, off-camera processes that produced the content of my photograph and the visual juxtaposition with its surroundings.

A Simple Snapshot of a Complex Narrative

“The illiterate of the future...will be ignorance not of reading or writing, but of photography... But must not a photographer who cannot read his own pictures be no less accounted an illiterate? Will not the caption become the most important part of the photograph?”

(Benjamin, 1931, p. 25)

Photography is “a complex social, cultural and technological enterprise, and pictures are not always as simple as they look” (Wyly, 2010, p. 503). A seemingly insignificant photo taken of Sai Woo restaurant unknowingly creates an illusion whereby many narratives are extremely underrepresented, hidden and lost. In the current digital age where the art of photography is omnipresent but fleeting, we are “overwhelmed by photographs, advertising, and moving images that move ever faster”, people are “losing the capacity for slow, careful contemplation” (Wyly, 2010, p. 501). Without an accurate caption, what is visible in my photography of Sai Woo to an unknowing audience is simply a gorgeous upscale eatery in the centre of

Chinatown. But what about the invisible, the stories concealed by the traditional storefront captured in my photo, and the wider context of Chinatown’s tale?

It is often noted that restaurants accurately reflect an area’s demographic and history. Amidst the current rate and scale of gentrification, this assumption is currently being challenged in Vancouver’s Chinatown, as shown in the story behind my photograph of Sai Woo. A deeper exploration of the role restaurants play in gentrifying neighbourhoods reveal that these new eateries are neither a driver nor a result of gentrification. Instead, these restaurants are the *byproducts* and *visible symbols* of the

gentrification process, which both brings about and is caused by cultural and demographic change to the area. Food businesses are one of the first to change in disinvested low-income neighbourhoods, providing an indicative symbol for gentrification in the area. They prepare neighborhoods for accompanied development, because food is an “ubiquitous commodity and cultural cue” (Sbicca, Alkon & Kato, 2020, para. 6). In this sense, restaurateurs act as small-scale developers; they add to the cultural capital of neighborhoods, create employment and consequently increase nearby property values and housing costs. New restaurants and cafés further act as the dividing line between encouraging the displacement of locals through gentrification and bringing diverse communities together. My photograph of Sai Woo is, then, not a “reflection of reality” (Wyly, 2010, p. 504). In fact, rarely, if not impossible, are photos today an accurate representation of truth. Indeed, “pictures have points of view” (Wyly, 2010, p. 524), and the one constructed by bright neon photographs of upscale restaurants in a gentrifying neighbourhood such as Chinatown casts a direct shadow that hides labels such as poverty and homelessness away from the public eye, along with it, masking the growing polarization along divisions of class in this urban space.

Photography’s Role in Shaping Urban Relations

The history of photography can be interpreted as a “visual documentary

of urbanizations... the growth of photography presented a new medium where questions [of the city’s effects on people, families and societies] could not be avoided” (Wyly, 2010, p. 501). We need to realize that behind these photographs lies the social environment of cities that is shaped and (re)produced by human interactions, decisions, and urban processes, which are often not shown in pictures that merely capture a slice in time. Due to uneven urban development and resulting social polarization, the space of Vancouver’s Chinatown is reproduced in a way that spatially and socially marginalised people along divisions of class, race and ethnicity. Why is Sai Woo located here, in the centre of Chinatown? Certainly, twenty years ago its owners would not have chosen an area known to be one of the “poorest neighbourhoods of the city” to open their new upscale restaurant (Hanser & Hyde, 2014). Unfortunately today, an urban centre such as Chinatown is often primarily seen by developers as a revitalization project and development site rather than a community with rich cultural and historical heritage (Gold, 2016). As such, developers rebuild neglected houses with former cheap rents for more luxurious condos or businesses, in the name of helping the economy and declining neighbourhoods. More expensive housing brings along new tastes from the upper middle class, thus gentrification establishes a new marketplace for the already growing business of eateries (Trin, 2017).

Consequently, patterns of inequality shaped by gentrification are reflected by its byproducts — new and upscale restaurants — which often do not fit in with the needs of the existing community. If we unpack my photo of Sai Woo restaurant with a critical eye, elements of traditional Chinese culture can be seen as being “symbolically appropriated” for business usage to seek status and a badge of authenticity for the brand, combined with selective nostalgia and cultural preservation. The neon rooster sign, for instance, capitalizes on Chinese history and culture, incorporating it into the restaurant’s aesthetic as an attraction for customers, yet simultaneously obscuring its history (Hyde, 2017). Not only that the construction of Sai Woo has erased former homes and businesses, the locals who were displaced are unlikely to walk into Sai Woo for a meal since they cannot afford to eat at the price ranges set to target affluent populations. At the core of Chinatown’s identity is its culture, yet ironically these re-incorporations ultimately exclude the original population who were pivotal in shaping the culture.

Restaurants as Byproducts of Gentrification

For many locals, the “105 Keefer” project, which would have been built next to the memorial to Chinese railway workers and veterans and included no affordable housing, symbolized the ways that housing was being developed in Chinatown with little regard for its residents’ needs

(Robinsin, 2018). An interview with Vancouver City Planner, Andy Yan, reveals this to be a crucial challenge facing Vancouver’s Chinatown. Indeed, the economic foundation of the neighbourhood needs to be rebuilt, however ongoing issues of systemic social and economic exclusion, which has only been made worse with an attempt to increase financial base, “erodes the [rich] cultural and social capital” (Robinsin, 2018, para. 20). New and revitalized restaurants have created “spaces of consumption”, transforming the Chinatown neighbourhood into a significantly more upscale dining destination, promoting a “competitive niche for distinctive and authentic culinary adventure” that “commodifie[s] culture and [experiments] with creativity” (Burnett, 2014, p. 161).

Sai Woo is illustrative of a complex policy landscape that has been gradually changing Vancouver’s Chinatown. The City’s planners want to attract the younger Chinese generation back to the neighbourhood and believe they cannot do so by continuing to rely on the packaging of “traditional” Chinese culture for tourists. Hence, the increasingly popular new modern Chinese restaurants and bars are seen as symbols of the future of an ideal Chinatown. Ultimately however, planners admit that this has limited capacity to bring change because “Chinatown needs to be thriving overall as a neighbourhood” (Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p.194). Andy Yan reinforces this by stating that there is a need for “fundamentally understanding that it’s

not the site, it's the system", as Chinatown is certainly not a stand-alone neighbourhood created in vacuum (Robinsin, 2018, para. 29).

Businesses such as Sai Woo represent a compromise, in which its owner plays on Chinese nostalgia for Chinese-Canadians while catering to young, affluent populations of various ethnic origins. In a case like this,

restaurants can fuel gentrification, yet they also hold the power to bridge diverse communities. Either way, new restaurants in gentrifying neighbourhoods serve as a symbol of the shift towards higher living standards that only new demographics can afford, and act as byproducts of gentrification that go hand-in-hand with the bigger processes that, ever so often, are lost in the tale.

Approaching Conclusions

"Pictures don't tell us how they should be used. If we are to save the cities, we must use photographs to start conversations, and strategically to alternate between documenting (certain aspects of) realities (from certain perspectives), raising questions, challenging assumptions, inspiring imaginative cities – urban places that could be made real."

(Wyly, 2010, p. 524)

As Vancouver adapts and grows in the global context of urbanization and local examples of gentrification, we begin to ask ourselves, who is the city really for? After all, maximizing the happiness and success of city residents should be one of the key goals of a successful urban space and of modern-day planning processes. For Chinatown, this means an inclusive neighbourhood, one that is not "afraid of changing ideas", one that is culturally vibrant, affordable, and inter-generational. To reposition the role of Chinatown in the wider context of the city, there needs to be "rebuilding, renewing and most importantly, reinvesting in the social infrastructure" that considers the wellbeing of residents (Robinsin, 2018, para. 31).

As a physical urban space becomes organized along social boundaries, such as socioeconomic class, the resulting landscape becomes reflective of inequality patterns, shown in my photograph of Sai Woo as one of many examples. City leaders must negotiate with the community for complex compromises and promise to keep rents sufficiently low in gentrified housing to affordably accommodate marginalized residents (Vale, 2015). Development and revitalization projects must do more to meet the needs of the neighbourhood in which it operates (Robinsin, 2018). We have learned in Elvin Wyly's lectures that Sontag and Benjamin encourage us to view cities as portals through which we can comprehend transformations in

time and space. Evidently, the urban world is about constant change, but in fact inhabitants of cities and neighbourhoods themselves hold the power to shape this change towards a positive direction (Wyly, 2010). Sai Woo has been standing in the centre of Chinatown for more than one-hundred years, it has also witnessed the continuous urban changes and ongoing gentrification that have and continues to occur to this urban centre. If so, “can we redeem the simple, innocent snapshot” (Wyly, 2010, p. 497)?

Citing growing concerns with the rapid gentrifying change in Vancouver’s Chinatown, Hua Foundation’s report on social cohesion illustrates a growing divide in what was historically a tight-knit community (Lee, 2019). The report contributes to the ongoing discourse about the importance of community-based, culturally sensitive development while urging stakeholders of the neighbourhood to collectively work to apply an equity framework, towards a more equitable and just Chinatown. An

understanding of “deep local knowledge and histories in a particular city” is one way to foster deeper local connection and urban responsibility in historical neighbourhoods in which diverse communities can thrive (Wyly, 2010, p. 525). Another way is to (re)consider what and who are captured within the frame of the photograph, how these elements are portrayed, and most importantly, acknowledge those left out of the screen. The off-camera processes that produced the resulting picture shown in my photograph of Sai Woo restaurant for instance, are crucial to completing the puzzle of the lost childhood memories of Vancouver’s Chinatown. To echo Walter Benjamin, captions are the most important part of photos. Pictures capture people and places and “a photograph captures a slice of space-time... blending the past and the present” (Wyly, 2010, p. 506). These spacetime slices create the narratives that weave stories together, forming a mosaic of the identity of a city and the story it tells.

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The People within Agamben's Paradigmatic Camp: A Critical Exploration of the Production of Bare Life

by: Sannah Stainsby

In what follows, I push the limits of Agamben's paradigm, the concentration camp as the space of exception where bare life is produced (which by and large avoids questions of identity) against three case studies in which extreme violence is undeniably linked to race and gender. These studies are Agamben's Auschwitz, the treatment of comfort women, and the current epidemic of femicide in Mexico. Using Agamben's camp-as-space-of-exception as my foundation, the paper seeks to challenge the limits of excluding racial and gender identities and the power dynamics therein in political theory. This is done first by highlighting how bare life began at the peripheries of Auschwitz, not inside the camp itself. Then using the example of Korean comfort women, the limit is pushed further. Building on how bare life has been produced at the peripheries, this section shows how gender and race are used by the sovereign as a space of exception to deliberately reduce selected groups into bare life. The final limit of the camp is pushed to its brink by stepping outside the camp as a whole, through the example of the ongoing femicide in Mexico. The conclusion highlights importance of a critical, feminist lens when using Agamben's theory as a framework to study the production of bare life through race and gender identities as a space of exception.

Introduction

Chris remembers his younger brother Neil as warm: "Fun-loving, very caring (...) a great kid and a great brother." 30 years ago, on Nov. 29th, 1990, he was found face-down, frozen to death in a field in Saskatchewan wearing but a thin jacket, jeans and only one shoe. Neil was 17 at the time, below the permitted age of drinking. He was found with visible injuries to his body. Yet, the police claimed the teen had "got drunk" and "gone for a walk" that - 28C night (with *one* shoe?) (Stewart, 2019). Less than a week later, before all witnesses had been interviewed or the toxicology report had been obtained, Neil's file was closed. Over the past decade, two more men were found dead under similar circumstances. The near-death of a

third cracked the case open. They had been victims of a "starlight tour," a racialized police practice where Indigenous men deemed 'too drunk and rowdy' are driven out of town, dropped off in the middle of nowhere, and left to 'sober up' by walking back home. It would take nearly 15 years before the two policemen responsible for Neil's death faced charges. Even then, the final court ruling concluded Neil's case as an issue of race relations, dismissing the systemic racism at play (Razack, 2015).

Post-9/11, political-philosopher Giorgio Agamben's *Homo Sacer* (1995) has been popularized as a valuable framework. In its essence, Agamben's take on spaces of exception is an inquiry of the metaphysics of power, or 'it's hidden matrix'— it is a rotation between

sovereign power, state of exception, and bare life (Gregory, 2006). Through his carefully constructed web of paradigms, Agamben argues that the production of bare life is a necessary step in 'supposed' times of crisis for the sovereign to maintain its power. Further, Agamben mourns the rising dominance of law over politics. He warns of the consequences: marginalizing the opportunity to negotiate with the sovereign, which would push it closer to totalitarianism (Ek, 2006). To make his case clear, Agamben strategically reduces the world into a set of paradigms, its inhabitants categorized into characters such as the *homo sacer*, the Sovereign, and the *Muselmann* (Hopkins, 2019). In this essay's context, I will focus on the limits of his paradigmatic *camp-as-space-of-exception*.

Agamben's method of reducing real subjects into paradigmatic objects is problematic. On the one hand, the clear limit of these figures provides a lens that helps highlight the power relations of modern Empires. In the study of modern empires, such as the American Empire or land contestations over Jerusalem, Agamben's limits have been valuable in illuminating their use of martial law to override politics, create bare life and gain power (Ramadan & Fregonese, 2017; Braun & McCarthy, 2005). On the other hand, scholars argue how Agamben's *camp-as-space-of-exception* paradigm is harmful to bare life as it fails to recognize how the production of spaces of exception starts at its peripheries. Agamben makes alarmingly little of

these processes. Yet, it is undeniable how Agamben's paradigm camp, be it Auschwitz or Guantanamo Bay, is the product of an explicitly racialized and gendered legacy that pre-date the camp and inevitably contributed to its construction (Hopkin, 2019).

Scholar Geraldine Pratt touches on this latter point in her article, *Abandoned Women and Spaces of the Exception*, where she explores the crisis of Vancouver's missing and murdered Indigenous women. By challenging Agamben's limit-figures, she reveals how their legal abandonment was rooted in the women's gender and racial identities. Excluding dimensions of identity, as Agamben does with his limit-figure, the *camp-as-space-of-exception*, renders the deep societal prejudice against these women invisible (Pratt, 2015).

As reiterated by Hopkins, when we do not critically examine these limits, we run the risk of rendering the spaces of exception produced at the peripheries invisible (Hopkins, 2019). In this essay, I will home in on Agamben's failure to include the dimension of racial and gender identity in his work on 'bare life', defined as a group of political objects who are deliberately exposed to violence most often culminating in death (Gregory, 2011). I criticize the limits of his archetype paradigm, the *camp-as-space-of-exception*. Defined by Agamben as the "site where bare life is produced", I recognize this as the foundation of Agamben's 'bare life' (Gregory, 2011). Specifically, I question

how this contributes to Agamben's pessimism towards bare life by producing a logic that 1) hides how these processes are explicitly racialized with certain groups targeted more than others, and 2) inevitably reproduces the violence it attempts to criticize.

Entering Auschwitz

Agamben sees the camp as the paradigmatic space of exception. The concentration camp is where legal order intertwines into indistinction from lawlessness (Gregory, 2011). Although Agamben's camp is not limited to a geographical location – it can be anywhere in the world – his work focuses on two camps in particular: Auschwitz, the prominent death camp of the Third Reich during the second world war (WW2), and more recently, the US military camp Guantanamo Bay. In what follows, I will focus on Auschwitz as this was the original camp and what I understand as its foundation with only minimal mention of Guantanamo.

Starting with what I understand to be its limits, Agamben sets several around his epitome limit-figure, the camp. Firstly, the camp marks the place where law and lawlessness intertwine into indistinction, also described as a void or a "legal black hole" (Gregory, 2006). Secondly, the camp marks the product of the sovereign's power. It is made through the sovereign's production of an enemy, most often so dangerous in the popular imagination that it becomes seen as a matter of necessity that the sovereign declare a

crisis. This provides an opportunity for the sovereign to declare martial law, which can be executed as they see fit (Ek, 2006). For Nazi Germany, this enemy was the Jewish people, threatening the Lebensraum of the Third Reich. For the United States, it was Muslim terrorists and their alleged threat to the United States *and* worldwide democracy; as seen during the Bush Administration's insistence on the necessity of the 'war on terror' post 9/11 (Gregory, 2011). Lastly, Agamben sees the camp as the "definite site" of production for bare life. The camp provided the Third Reich with a 'final solution' to rid themselves of their enemy and, as argued by Agamben, more importantly, the opportunity to override politics and achieve reform that would otherwise be impossible (Otto, 2020).

The latter point, this final claim, that the camp is the lawless and "definite site" for the production of bare life, has been countered by several scholars who point to spaces of exception that are outside the camp but spaces of exception, nevertheless. Examples of such spaces include the war zone (Gregory, 2017), but also the urban environment (Gandy, 2006) with examples from the ghettoization of L.A.'s Skid Row (Snoek & Fry, 2015), or the occupation of Palestine by Israel (Ramadan & Fregonese, 2017). Furthermore, one may also question: what does Agamben mean by 'definite'? Giccaria & Minca (2011) show that even the 'legal black hole' itself, Auschwitz, was separated into zones (appendix 1). Ironically, the most lawless of them all,

known amongst the Polish inmates as 'Mexico', was not located inside the camp. Instead, Mexico was slightly outside its periphery. It was a border zone outside the physical borders of Birkenau intended for later expansion (appendix 1). Unlike the camp's formal space, its inmates were often not even registered, let alone given a uniform. In contrast, inmates inside the camp had their registration number tattooed on their arm (Langbein, 2004). 'Mexico' was outside the camp, but a space of exception, nonetheless.

In this context, Giccaria & Minca (2011) and Langbein's (2004) findings are especially interesting as they counter the aforementioned *camp-as-a-legal-'black hole'* limit of Agamben's camp. Indeed, as found by Oster (2020) in his review of scholarly discourse of other concentration camps, the paradigmatic space of Agamben, Auschwitz, was not 'lawless' but a place of strict order and procedure, meticulously and strategically divided in its topography. This point is exemplified in appendix 1, and the practice mentioned earlier of inmate registration as well. Further, the points brought forth by Giccaria & Minca and Langbein also indicate evidence of how the reduction of people to bare life started before crossing the gates into Auschwitz.

This final point is particularly potent when consulting with the literature on the well-established conditions surrounding the transportation to the camp, most often via train. Given how these tracks are

considered vital enough to run through Auschwitz itself (appendix 1), it is fair to question if these people had been reduced to bare life before reaching the camp. They were transported like livestock, huddled in industrial train carriages, some not making it to the camp at all (Stier, 2005; Weissman & Gigliotti, 2009; Martin et al., 2020).

Continuing from the map (appendix 1), I wish to steer my investigation in the direction of Agamben's camp's topology. Specifically, the omnipotence of his *camp-as-space-of-exception*.

According to Agamben, the camp is a "singularity" strong enough to be inconsequential to "contextual specificity" (Lee et al., 2014). As has already been alluded to and will be elaborated on later in my example of the Korean comfort women, Auschwitz was not a 'death-camp island.' Rather, it was part of a larger, explicitly racialized network that not only enabled but also justified violence and the production of bare life towards a targeted group of people (Einwohner & Maher, 2011).

Notably, this network or system is one that stretches across space, what Giccaria & Minca (2011) refer to as 'topography' and history. Through his camp's singularity, critics accuse Agamben of ignoring colonialism and its effect on intellectual inquiry (Mesnard, 2004; Schueller, 2009; Davies & Isakjee, 2019; Ghabrial, 2020). Ironically, Agamben created his theoretical paradigms in criticism of the West and the empire, focusing on

the American Empire post-9/11 specifically (Gregory, 2011). As so well described by Lee et al. (2014), Agamben wants us to confront Eurocentrism and "re-examine the widespread belief that people's sovereignty is pre-given, natural, and good" (652).

However, as also presented by Lee et al., the matrix of law and politics also marks the limit for Agamben's inquiry. It is the matrix that concerns Agamben, *not* its people (2009). Agamben's prioritization of explaining the matrix is firstly how his work aims to warn us against the increasing dominance of law over politics, which he claims marginalizes the opportunity for negotiation with the sovereign and, consequently, pushes us closer to totalitarianism (Ek, 2006). However, Agamben paints everything in his theory in these broad strokes, including bare life. Hopkin sees this as a mistake, noting how this has the consequence of reducing real people to the "faceless landscape" of *homo sacri* (Hopkins, 2019).

In this way, paradigms like the camp-as-a-singularity fail bare life since they dehumanize and 'other' its subject (Stahl, 2020; Weheliye, 2014). In relation to race and gender, Mitchell notes how the figure that Agamben draws on to occupy his spaces of exception, the *homo sacer*, is an ancient Roman figure that pre-dates concepts of race and gender— that in Roman times was not ontologically linked to the bios but now is (2006).

Therefore, today's spaces of exception occur not only through the exception of law or political order, as the camp attempts to model, but also through its *people*. Hence, in today's spaces of exception, the body of those who are not cis, white, and male automatically exists in a state of exception that renders them more vulnerable to the death and violence that characterizes bare life (Mitchell, 2006). In this way, the state of exception does not apply equally to all. Recognizing how these differences embed themselves in society and present in racial and gender identity is vital if we wish to go beyond Agamben's pessimism.

The Camp in Context: Identity and the Case of Korean Comfort Women

Comfort women is a term to describe the women, most of them young Korean girls, lured by forces of the Imperial Army (IA) from their families to Japanese military camps and forced to serve as sex-slaves for soldiers of the IA. The estimated 200,000 women and their stories of extreme violence and death have been strategically erased, denied or altered by the Japanese state (Lie, 1997). Their suffering was dismissed for more than 50 years, under the imagination of these women as greedy prostitutes seeking to reap the IA's 'higher wages' (*Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Woman*).

Their rapes, now considered a war crime, occurred around WW2

between 1937-1945 (Ward, 2016). Since their release from the camps, the comfort women have been silenced and ridiculed. That was, until 1991, when three former comfort women testified in front of the Japanese Supreme Court, accusing the Japanese state of war crimes and in demand of an apology from Japan on behalf of the Japanese Empire and the IA. Furthermore, they requested financial and economic compensation on behalf of the thousands of other comfort women who, due to the trauma, abuse and ridicule inflicted on them by Japan and the IA, had spent the last 50 years in poverty, isolation, and shame, reduced to *homo sacri* (Chinkin, 2001; Park, 2010).

In what is to follow, I wish to continue to push the camp's limits by showing the intricate networks that existed before another camp: The 'comfort stations' of the Japanese Imperial Army. Similar to how Auschwitz was not a 'death-camp island' but part of a more extensive, explicitly racialized network (Einwohner & Maher, 2011), so were the Japanese Imperial Army's camps. Arguably, their violence towards Korean comfort women especially was justified through the pre-produced racialization of these women. Similarly, to Auschwitz as well, there is potent evidence of their reduction to bare life happening before they arrived at the camp. This section focuses on how their identities were formed outside the camp by Japan's rendering of what was previously 'normal' to 'abnormal.'

The ways the Korean comfort women were part of a more extensive system become apparent when placing the incidents outside the paradigm camp and within the context of the racialized and colonial relations between Japan and Korea. Starting with Korea's colonization in 1910, Japan allocated most Korean resources towards the Japanese war effort, thus pushing Korea into economic depression. With unemployment rates as high as 85% in certain places along the Korean countryside, an estimated 700,000 Koreans had by 1938 immigrated to Japan in search of work. Out of the 170 comfort women who later stepped forward in 1993, 105 were from poor peasant families (Tanaka, 2003). In effect, Koreans grew to become a hated and outcast group amongst the Japanese. This was especially true for those who made it to Japan. In hopes of a better future, they instead continued to live impoverished lives as peasants in Japan, oppressed by Japan's racist attitudes towards Koreans.

However, a space of exception was created in the Japanese body as well. This was through the Japanese Empire's purge of the Japanese identity; Specifically, their relationship to the body. Before the Japanese government banned it, *shunga* had been a natural entertainment source since the 17th century. Considered art, *shunga* depicted various sexual activities, including intercourse, homosexuality, and masturbation (Ishigami & Buckland, 2013). Rather than offensive, Japan cherished *shunga*

as informative, "humoristic," and comforting reflections of human nature (Pandey, 2009). The art form was an inevitable part of society. Evidence found in the diary of an American visiting Japan in 1859 suggests connotations of pride and community as he recalls the open display of *shunga* amongst "the man, [his]wife, and myself" (Ishigami & Buckland, 2013). Considering *shunga* as reflecting the attitudes and relations of the current societal time, *shunga*'s use and popularity suggest sex and sexuality as an essential part of Japanese cultural identity (Manzo, 2012).

Attitudes would begin to change as Japan grew closer to the Imperial powers of the West. Bit by bit, the artform was shamed. First, the sale and purchase of *shunga* were banned. Then, its creators and admirers, once heroes and the every-day citizen, were hung in the public eye as "useless [people]," "traitor[s]," and "loser[s]" (Pandey, 2009). For some time, *shunga* continued underground as an 'open secret' - soon to shut as well. After their victory in the Russo-Japanese war and subsequent boost in international presence, a nation-wide purge of underground *shunga* vendors occurred, tilting the final piece-of-resistance (Ishigami & Buckland, 2013).

The Japanese body was purged even further through more cool and calculated measures as health professionals began absorbing the 'scientific' European concepts of "health" and "morality". Following new

policies, data regarding public health was collected, measured, and progressively compared. Then came the law: Under the 1898 Imperial Decree, children and adolescents were to be examined twice a year. The results were added to their report card alongside their grades at graduation, with the previously 'private' body now trickling into the public sphere. Lastly, came the creation of a faceless enemy as sexual education in schools begun to warn children and their parents about the dangers of the 'sexual instinct' that existed and could be unleashed, anytime, even within their own child (Frühstück, 2000). Crenshaw (1991) recognizes this as an active effort by the state to change national relationships and identity through using its power to publicly punish those who do not conform to what has been set as 'normal'.

It did not take long before the efforts of Japan to reform its identity became gendered: By the 1920's professionals within the field of morality wrongfully concluded that men were more susceptible to their sexual instinct than women. Hence, efforts aggressively cultivating the western normative of masculinity began. A particular height, weight, strength, and mentality, as well as the right to female domination were now 'natural' and expected parts of the male identity, whereby failure to meet the 'norm' was blamed on a lack of masculinity (appendix 2). Coined *neurasthenia*, Habuto Eiji – a renowned sexologist – politicized these claims stating how a threat to

masculinity was a threat to the security of the Japanese Empire (Frühstück, 2000).

Moving in to the second world war and building on the notion of an enemy, Korean men were now constructed as sexual predators. The fear of an invasion of Korean men seeking to rape Japanese women was a common fear in which the most justified 'barrier' was the Korean women due to their similar race (Lie, 1997). Racialized and gendered, the Korean comfort woman was reduced to bare life not only in the camp but outside, as an object deemed necessary to protect Japan and its soldiers as well as the "purity" of the Japanese nation (Kramm, 2017; Germer, 2010). In this way it is rendered visible how the production of Korean comfort women relied on several spaces of exception by which they were reduced to bare life long before they were placed in camps. However, it does not challenge Agamben's legal limit; that the sovereign creates bare life in response to 'crisis' in power such as war or terror, through the suspension of Martial law.

Outside the Camp and Martial Law: The Female Body in Mexico

In what families and campaigners call a state of "near-total impunity," femicides have tripled across Mexico. At present, the average femicide rate is ten women per day (Webber, 2020; VICE News, 2020). Femicide has become worse during the COVID-19 pandemic, in which women under lockdown are restricted to their

homes and unable to escape the violence of their abusers. Despite this, President López Obrado has famously denounced the existence of violence in Mexico. Most recently, Obrado noted how "90% of those calls [reporting domestic violence] are false." (Gallón, 2020; Picheta & Natalie Gallón).

For this section, I wish to push the camp's limits outside its limits of impunity, exploring how bare life is produced beyond the 'crisis' of war and martial law in which we find the camp and the previous example of comfort women. By then, it is often too late, something reflected in Agamben's pessimism towards the bare life that occupies his *camp-as-space-of-exception* (Gregory, 2006). I stress this final point as necessary as the failure to recognize the every-day spaces of exception outside the camp, and their racialization leads to policies intended to help bare life to fail (Fluri, 2011).

In 2016, 90% of women in Mexico City reported experiencing gender-based violence, 65% of which occurred on public transportation. Yet less than 25% of the daily ridership is female ("Improving women's safety in Mexico City", 2016). This has an apparent effect on female mobility. According to Chant (2013), fear of sexual violence results in women verging away or restrict themselves to specific hours, areas of the city, jobs, and other opportunities that require commuting. To reduce violence, Mexico City has segregated transportation into 'female-only' zones. Like Agamben, this approach to sectioning violence into

zones does not actively consider the gendered aspect.

Research on understanding the motivations behind the perpetrators of this sexual violence, the majority male, is remarkably scarce. The work I was able to find concerned the study of either gay *or* incarcerated men (Gallego-Montes, 2010). Notably, neither make a significant percentage of the total male population in Mexico City nor have much to do with female sexual violence on public transportation. Hence, the average male remains faceless. Its victim is, on the other hand, well researched with large bodies of knowledge regarding gender-based violence against women (Campos et al., 2017; Dubova et al., 2007; Acharya, 2008) as well as intersections in age group, sexuality and social status (Saldana-Tejeda, 2018; Motz, 2015).

Albeit 'faceless', the identity of the Mexican male is socially constructed around the idea of *machismo*. While men in the older generation see the term as a source of pride, the term has become synonymous with cheating, wife-beating and toxic masculinity for the younger generation (Gutmann, 2006; Limon, 1997). On the other hand, the woman is strictly confined by her morality, with little change regarding expectations initially set through the catholic church. Unlike the man, her actions are considered a reflection of her family. As such, pre-marital sexual activities bring shame and are harshly punished. Even in cases of rape, the

female is responsible (Bovarnick, 2007). Reflective of this, the general literature on gender violence in Mexico City focuses on the female. The scholarly work on the male experience of Mexico City is more homogenous: By and large, studies investigate either gay *or* incarcerated men (Gallego-Montes, 2010; Hernández-Girón et al., 1999). Notably, neither make a significant percentage of the total male population in Mexico City.

As argued by Mejia-Dorantes (2018), the result on this explicit focus on the female in Mexico City is that the female is made visible through being front and center of the research, yet invisible through policy making continuing to be built around the *nomos* of the patriarchy in which the women must bend around the man. First, the zones continue to place responsibility on the female for change: *She* must restrain from certain styles of clothing and keep curfews, alleviating the state from tangible measures such as investing in streetlights (Fenster, 1999; Fernando & Porter, 2002). Secondly, the public transportation system does not accommodate mothers, allowing bikes, commonly used by men and tourists, while forbidding prams on the metro. Hence, mothers, but especially those who cannot afford day care, are forced to stay home to care for their children (Mejia-Dorantes, 2018; Limon 1997). Notably, lack of transportation is a significant factor in women not being able to access women's shelters and escape violence (Kulwicki et al., 2010). As with the legal abandonment of

Indigenous women or that of Neil (Razack, 2015), it is not so much that laws around the space of exception do not exist but rather that they are not enforced with attention to the systemic context of the people that violence is inflicted upon.

Conclusion

In my research on Agamben's spaces of exception, the research of Pratt caught my eye as she, through a feminist lens, demonstrates how legal geographies are deeply gendered and racialized. In this essay, I have attempted to demonstrate the importance of a critical, feminist lens, in today's spaces of exception. To me, this reveals itself in what is left out of our geographical inquiry when we do not consider dimensions of identity. Based on literary findings, the omnipotence of camp-as-space-as-

exception fails because 1) bare life is produced in spaces of exception outside the camp, and 2) 'outside the camp' stretches beyond its borders, e.g. 'Mexico' of Auschwitz, but also time, e.g. the racism and 'othering' brought by Japan years before the camp. This matters as the processes of racialization and gendering create a pessimism that begets bare life; one that through the exclusions of time, space and people renders systemic and targeted oppression invisible. We cannot understand the root of targeted violence unless we consider the roots of our framework. Like Agamben's space-of-exception, our lens is colored by European thinkers who, through the legacy of their gender and race, draw the lines in academia and research. This is not to say that their frameworks should not be used, but that we should challenge their limits.

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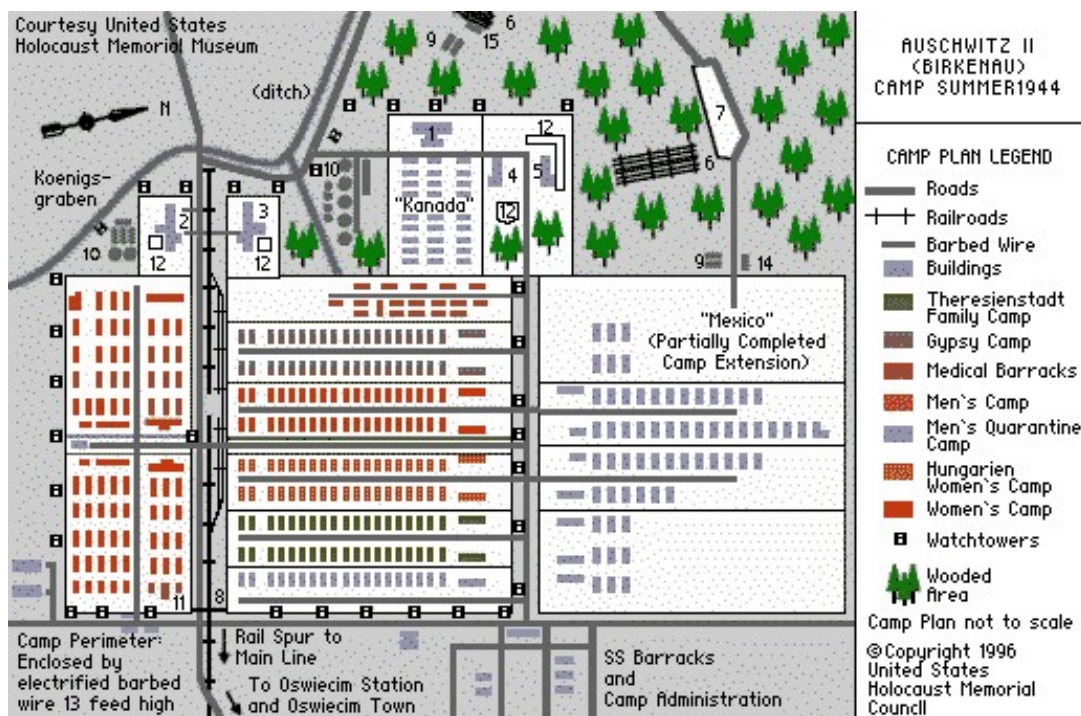
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Appendices

Appendix 1. Map of Auschwitz-Birkenau (*isurvived.org*).



Appendix 2: Poster from 1920s Japan depicting 'masculinity' (Frühstück, 2000).



Kakuma Refugee Camp: The Incremental and Unintentional Urbanization of a Place called ‘Nowhere’

by: Nkemjika Morah, Aidan Haigh, Cara Cripton-Inglis, Zoe Malou Runia, & Elliot Landor

This paper examines the incremental and unintentional urbanization of Kakuma Refugee camp through a process best explained using the terms “peripheral urbanization” by Teresa Caldeira (2017) and the “encroachment of the ordinary” by Asaf Bayat (2000). Located in Northern Kenya, Kakuma refugee camp is recognised in this paper as a “place of exception” (Agamben, 2005) and, we argue, has begun to take an urban form. However, we recognize that Kakuma’s temporary nature and the residents’ statelessness sets it apart from other forms of urbanism. We further explore how this process of urbanization presents itself through the development of economic, political, and social networks, as well as physical infrastructure.



(Giz, 2020)

INTRODUCTION

The following section of this paper will introduce Kakuma¹ Refugee camp as a case study which will contextualise our core argument. Our definition of what constitutes the

‘urban’ and ‘urbanization’ will be organized through investigating the qualitative elements that constitute the urban fabric. Recognizing the uniqueness of refugee settlements, Giorgio Agamben’s study of ‘places of

¹ “Kakuma” is a Swahili word for “nowhere.”

exception' will be used to further examine and understand the distinguishing factors between a typical urban settlement and refugee settlements.

After introducing the terms that form the foundation for this paper, our central argument is presented in the next section where we discuss what makes Kakuma refugee camp urban. We reveal how the formation of social capital, through interactions between the residents, state, and international organizations within the camp of Kakuma, informs our claim through supporting the emergence of social and physical infrastructure. Once these refugee camps become established, trading begins and small shops and businesses are opened, leading these camps to take on an urban form. The nature of the long-lasting inhabitation of these spaces combined with the inhabitants' desire for growth and improved living conditions, creates urbanizing forces similar to those found within urban informal settlements. We conclude our argument with propositions on the urban factors of Kakuma and what implications the recognition of such settlements as urban could achieve for the challenges of statelessness.

INTRODUCING KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

As defined by the UNHCR, “[r]efugee camps are temporary facilities built to provide immediate protection and assistance to people who have been forced to flee their homes due to war, persecution or violence” (UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency, 2021). Designed not to be permanent, and located in Kenya's Turkana county, is a refugee camp that was established in 1992. The camp was set up to provide a safe haven for the “Lost Boys of Sudan”² providing the most essential needs - such as food, water, shelter, medical treatment and other basic services (International Rescue Committee, 2014). Three decades later, an additional influx of refugees in 2014 caused Kakuma to significantly surpass its capacity, hence the establishment of the Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement areas 40km away to decongest the Kakuma camp. In July 2020, the number of registered refugees in these camps was 196,666 (UNHCR Kenya, 2021).

Separated by the Tarach river, Kakuma Refugee camp and its 147,744 inhabitants easily dwarfs their host and neighbour, Kakuma town,³ whose population was just 58,878 that same year (Kappauf and Heyer, 2018). As years have passed, Kakuma Refugee

² Sudan's 1987 civil war drove out an estimated 20,000 young boys from Sudan, most just six or seven years old. Some fled to Ethiopia to escape death or induction into the army, others walked thousands of miles to Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya.

³ Kakuma town that serves as the headquarters for Turkana West District of Turkana County.

Camp has taken on a permanence that makes it almost indistinguishable from other towns or from city suburbs. This same process is well documented in the case of Cooper's Camp in West Bengal, India, which dates back to 1947⁴ and is home to 70,000 people. After nearly 70 years it no longer resembles a camp; the lack of separation fences, guards, or refugee agency infrastructure has blurred the boundaries separating Cooper's Camp from the urban world, turning it into a more conventional Indian village (Finch, 2015). Today it has many problems reminiscent of a typical informal settlement – inadequate housing, lack of infrastructure, general poverty, high unemployment, low education levels and poor health.

URBANIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF KAKUMA

These theoretical concepts will be used to create a framework through which Kakuma Refugee Camp can be viewed as urban.

1. Rahul Oka, "Urban"

By urban, we draw from Rahul Oka (2011) to mean a high population and associated density, an emerging cosmopolitan nature, and the development of infrastructure. Oka (2011) explores the urban evolution in Kakuma Camp specifically through the

exchange and sale of food, arguing that this in particular lends a sense of normalcy to the refugees and thus a sustainability to their lives in the camp. Delving into the above mentioned components of urbanity, the population and density of Kakuma refugee camp is high relative to its context. Additionally, the cosmopolitan nature of the camp is an integral aspect of its existence as refugees from South Sudan, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Ethiopia, and Uganda have all found a home in Kakuma (World Bank Organisation, 2021). Over the years this dynamic group of people have demonstrated agency over their space in a myriad of ways such as developing both physical and social infrastructure of their own to facilitate their lives in Kakuma. The cumulative effect of innumerable deliberate efforts to build strong social networks and improve living conditions has resulted in the incremental stitching together of an urban fabric. Creating an 'urban' environment was not the goal of its inhabitants, however it was the direct result of their actions. This unintentional urbanization of Kakuma Refugee camp was facilitated by a process that could be described as 'peripheral urbanization' and the 'encroachment of the ordinary', articulated below.

⁴ The partition of British India in 1947 into two independent Dominions, India and Pakistan, caused large numbers of Hindus living in mainly Muslim East Bengal (now Bangladesh) to flee across the border.

2. Teresa Calderia, “Peripheral Urbanization” and Asef Bayat, “Encroachment of the Ordinary”

We explicitly understand the urbanization process in Kakuma to be a case of ‘peripheral urbanization’. This means that the residents themselves build their own abodes and neighbourhoods over time with the resources they have at hand in the moment and outside of official city planning (Caldeira, 2017). As buildings are continuously being improved upon, this creates a largely heterogeneous urban landscape (Caldeira, 2017). Caldeira (2017) draws from Holston (2008) and calls these places “spaces of insurgent citizenship” (p. 9), as new democratic practices develop out of the transversal engagement of the residents with official logics. Thus while the refugees are not citizens of Kenya, we do believe that employing peripheral urbanization in our analysis of Kakuma is useful, as the camp has distinct political and legal systems which have emerged from these unequal interactions among the residents, the state and relevant NGOs.

This informal space that is charged by the imbalance of power leads us to draw a link between peripheral urbanization and Bayat’s (2000) ‘encroachment of the ordinary’ as a framework for the rise of the informal economy within the camp. Bayat (2000), defines the ‘quiet encroachment of the ordinary’ as “non-collective, but prolonged direct action

by individuals and families to acquire the basic necessities of their lives [...] in a quiet and unassuming illegal fashion” (p. 536). The actions that the people take are not intended to be political, however, their consequences often become political, as the government is confronted with the results of continuous encroachment (Bayat, 2000). Encroachment can be an ambivalent process for government actors, since it can be both against their interest and beneficial to them, as it is a form of self-help, relieving state duties (Bayat, 2000).

We are aware that drawing from both of these concepts could be seen as contradictory in regard to the political action that they imply on the side of the residents. While Caldeira sees peripherally urbanized spaces as inherently political, the ‘encroachment of the ordinary’ is not intended to be political by the people who practice it. However, we believe that both political and ordinary actions are taken by the residents of Kakuma that lead to the urbanization of the camp. While we view the rise of the informal economy and the solidification of temporary shelter as a form of encroachment, we understand the formation of the camps’ legal system to be a deeply political act.

3. Giorgio Agamben, “Place of Exception”

Statelessness and the rights or lack thereof attached to such a status is a crucial distinguishing element

between a refugee camp and other forms of settlement. The term 'place of exception' articulates this difference best: it references concentration camps, internment camps, and also refugee camps due to the ways in which their respective inhabitants are all similarly excluded from the laws governed by various power structures on multiple scales. It is where the asylum seeker is rendered as homo sacer, or, legally vulnerable to death (Diken & Laustsen, 2005, p. 79). Thus, while the refugee camp of Kakuma is acknowledged as a 'place of exception', this paper seeks to use urbanization as a lens through which to recognize how the agency of Kakuma refugees contributes to the formation of an urban environment.

SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Social Capital as Foundational to Social Infrastructure

Under places of exception, social capital becomes a critical asset for refugees living in refugee camps to secure their day-to-day lives. Oftentimes when all other assets have been lost, social capital becomes a large part of refugees' livelihoods, even replacing financial capital to some extent (Boateng, 2010) and becoming a form of social insurance or a safety net for refugees (Uzelac, 2018). In the context of the Kakuma refugee camp, social capital refers to the "networks built among displaced people, the host community, and government actors" (Ward et al., 2020, p. 1). Therefore,

social capital can be classified into three types: bonding, bridging and linking social capital (Ward et al., 2020; Boateng, 2010). These terms are crucial in identifying how different interactions among the relevant actors shape the processes of 'peripheral urbanization' and how they foster the informal economy.

Bonding social capital refers to the horizontal connections made between people who share some similarities pertaining to identity, for example ethnic or religious groups. It develops out of shared understandings and shared identities, and is the most common of the three within refugee camps (Boateng, 2010). However, when vulnerability becomes too extreme, bonding social capital dissolves as individuals can only afford to look after themselves (Uzelac, 2018). Bridging capital is similarly horizontal like bonding, but between members of different groups - often between refugees and members of local communities. Although more uncommon than bonding social capital, bridging can be essential in situations where bonding capital dissolves and when provisions in a refugee camp may become scarce (Boateng, 2010). Linking capital, unlike the previous two types of social capital, operates vertically, connecting people at different levels of power, for example refugees and camp coordinators (Ward et al., 2020). These forms of social capital are therefore also interlinked

with the conception of the urban by Oka, as discussed above, through the complex networks that grow out of an increasing cosmopolitan population who negotiate with each other, the local population, international organizations, and the state. In the next section, this is elaborated on through analyzing the social infrastructure that is constructed through these ties in the camp of Kakuma.

Formal Social Infrastructure

Social capital can be conceived of as foundational to social infrastructure, which refers to more formal social structures. We are all familiar with the social infrastructure that exists within the urban areas we reside in, some of which has also developed in Kakuma - here we focus on economic, political and legal social structures. Many refugee camps such as Kakuma have developed as “distinct entities from their host states” (Bender, 2021, p. 1) with their own economic, legal and political systems. However, whilst all three of the more formalised types of social infrastructure discussed here exist within refugee camps, they do so in different ways and to different extents, which characterizes the heterogeneity of the urban landscape as guided by the theoretical frameworks of this paper.

Economic

From an economic standpoint, whilst refugee camps are connected to

international markets (in one direction) through aid, and to local market systems through integration with local communities, “[r]efugee camp economies function as distinct economic microcosms” (Bender, 2021, p. 9). As a ‘place of exception’, suspended from the law, refugee camps operate under certain direct limitations by the state. For example in Kakuma, refugees are not allowed to produce charcoal or to own livestock as these two industries are the main sources of income for the local Turkana (Bender, 2021). Moreover, refugee camp economies may or may not be subject to municipal taxes, and there may even be taxes specific to the camp in effect (Bender, 2021). This shows how the government is restricting the informal economy in Kakuma, but at the same time the informal economy is also critical in bridging supply shortages in the camp (Oka, 2011). The economy is therefore necessary in order to keep the camp operational as the UN would likely not be able to run the camp without it (Oka, 2011). This therefore is an example of the ‘encroachment of the ordinary’ by which the informal economy generated by inhabitants grants them access to goods and services that the state and other actors have failed to provide, and by extent enables refugees to secure their livelihoods.

Legal

Recalling that refugee camps are a ‘place of exception’ and often lack

protections under local jurisdictions, this does not mean the camps are devoid of law (Bender, 2021). Rather, refugee camps are home to distinct legal systems that have been developed by the refugees themselves. Although under international law, refugees should have access to their host state's legal system, this is often not the case, and so, refugees take it upon themselves to create their own legal systems (Bender, 2021). As a result, in many refugee camps, most crimes that occur within the camp are also resolved there (Bender, 2021). In the Kakuma refugee camp, "Sudanese refugees have established bench courts that apply a mix of Sudanese customary and sharia law" (Bender, 2021, p. 11). Unfortunately, these legal systems are often run by elders whose power is unchecked, leading to regular abuses of power. The people-driven growth in the settlement results in a greater possibility of precarious systems that produce inconsistent outcomes. Despite this, the creation of a legal system shows again how inhabitants' agency fosters unique rights to services that also relieves the burden from the state.

Political

Similar to their economic and legal apparatuses, camps have distinct political systems. Unlike the aforementioned forms of social infrastructure, however, political infrastructure is top down rather than being developed from the bottom up

(Bender, 2021). In refugee camps the UNHCR and NGOs are not accountable to the refugees as in a democracy, but rather they respond to their donors (Bender, 2021). This has serious impacts on the daily lives of refugees, specifically the marginalized populations within them. For example, the rape of women is commonplace, and the refugee population lacks a voice to force the UNHCR to make changes (Bender, 2021). This has led to the call for democratization within refugee camps (Bender, 2021). The political infrastructure of the camp therefore provides another crucial nuance to the processes of urbanization within the camp, by which the lack of advocacy and formal representation of the population emphasizes their unique positionality with reference to the state's acknowledgement of their livelihoods and abodes. They are radically positioned within the 'peripheries' and are forced to engage in informal processes in order to resist the 'temporary' 'place of exception' within which they have settled.

PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Emerging out of Social Infrastructure

Social infrastructure and physical infrastructure are interconnected. In a refugee camp in Greece, social capital was found to "...be partially explained through salient infrastructure components and demographics" (Ward et al., 2020, p.

2). For example, bonding social capital was found to be connected to the presence of internal lighting fixtures (Ward et al., 2020). This reminds us that while both social and physical infrastructure are slowly developed in refugee camps, they do so in tandem.

Urban Camps

Through analyzing physical infrastructure, it is clear that the slums of the urban poor and refugee camps share many similarities. The process of squatting, which was introduced earlier as ‘peripheral urbanization’, applies not only to the urban poor, but to refugees as well (Sanyal, 2011). Whilst our imaginaries of refugee camps might only consist of tents provided by international funding, refugees actively create and consolidate their living situations through informal practices, just like the urban poor (Sanyal, 2014). This slow development of physical infrastructure within refugee camps can also be thought of through the lens of ‘the quiet encroachment of the ordinary’. Sanyal (2014) argues that the acts of agency that form the peripheral urbanization present in refugee camps should not be thought of as a “...grand attempt at rebellion. Rather they are attempts to make spaces ‘ordinary’ through the processes of squatting and building that try to reclaim ‘normal’ life and create a ‘home’” (p. 570). Often this slow development is because refugee camps are designed to be temporary, so any permanent architecture may be taken down by authorities, just as the

state does to slums, meaning refugees seek to avoid being noticed as they slowly build infrastructure that transforms camps into urban environments.

Resulting Indicators of the Urban

The infrastructure that has surfaced as a result of the processes deconstructed above highlights a crucial aspect of how this urban form can persist. The enabling of population growth by fulfilling the needs of the inhabitants secures a more permanent temporality for the camp. Referring back to Oka’s (2011) key indicators of the urban; high population, a cosmopolitan nature, and the existence of infrastructure are necessary in order for this status to be applied to settlements. The physical infrastructure of the camp can be seen in the construction of schools and health facilities that have in fact been provided by the state due to the prolonged endurance of the camp (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000), and by a well-established telecommunication network which allows for efficient financial transactions within the informal economy (Oka, 2011). As a strong example of linking capital, this interplay between the residents and the state acknowledges both formally and informally how the camp is urban in the context of ‘peripheral urbanization’.

CONCLUSION

The Kakuma camp should be recognised as an urban settlement as it has transcended its intended temporality to become an ever growing area of complex networks and infrastructure defined by the agency of its population. Guided by the theoretical frameworks presented in this essay, and acknowledging the profound challenges of living under a 'place of exception' that suspends the refugee population from Kenyan law, a justified conclusion has emerged that shows how interactions with the state and international organisations have fostered a growing populace dependent on 'peripheral urbanization'. Bonding, bridging, and linking social capital have promoted an environment conducive to the construction of both social and physical infrastructure which provide necessary services in the camp that

relevant power structures have failed to fully integrate. We therefore contend the postulation of the camp of Kakuma as urban, but recognize it is distinct from other forms of urbanism.

By presenting and accepting the camp of Kakuma as a non-temporary urban form, this essay does not only give a current perspective on the social and physical structures of the camp, but it recognises and validates the experiences of the population in the urbanization process and may influence the state to reconsider its political and legal status as a settlement. Furthermore, the discussion of these processes questions the efficacy and *raison d'être* of the role and motivation of large agencies in creating and maintaining the camp, but also fundamentally challenges what the urban looks like and who shapes it.

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Green Masculinity: Applying the Compensatory Consumption Thesis to Sustainable Consumption

by: Anique Baillon

Changes to individual consumption patterns are crucial to addressing the climate and biodiversity crisis. However, the influence of gender on consumption habits increases the complexity of changing consumption habits amongst men. This essay applies the theory of compensatory consumption to demonstrate that the fragility of North American masculinity has resulted in men consuming in ways that compensate for their lack of individualism, autonomy, and physical prowess. The consumption choices that favour these characteristics, such as eating meat, driving cars, and abstaining from green products, increase global GHG emissions and environmental degradation. This paper argues that widespread sustainable consumption cannot be achieved without addressing the gendered dimensions behind consumption choices.

Green Masculinity: Applying the Compensatory Consumption Thesis to Sustainable Consumption

In July 2021, the IPCC reported that the planet is likely to exceed the 2°C threshold for catastrophic climate change unless immediate cuts are made to greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (IPCC, 2021b, p. 32). However, they also found that “human actions still have the potential to determine the future course of climate” (IPCC, 2021b). Therefore, lifestyle changes need to be adopted by the public to address climate change and environmental degradation. While some lifestyle changes have occurred, they have not yet been widespread enough to alter the path of climate change, so finding ways to speed up this transition is crucial. Previous research has found that men are less inclined to make

environmentally friendly decisions about their lifestyles (Brough et al., 2016). Based on this research and the knowledge that “consumption activities are fundamentally gendered”, this essay will apply the thesis of compensatory consumption to the consumption choices made by North American men to determine if this is a barrier to widespread sustainable consumption (Bristol & Fischer, 1993, p. 519). For the sake of convenience, North American men will be limited to Canadian and American men, due to the shared history, language, and culture of these two countries, as well as the inaccessibility of data on Mexican men. Specifically, Holt and Thompson’s understanding of compensatory consumption as the scenario in which North American men “use the plasticity of consumer identity construction to forge atavistic masculine identities

based upon an imagined life of self-reliant, premodern men who lived outside the confines of cities, families, and work bureaucracies” will be used as a framework to understand gendered consumption practices (2004, p. 426).

This essay will argue that this type of consumption behaviour results in lower levels of participation in sustainable consumption by men and therefore limits widespread societal uptake. Sustainable consumption was defined in the Oslo Symposium in 1994 as:

the use of goods and services that respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life, while minimising the use of natural resources, toxic materials and emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle, so as not to jeopardise the needs of future generations. (Norwegian Ministry of the Environment)

This essay will address sustainable consumption in the form of green products, transportation, and food. The barriers to the adoption of sustainable consumption practices by men will be explored through three characteristics of North American manhood: individualism, autonomy, and physical prowess.

Applying the Compensatory Consumption Thesis to North American Men

Compensatory consumption is a theory that is used to understand non-utilitarian consumption practices that are “undertaken, implicitly or explicitly, to offset a threat to one’s identity” (Rucker & Galinsky, 2012). Holt and Thompson explore how consumption can be used to compensate for a perceived decline in manliness by applying it to men in a North American context (2004). The European men who participated in the colonization of North America shaped the

contemporary ideal of manhood which is based on characteristics such as a “rugged individualism, an adventurous spirit, risk-taking, displays of physical prowess, and most of all, a high degree of personal autonomy” (Holt & Thompson, 2004, p. 426). However, contemporary men are predominantly employed in desk jobs with little space to fulfil these characteristics of manhood. Instead, they turn to consumption practices to recreate the traits of the masculine figures of the colonial imaginary, such as cowboys and mountain men (Holt & Thompson, 2004). This process affects men more than women because masculinity is “both more narrowly defined (making masculinity more easily threatened) and socially valued (making men more motivated to recover it) than femininity” (Willer et al., 2013, p. 982). Research has found that the masculinity of North American men is more precarious than in other regions, and any threats to it result in anxious and defensive behaviours, which is why

this essay will focus on North America, although Mexico will be excluded due to an absence of data (Vandello et al., 2008).

It is also important to note that the precarious masculinity of North American men is reliant on a historical precedent that was largely white. Therefore, the practices of compensatory consumption highlighted below may not be applicable to men of all races and backgrounds in North America. However, the most recent census data shows that 72% of Canadians and 60% of Americans self-identified as white meaning that white men represent the majority of men in North America (Statistics Canada, 2017a; U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). Furthermore, this group of men is somewhat limited by class, as this theory relies on the ability to make choices regarding consumption, which may not be possible for men with lower incomes. Finally, expectations of masculinity and gender roles are usually experienced differently by bisexual, gay, and transgender men than by cisgender and heterosexual men (Landreau & Rodriguez, 2012). Since lower adherence to traditionally masculine gender roles indicates a higher likelihood of sustainable consumption choices, like vegetarian diets, this paper will focus primarily on cisgender and heterosexual men (Rosenfeld & Tomiyama, 2021). While this paper is unable to consider all the possible

variables that modulate the expectations of masculinity in North American men, it will strive to address the majority of this demographic. It will hypothesize that the ways in which North American men rely on consumption to uphold their precarious gender identity create a barrier to sustainable consumption practices.

Rugged Individualism and Green Products

One of the core tenets of North American masculinity is rugged individualism, meaning that men see themselves as independent and self-reliant. Contemporary men struggle to affirm this individualism in their heavily restricted daily lives. Since consumption is used as a prop to support gender identity, sustainable consumption is influenced by the importance of individualism to masculinity (Holt & Thompson, 2004). Today, many products, such as clothing or cleaning products, are made with the intention of creating less GHG emissions or pollution than competing projects. These products are then marketed as green or sustainable using eco-labels and branding. Men are significantly less likely to consume products that are marketed as green or sustainable when that marketing uses assertive language (i.e., you should buy this) (Costa Pinto et al., 2014). This is because they want to be seen as individuals whose actions are not controlled by others (Costa Pinto et al., 2014). Therefore, men compensate for

their lack of individual choice in their daily lives by refusing to be swayed by environmental branding. In contrast to this ideal of individualism, women are expected to care for others, rather than focusing on themselves. The result of these gender roles is that women are more communally oriented, and men are more individually oriented (Kalamas et al., 2014). Therefore, men are less likely to consider the broader social or environmental impacts of the products they buy. They continue to defend their individualism by overlooking these impacts and the marketing strategies that highlight them, and instead of using other criteria, such as price or status, when making consumption choices. Finally, there is a “cognitive association between the concepts of greenness and femininity” that invalidates the use of green branded products as props for masculinity (Brough et al., 2016, p. 579). Therefore, compensatory consumption stops men from buying products that are marketed as green or sustainable due to their individualistic orientation and the marketing strategies used, which contributes to the progression of climate change and environmental degradation. To overcome this limitation to the widespread use of sustainable products, green branding will need to be altered to be more palatable to men trying to attain the ideal of the individualistic North American man.

Personal Autonomy and Automobility

While individualism is about self-reliance, Holt and Thompson’s “high degree of personal autonomy” is about men feeling that they control their own lives (2004, p. 426). In contemporary North America, most men are employed in positions where they are subordinate to a supervisor or manager meaning that there is little autonomy in their day to day lives. This results in consumption choices that are specifically aimed at reinforcing the feeling of autonomy. This element of masculine identity results in compensatory consumption with regards to transport choices. Cars are an important source of GHG emissions that are contributing to climate change, pollution, and human mortality (Jain & Guiver, 2001). However, they are also an important source of autonomy in modern life, as they give the driver “the flexibility of just going when [they] want to go and arriving when [they] want to arrive” (Nixon, 2014, p. 94). The importance of autonomy in the face of contemporary lifestyles makes men more likely to be attached to their cars, which act as a prop for gender identity or “a talisman of masculinity” (Duerringer, 2015). This facet of compensatory consumption limits men’s uptake of sustainable transportation choices that have reduced autonomy, such as public transportation or carpooling. Surveys have found that Canadian men account

for 42% and American men account for 45% of transit users (Statistics Canada, 2017b; Clark, 2017). Women are also less likely to have drivers' licences (Jain & Guiver, 2001). Public transit provides relatively less autonomy than a car in terms of mobility specifically, which makes it less effective as compensation for the loss of autonomy in the lives of contemporary men. However, living car-free is one of the individual actions with the highest impact on individual GHG emissions (Wynes & Nicholas, 2017). In the interest of encouraging widespread adoption of a car-free lifestyle, men's need for autonomy as a reinforcement of their gender identity will need to be considered. The replacement of cars with cycling, walking, or electric vehicles may be an alternative, as these are sustainable transport methods that maintain autonomy. However, efforts to adopt public transportation as a widespread method of transportation will continue to be limited by the purchase and use of cars to compensate for a lack of autonomy in the lives of North American men.

Physical Prowess and Diet

Perhaps the most obvious expectation of North American manhood is physical strength and prowess. Few contemporary men are hunting for their meat or chopping down trees to build their own homes, so they may attain the expectation of physical prowess through consumption. One way to use

compensatory consumption to affirm physical prowess is a meat-eating diet. Meat has historically been associated with masculinity due to the predominance of male hunters, and later, the reservation of meat for powerful men (Sumpter, 2015). Meat can validate men's gender identity as a whole because meat is seen as "a masculine food and meat-eating a male activity" (Adams, 2016, p. 4). Additionally, vegetarians are perceived as less masculine than meat-eaters, which reinforces the use of meat as a prop for masculinity (Ruby & Heine, 2011). Meat is also perceived as a source of strength and a way to build muscles, which has been reinforced by historical events such as the restriction of meat-eating to soldiers in World War Two (Lax & Mertig, 2020). In a context where many men do little physical labour, strength and muscle, signs of physical prowess, must be built intentionally through diet and exercise. Therefore, meat consumption allows men to reinforce their physical prowess through appearing muscular and establishing a connection to hunting. However, vegan and vegetarian diets have significantly lower GHG emissions and lower land-use needs, when compared to meat-eating diets, while still being healthy for both men and women (Willett et al., 2019). Despite this, only 5% of Americans and 6% of Canadians consider themselves vegetarian or vegan (Charlebois et al., 2018; Hrynowski, 2019). Men, especially those with more conformity

to traditional gender roles, report that “they eat all types of meat more frequently, including beef, pork, fish, and chicken” than women (Rosenfeld & Tomiyama, 2021, p. 6). Based on the compensatory consumption thesis, this gender divide occurs because men use their meat-eating to compensate for the lack of validation of their physical prowess in their daily lives. They are therefore unwilling to adopt meat-free diets, despite the evidence of their benefits to the climate and environment. This further supports the theory that compensatory consumption is limiting the uptake of sustainable lifestyle choices. In the case of meat-eating, marketing meat alternative products to masculine audiences, such as using NBA players in advertisements like the 2020 Beyond Meat campaign featuring JaVale McGee, DeAndre Jordan and Chris Paul, might help associate vegetarian and vegan diets with physical prowess (Beyond Meat, 2020). This could help overcome the barrier of compensatory consumption to sustainable eating practices.

Conclusion

There are other variables that influence sustainable consumption

choices, such as education level and income (Brécard et al., 2009; Chekima et al., 2016). However, sustainable consumption movements have attempted to address these and have not succeeded in creating widespread lifestyle changes, suggesting that other factors are influencing this situation. This essay argues that the fragility of North American masculinity in contemporary settings leads many men to consume in ways that compensate for their lack of individualism, autonomy and physical prowess. This results in consumption practices, such as eating meat, driving cars, and abstaining from green products, that increase global GHG emissions and environmental degradation. Attempts to convince many men to adopt sustainable consumption choices have been unsuccessful because these approaches have failed to consider the importance of unsustainable consumption choices in the validation of manhood. Therefore, the promotion of sustainable consumption must be augmented to align with the ideal of North American manhood, or the expectations of masculinity must be changed if a sustainable society is to be achieved.

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Towards an Ecological Education

by: Oskar Steiner

Contemporary institutions of higher education (HE) are poorly situated to adequately address the proliferating environmental crises that we face today. Thus far, efforts to integrate environmental affairs as a subject of study in HE have largely consisted of attempts to technicize and rationalize sustainability as a distinct and specialized field of study which inhibits transdisciplinary collaboration and understanding. I suggest that such an approach is rooted in a pervasive mechanistic ontology inherited from Enlightenment thinking which emphasizes notions of manipulation and control over interdependence and embeddedness. As a result, with certain exceptions, education for sustainability in HE today produces a truncated understanding of humanity's relationship with nature that leaves students ill-equipped to challenge and transform the systemic drivers of our present crisis. Alternatively, a truly ecological education system is needed, in which emphasis is placed on experiential forms of knowing and 'the environment' is conceptualized not as a separate field of study but as a cross-cutting consideration integral to the pursuit of knowledge in all its forms.

Over the last ~70 years, as our societies have become ever more aware of our unprecedented capacity to shape and influence the natural environment, environmental concerns have entered the mainstream. Of particular interest is the manner in which higher education (HE) has adapted to address these emergent issues. As a venue for the production and dissemination of knowledge, values, and methodologies, HE plays a key role in shaping our broader societal outlook with regards to environmental matters. A critical exploration, then, of how these institutions conceive of and propagate 'sustainable' practices and worldviews is of crucial importance when seeking to understand (or change) contemporary environmental ethics and practices. I argue that HE

institutions have thus far broadly attempted to pedagogically integrate environmental concerns as compartmentalized technical-rational subjects of study, exemplified by the Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) movement. This approach, however, is inadequate in the face of a crisis that is both born from and poses a foundational challenge to our mechanistic ontological paradigm, by which I mean a system of being in which the nature of the whole is reducible to its parts which are singular and mobile—classical mechanics comes to mind. Alternatively, an *ecological* turn in education is needed, with a focus on trans-disciplinarity and experiential forms of knowing. Deriving from the Greek *oikos*, meaning household,

‘ecological’ here refers to a line of enquiry that investigates, from a holistic and evolutionary perspective, the recursive relationships through which we—human society—are embedded within and part of our planetary ‘household.’

The University of Bologna, generally recognized as the first of its kind, offered only three upper-level specializations: medicine, law and theology. However, with the emergence of the scientific revolution, schools became increasingly specialized and fragmented (Bhattacharya, 2012). What has resulted is a system of what Basil Bernstein terms ‘singulars’: knowledge structures possessing “specialised discrete discourse...practices, rules of entry, examinations, licences to practice, distribution of rewards and punishments” (2000, p. 52). The proliferation of distinct ‘Sustainable Development’ and ‘Environmental Studies’ faculties (Zahid et al., 2021) exemplifies the manner in which HE has accounted for environmental concerns in much a similar manner—knowledge of environmental matters, rather than being integrated as a fundamental transdisciplinary consideration, has entered the realm of siloed expertise (with some limited exceptions.) This has produced a profound intellectual isolation and erected significant barriers to collaboration and cooperation (Orr, 1996).

The modern university system is steeped in an underlying reverence for the pursuit of knowledge as a tool of illumination and control (Muller & Young, 2013). In turn, as our technology and capacity to manipulate our surroundings have advanced, the implications of conflating progress with productivity, or what Marcuse (1968) coined ‘technological rationality’, has increasingly penetrated HE. (Bessant et al., 2015). In this way, movements like ESD are driven by an instrumental rationality that seeks sustainability as a means to serve a supposedly universal (yet deeply political) end. This ‘colonization of the imaginary’ (Latouche, 2014) means that education about our degradation of the natural world has been discharged of any contentious social implications—as opposed to being understood as a politically and socially contingent question of power and values (Orr, 2020).

This pedagogical conceptualization of the environment as a distinct and separate question to be addressed through techno-rational means is entirely inadequate. Beyond the obvious environmental threats posed by an approach unprepared to question the indefinite expansion of human dominion, the mechanistic ontological underpinnings of such an outlook are crucially incapable of addressing the systemic, interdependent and evolutionary nature of the environmental crisis

(Steiner, 1993). By mechanistic ontology here I refer to the culturally specific manner in which the Western intellectual tradition conceives of, consciously or otherwise, the ordering principles of existence; that is, the framework within which we understand the metaphysical relationships between different facets of reality. Embodied by Newtonian physics but equally present in the social sciences (Mirowski, 1989), a *mechanistic* ontology is thus characterized by the manner in which it sees the universe as fundamentally consisting of individual components whose interactions produce larger phenomena. A machine is reducible to its parts, which are reducible to their material composition, which are reducible to their atomic structure. Causality runs bottom-up and a strict hierarchy of phenomena exists with a constant tendency for downwards reductionism (Steiner, 1993). ESD, for example, conceives of sustainability largely as but one particular bolt within the global machine that can be strengthened through technological and methodological fortification (Kopnina, 2012). For the operations of the system to become more sustainable, it suffices to isolate and reinforce solely those elements deemed relevant instead of questioning the regulating impact of the system on its components. This results in an exaggerated focus on the *parts* at the detriment of the *whole*. It equips students to focus on the micro, leaving

the meso and macro unchallenged. Climate change, biodiversity loss, and pollution are not exclusively the product of distinct and identifiable actors or processes—they are the symptomatic expression of structural systemic illness in which we are all implicated (Meadows, 2008). These issues cannot be simply understood as the sum of their parts, but as nodes in an all-encompassing system which must be addressed in its totality; HE for sustainability must reflect this.

Following a mechanistic ontology is the conceptual leeway for control and manipulation that is introduced. When individual parts can conceptually be invariably refitted and retooled to serve a new purpose, domination is encouraged. Additionally, when a perpetual ability to tinker and remould is suggested, the permanence of our actions is discounted as a problem to be dealt with in the future (Steiner, 1993). This outlook, I argue, rests at the core of our relational problem with the natural world. It has led us to engage in the wholesale subjugation of the environment in the name of progress while simultaneously reassuring us that our path to salvation must simply involve more of the same.

Thus, discussions of the environment in HE today largely fails to consider the paradigmatic implications of the crisis we are faced with. Instead of challenging our

students to explore the murky origins of their preconceptions and tear down the walls of the mechanistic ontological confines erected over the last few centuries, environmental issues are most often rationalized and technicized by the university system; they may become subsumed into the status-quo as just another problem and blocked from sparking the sort of systemic revolution that is so urgently required.

If a shift of such proportions is required in the way environmental matters are treated by HE, what exactly must such a change encompass? A helpful distinction can be borrowed from Murray Bookchin who crucially differentiated between *environmentalism* and *ecology*. Environmentalism for Bookchin designated “A mechanistic instrumental outlook that sees nature as a passive habitat composed of ‘objects’ such as plants and animals...that must merely be rendered serviceable for human use” (Bookchin, 2021, p. 85). Rather than questioning man’s domination of nature, environmentalism “seeks to facilitate that notion by developing techniques for diminishing the hazards caused by [our] reckless despoilation” (p. 86). Viewed in this way, the aforementioned technical and mechanistic nature of programs like ESD fall firmly under the banner of ‘environmentalism.’ Conversely, ecology for Bookchin implicates an ‘evolutionary’ cosmology, in which

interdependences between the parts and the whole—the all-encompassing social and natural ecosystem we find ourselves inextricably embedded in—are systematically unravelled. The goal becomes one of overall harmonious equilibrium and balance rather than efficiency or preservation, a simultaneous understanding of both *wholeness* and *complexity* (Bookchin, 2021, as cited in Best, 1998). If today’s universities provide an environmental education, an ecological turn offers the conceptual weight to challenge the thought structures responsible for our crisis. It is worth briefly exploring what exactly such a development might entail—namely, a transdisciplinary approach to knowledge and an education grounded in exploratory lived experience as opposed to ends-based abstract thought.

What does it mean to educate with wholeness and complexity in mind? The disciplinary segregation of environmental affairs has been discussed, but what might an ecological approach offer in its place? Surely the solution is not as simple as adding an eco-themed lecture to each syllabus. Ecology, conversely, seeks a certain transcendence of disciplinary labels (Orr, 1990). As Alfred Whitehead wrote in 1929, the ultimate subject for education must be no less than “life, in all its manifestations,” lest a “fatal disconnection of subjects” transpire (Whitehead, 1967 pp. 6-7). While by no means is the aim to suggest that

specialized knowledge possesses no value (quite the opposite), the structure of modern HE has rendered cross-specialty collaboration a strenuous exercise in knowledge translation obstructed by disciplinary egos. What is needed, in fact, are specialists in the integrative process themselves, what Boyden calls ‘comprehensive scholarship’ (Boyden et al., 1981)—specialists with an intricate understanding of the general, the relationships and the connections. HE must adapt to foster a higher valuation of this sort of generalist knowledge that allows students to identify cross-cutting patterns and contextual implications, to see the whole as greater than the sum of its parts and the parts as greater than a factor of the whole (Hoelscher, 2009). This will allow the environmental crisis to be considered in ecological terms and for students to comprehend the environmental crisis as a transdisciplinary *systemic* issue as opposed to an exclusively scientific (or political or economic) matter.

Such transdisciplinarity must equally escape the realm of a priori instrumental reason. Modern HE operates with a truncated rationality that asks ‘how’ but not ‘why’; preoccupation is given to “fast knowledge”—a utilitarian line of thinking that values reason over wisdom, offers pretenses to objectivity and is radically disconnected from the personal experience of those producing

it (Orr, 1996). An ecological education, with an exploratory focus on understanding, offers an alternate pedagogy with room for tacit and personal knowledge (cf. Polanyi, 1962) that is produced interactionally through lived experience, in the absence of any explicit ends-determined inquiry (MacKinnon, 2012; Steiner, 1993). By integrating capacities to understand, share and value personal knowledge, students may begin to see environmental matters in a deeply personal light. This affords a greater appreciation and urgency of the present crisis, but also helps ground inquiry in an intellectual project driven by deliberately determined goals and values, as opposed to the inertial and near-autonomous behemoth that is the industrialized HE system.

While programs of this variety are already emerging—Dan Longboat, Andrejs Kulnieks and Kelly Young (2013) highlight the development of the Indigenous Environmental Studies (IES) program at Trent University which “addresses the need to value diversity and integrate science with Indigenous Knowledge” (p. 14) by incorporating the teachings of Elders into curriculums on climate and ecology—such occasions are regrettably rare. While 41 out of 62 Indigenous Higher Education Institutions across Canada and the United States offer IES programs, such perspectives remain frequently marginalized or siloed in

non-Indigenous-controlled institutions (Leonard, 2021). This said, when institutions do decide to incorporate holistic and ecological perspectives in a similar manner, the results are promising. As but one example, the Environmental Studies Programs (ESPs) introduced into certain Ontario K-12 schools in the early 2000s emphasized interdisciplinary experiential learning and a cross-cutting integration of ecological considerations into the teaching process (Breunig, Murtell & Russell, 2015). Students who participated in ESPs were subsequently found to demonstrate increased engagement with environmental affairs, higher rates of knowledge retention, improved capacities for critical thinking and reflection, and, most remarkably, more developed social and interpersonal skills (Ibid.).

We face, in this day and age, a frustrating contradiction. We are by now painfully aware of the irreversible damage our society is continually

inflicting on our ecosystem. We understand that to continue on our current path is nothing short of suicidal. Yet, despite overwhelming evidence as to the earth-shattering magnitude of our predicament, our inability to comprehend the issue fully has resulted in our behaviour going largely unchallenged. This, certainly, is because we are inadequately equipped. We have been willing to invest in almost everything except ourselves. We have distracted ourselves with infrastructure, energy systems, and carbon sequestration while leaving the very society that must eventually implement these technologies malnourished and neglected by the global higher education system. Unless we are willing to offer eager and energetic students the tools to adequately learn and understand, what hope can we possibly have? The intellectual stagnation that our schools have endured for the last ~200 years is an unforgivable error. It is time for a truly ecological education; if not now, never.

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John Arrowsmith's Map of North America and its Implications for Colonial Development in British Columbia

by: Finnigan Duffield

In recent years Canada's history of colonialism has become an issue of great importance. It is crucial to investigate and to understand how our country came to be. By gaining a better understanding of Canada's development we can avoid previous grievous mistakes perpetrated under colonialism. This paper explores the political, social, and cultural functions of cartography in the colonial era with a focus on the works of John Arrowsmith. Arrowsmith was responsible for many early maps of British Columbia. His significance is clear from the fact that Mount Arrowsmith, a mountain east of Port Alberni on Vancouver Island, was named after him. This paper uses a comparative analysis to examine the role of cartography in a colonial context. Specifically, the paper compares Arrowsmith's Map of North America from 1857, his Ethnological map of British Columbia from 1909, and his map of Australia, from Swan River to Shark Bay embracing Australind with Port Grey. I will argue that all three maps go beyond the basic purpose of providing geographic visualization or navigation, containing within their very architecture a colonial imperative.

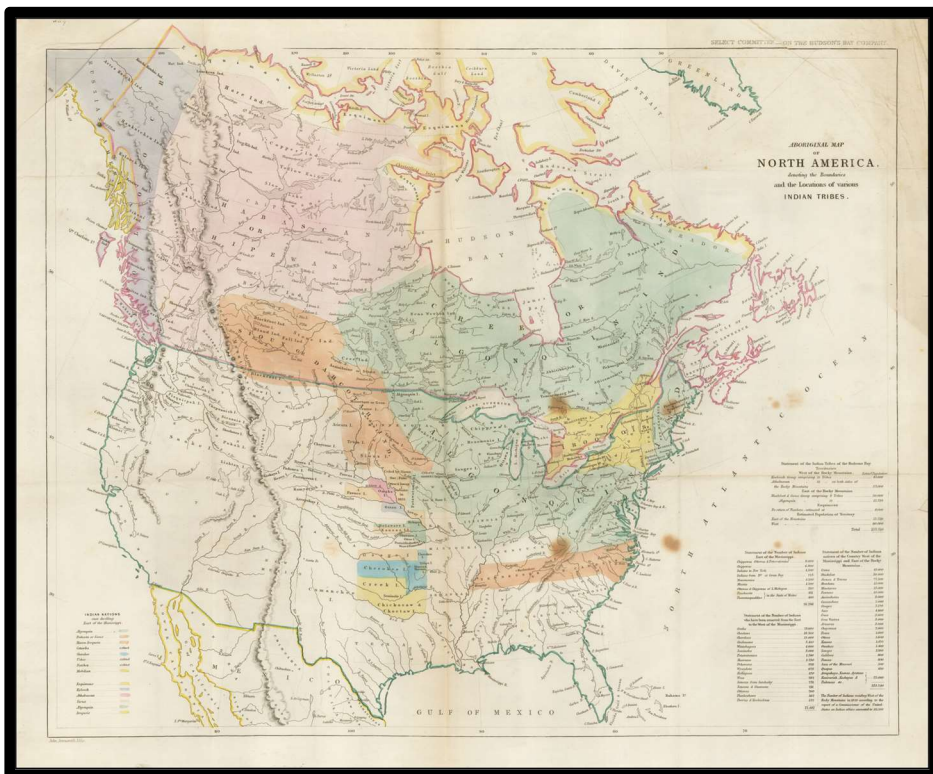


Fig.1) Full extent of John Arrowsmith's map of North America.

Maps have qualities beyond meeting the purpose of providing basic geographic visualization or navigation. Cartography was also used to fulfill social, political, and cultural functions during the colonial development of Canada. By analyzing works from this period, the functional role of cartography in a colonial context will be clarified. The map of North America created by John Arrowsmith in 1857 and published by a British

Parliamentary Committee report on the Hudson's Bay Company defined the spatial boundaries of North American Indigenous tribes. Focusing on the province of British Columbia and comparing other similar maps I will analyze how the purpose of this map was to be a political and economic tool to enable natural resource production and by doing so, assist the establishment of colonial power in British Columbia.

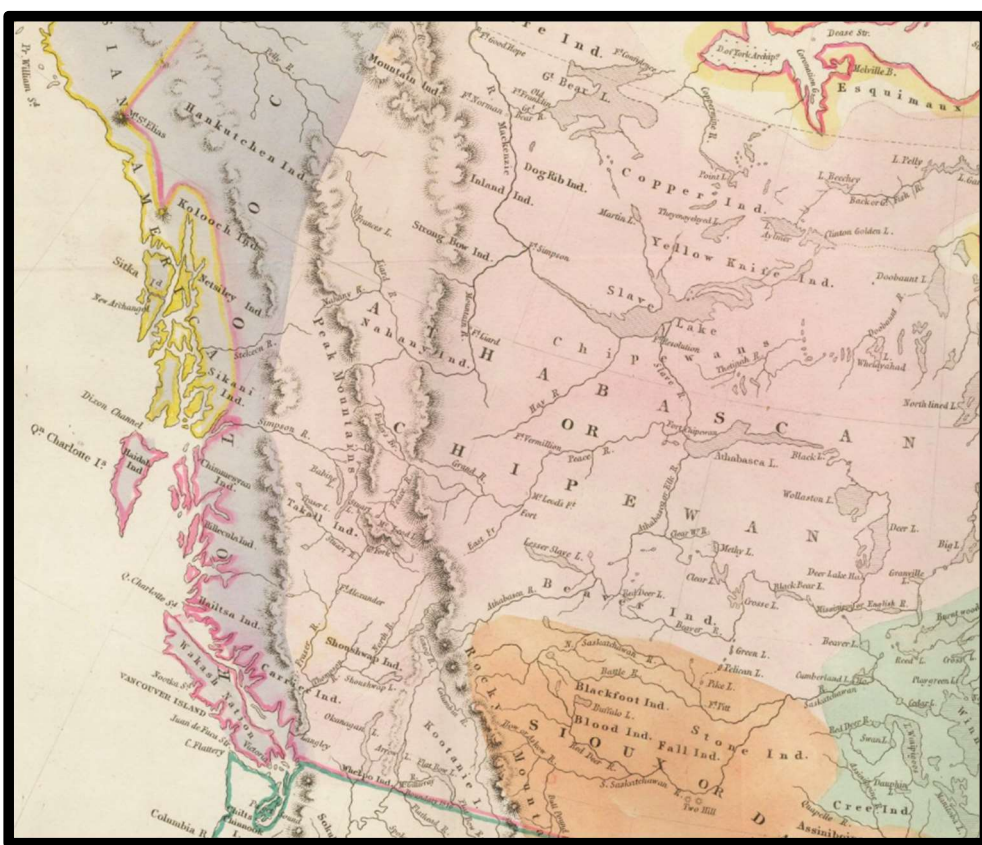


Fig.2) John Arrowsmith's map of North America focused on British Columbia, clearly defines the regions of respective Indigenous groups.

Ken Brealey's idea that maps subvert (Brealey, 1995, p. 142) is readily apparent when considering the early history of British Columbia. During

this period maps were designed through the lens of euro-centrism, "and as social constructions of reality, these maps embody the values, truth-claims

and power-structures of the culture that made them” (p. 140). The maps that the Europeans created delegitimized maps that were produced by Indigenous people; maps defining areas reserved for harvesting shellfish, fishing, hunting and spiritual significance by Indigenous people who had occupied the land for generations. Maps created under colonialism subverted the Indigenous authority, delegitimized their understanding of their environment and reshaped the identity of the land. Brealey’s description of maps is especially significant when studying the period after Alexander Mackenzie and George Vancouver arrived on the west coast of British Columbia in 1793 to begin mapping the final remaining region in the Northwest unmapped by any colonial power. More generally colonial makers began the process of unmaking the original identity of the land, prioritizing European-colonial expansion and natural resource exploration. This process characterized the map making of John Arrowsmith.

John Arrowsmith was an English Cartographer and geographic authority whose family published maps during the 18th and 19th century. Arrowsmith was a businessman and had acquired sole ownership of his family firm in 1839 before creating the map *Australia, from Swan River to Shark Bay embracing Australind with Port Grey* for the Western Australian Company

(WAC), a private colonial venture in western Australia (Skurnik, 2020, p. 18-19). For ventures like the WAC, Arrowsmith’s map was useful to visualize, and exhibit, the proposal for their colonial development in ways that words alone could not. Arrowsmith created and published many maps of places he had never been, including the map that he created for the WAC. Due to the nature of the map making process in this period a cartographer was more subjective and influenced by the effect of “circulating references” than the objective and detailed maps that are produced today (Skurnik, 2020, p.20). Cartographers would work with their sponsor to draw corresponding maps based on sketches made by explorers. The resulting maps could vary greatly depending on the cultural, social, and political perspectives and desires of the sponsor and cartographer (Craib, 2000, p. 8). Maps are effective in expressing complex concepts, especially spatial relationships, an argument emphasized by Sara Gronim (2001), who states that, “Maps are particularly suited to be instruments of persuasion. The relationships among elements on a map leap to the eye, giving maps a legibility sometimes difficult to achieve in words” (p. 373). Arrowsmith’s map (Fig. 3) was hastily drafted because the WAC had reconsidered the site location of their colonial settlement. Investors started pulling out, and so the map was necessary to reassure the investors’ confidence in the project. Arrowsmith’s

map generalizes, or excludes, any evidence of Indigenous occupation, ecological, environmental, or topographic attributes beyond the area of land that the WAC was attempting to sell. Close proximity to Indigenous settlements could cause conflict, encroachment on watersheds, flood plains, hunting grounds, or Predator ranges could make colonial development attempts dangerous or

unsuccessful which would turn off investors. And so, the inclusions and exclusions of Arrowsmith's map limit the reader's ability to assess the information in a completely objective matter, and consequently, the map serves its purpose of assuring investors about the credibility of the new project (Skurnik, 2020, pp. 18-19); which it was successful in doing.

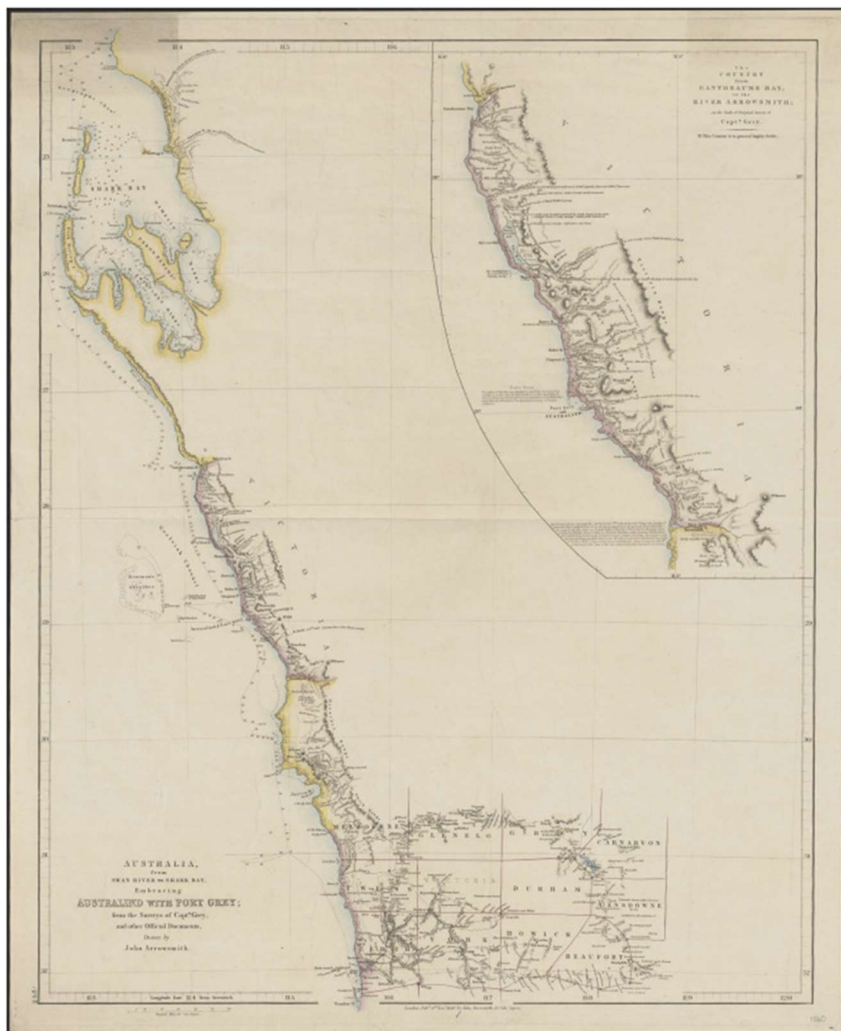


Fig.3) Australia, from Swan River to Shark Bay embracing Australind with Port Grey, by John Arrowsmith.

The influence of Arrowsmith's maps was not limited to Australia and private operations. The maps he produced garnered attention and propagated ideologies that had effects domestically in Britain and in the newly formed colonies. The maps produced by Arrowsmith stimulated the imagination of the empire domestically by giving a visual form to the ambiguous and generally unknown Pacific Northwest. Although Arrowsmith was a renowned cartographer, he "never visited the overseas colonies he depicted or personally conversed with the Indigenous inhabitants upon whom explorers...relied" (p. 20). While Arrowsmith's published maps originated from sketches made by explorers, the final maps were imaginative representations, skewed by creative liberties or even deliberate omissions and misrepresentations. His maps could control the public's understanding of the colonial process in England, for example, the omission of any indigenous settlements on his map dispossessed their occupation of the land and presented the new world as an empty wilderness, while the British invaded and colonized (Skurnik, 2020, p. 20).

Imaginative geography is inherently unreliable because imaginative maps, like the ones produced by Arrowsmith, require interpretation and cannot simply be taken as fact. The information contained in maps was often managed

by governments who would in some instances block dissemination of information that they contained (Craib, 2000, p. 9), for instance, information pertaining to the strategy of ongoing colonial development. If governments were motivated to hide information that could harm them, they would also be motivated to publicize information that benefited them. In the colonial context, maps operated as tools that extended beyond the boundaries of the page on which they were drawn. Maps, like other artistic works, have ideological effects that extend well beyond the bounds of their direct imagery influencing the beliefs and actions of those who used them. Arrowsmith's imaginative maps were a useful tool produced to promote the colonial agenda in Britain, and to propagate European ideologies of space and territory that have lasted throughout generations (Bealey, 1995, pp. 141-142).

Maps are molded by the cultural perspectives and motives of their creators and additionally they are made to serve different purposes depending on the culture that created them. Arrowsmith's map of North America was created in England during a period of extensive colonial expansion and conquest, which then shaped its form and purpose. To be more specific: "The states of early modern Europe used maps to facilitate the internal organization of their policies and their mercantile and military expansion.

Early modern European mapmakers thus made maps to aid navigation, cadastral record keeping, military planning, and for princely display.” (Gronim, 2001, p. 373). When John Arrowsmith created his maps for the WAC their purposes would have fallen into the category of “princely display” to impress shareholders; but when considering his map of North America, that categorization would not be appropriate because it served to aid in natural resource extraction and colonial development. The efficacy of maps to delineate territory for a desired ideological frame of reference made them a dangerous weapon for the colonial process in British Columbia. Arrowsmith created a framework that helped to establish land claims and

delineate ownership, which limited the representation of Indigenous territories to the colonizer’s geographical worldview (Brealey, 1995, p. 142). Arrowsmith’s map is very effective in defining the spatial boundaries of Indigenous tribes, but this delineation of Indigenous territories erroneously assumes that the Indigenous approach to land and land ownership mirrors that of Europeans. By maintaining a frame of reference that perpetuates a static image of Indigenous land holdings, the colonizing power conceals the evolving course of land appropriation. Likewise, the comprehensive delineation of all the Indigenous tribes, general populations, locations, and movements, would advantage any militaristic or colonial strategies against Indigenous people.

Statement of the Indian Tribes of the Hudsons Bay Territories		
West of the Rocky Mountains .		Estim ^d Population
<i>Koolooch Group comprising 13 Tribes</i>		45.000
<i>Athabaskan " " 13 " on both sides of the Rocky Mountains</i>		35.000
East of the Rocky Mountains		
<i>Blackfoot & Sioux Group comprising 8 Tribes</i>		30.000
<i>Algonquin " " 12 "</i>		17.570
Esquimaux		
<i>No return of Numbers, estimated at</i>		8.000
Estimated Population of Territory		
<i>East of the Mountains</i>		55.570
<i>West " " " "</i>		80.000
	<i>Total</i>	<u>135.570</u>

Fig.3) Table taken from John Arrowsmith’s map of North America identifying Indigenous groups and sizes

Beyond territorial delineations, the map of North America also tracked demographic changes and movements of Indigenous people. On Arrowsmith's map there are a series of tables that estimate the population of various

Indigenous peoples on the eastern section of North America as well as tables recording the east-west movements of the peoples in reference to the Mississippi river.

Statement of the Number of Indians East of the Mississippi .		Statement of the Number of Indians natives of the Country West of the Mississippi and East of the Rocky Mountains .	
<i>Chippewas Ottawas & Potawatomics</i>	8.000	<i>Crows</i>	45.000
<i>Chippewas</i>	6.800	<i>Blackfeet</i>	30.000
<i>Indians in New York</i>	4.500	<i>Sioux & Tetons</i>	27.500
<i>Indians from D^o at Green Bay</i>	725	<i>Mandans</i>	15.000
<i>Menomonies</i>	4.200	<i>Minetarces</i>	15.000
<i>Miamis</i>	1.200	<i>Pawnees</i>	10.000
<i>Ottawas & Chippewas of L. Michigan</i>	530	<i>Assinaboins</i>	8.000
<i>Penobscots</i> } <i>in the State of Maine</i>	441	<i>Cumanchees</i>	7.000
<i>Passamaquaddies</i> }	400	<i>Osages</i>	5.120
	26.796	<i>Sacs</i>	4.800
		<i>Crees</i>	3.000
Statement of the Number of Indians who have been removed from the East to the West of the Mississippi .		<i>Gros Ventres</i>	3.000
<i>Creeks</i>	25.000	<i>Aricaras</i>	3.000
<i>Choctaws</i>	18.500	<i>Chayennes</i>	2.000
<i>Cherokees</i>	15.000	<i>Foxes</i>	1.600
<i>Chickasaws</i>	5.400	<i>Ottos</i>	1.600
<i>Winnebagoes</i>	4.600	<i>Kansas</i>	1.470
<i>Seminoles</i>	3.000	<i>Omahas</i>	1.400
<i>Potawatomics</i>	1.540	<i>Ioways</i>	1.200
<i>Shawnese</i>	1.250	<i>Caddoes</i>	800
<i>Delawares</i>	826	<i>Pancas</i>	800
<i>Wyandots</i>	623	<i>Sacs of the Missouri</i>	500
<i>Kickapoos</i>	470	<i>Quapas</i>	450
<i>Weas</i>	282	<i>Arpahays, Keawas, Ayutans</i> }	25.000
<i>Senecas from Sandusky</i>	251	<i>Kanivavish, Kaskayas & Padoucas etc.</i> }	
<i>Senecas & Shawnese</i>	211		213.240
<i>Ottawas</i>	200		
<i>Piankeshaws</i>	162		
<i>Peorias & Kaskaskias</i>	132		
	77.447		
		The Number of Indians residing West of the Rocky Mountains in 1820 according to the report of a Commissioner of the United-States on Indian affairs amounted to 171.200	

Fig.4) Table taken from John Arrowsmith's map of North America Identifying population and movement of Indigenous peoples.

The recording of Indigenous people substantiates the claim that John Arrowsmith's map was intended to support particular political objectives (Gronim, 2001, p. 374), In this case, it is supporting colonization by making it easier to maintain control

over Indigenous populations. Furthermore, to differentiate the purposes, functions and potential applications of Arrowsmith's map, its characteristics must be analyzed contextually to determine their significance. Brealey's article

“MAPPING THEM ‘OUT’: EURO-CANADIAN CARTOGRAPHY AND THE APPROPRIATION OF THE NUXALK AND TS’ILHQOT‘IN FIRST NATIONS’ TERRITORIES, 1793–1916.” contains John Arrowsmith’s map of North America as well as the Royal BC Museum’s Ethnological Map of the Province of British Columbia (EMBC), produced in 1909. Both maps delineate the territories of BC Indigenous groups. The BC provincial museum map was produced after significant development and exploration of the province had taken place which makes it a useful comparison to reference and to analyze

the map produced by Arrowsmith. Both maps were produced to identify BC’s Indigenous bands as well as the extent of their territory. There are significant differences in the details of each map, however. As discussed previously, the details of maps reflect the cultural perspectives and motivations of their creators. When compared, the two maps exemplify that the purpose of Arrowsmith’s map was to track and exploit the tribal bands controlling the land, and this would make it easier for colonizers to gain access to the resources that were discovered therein.



Fig. 5) Ethnological Map of the province of British Columbia, Provincial museum, produced in 1909. Clearly defines the individual Aboriginal territories.

As someone who never explored the West Coast of Canada, Arrowsmith relied on sketches and observations made by explorers as well as some Indigenous people. On the map produced by Arrowsmith, the shape, geometry, dimensions, and size of British Columbia are very generalized. There are also no features detailing home ranges of animal species or productive fishing areas; details which would be extremely helpful for sustained settlement in the area. This isn't surprising because Europeans had no sense of place in the new world, they didn't understand the land and the land had no history or meaning to them (Gronim, 2001, p. 374), so it appears generalized and quite sparsely detailed. Contrary to the EMBC, In Arrowsmith's map the province of British Columbia appears to be misshaped, the depiction of the Rockies and coastal mountains are not nearly substantial enough, and the shape of the Queen Charlotte Islands and coastal islands are very general and the geometry is wrong.

In summation, the physical characteristics of the province are not displayed precisely or accurately compared to the EMBC. This can be explained by divergences in explorer sketches, observations, or contrasting accounts from Indigenous people originating from political or historical disagreements, (McKittrick, 2017, pp. 197-202). Physical inaccuracies are

prevalent among maps derived by imaginative geographers such as Arrowsmith, which makes these observations unsurprising. However, it is interesting to note that the relative positions of the Indigenous territories are accurately delineated in Arrowsmith's map, which the EMBC, created more than fifty years later, corroborates. The contrast in precision between Arrowsmith's depiction of the physical environment and his delineation of Indigenous territories speaks to the relative importance of each element respectively, and exhibits the prioritization of identifying and categorizing the Indigenous land.

In 1858, only one year after Arrowsmith's map was produced, the BC gold rush began and launched natural resource extraction in BC. Arrowsmith's definition of tribal borders was integral to identifying Indigenous groups that controlled sections of land in British Columbia where resource extraction and fur trade operations would take place. Arrowsmith's map identified Indigenous groups to function as a road map for colonizers to navigate power politics, facilitate relationships and support natural resource extraction, which in turn built the foundations that supported the colonization of, and land appropriation from, the various Indigenous groups.

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The Disregard of First Nations' Concerns: Analyzing the Environmental Assessment of Jumbo Glacier Resort

by: Jessica Low & Lucia de Kleer

Jumbo Glacier Resort was a highly divisive proposal in British Columbia (BC), as numerous interested and affected parties openly opposed the project, including some First Nations groups who were concerned about environmental and cultural disturbances. This article specifically analyses how First Nations' cultural, spiritual, and environmental concerns were insufficiently addressed throughout Jumbo Glacier Resort's provincial Environmental Assessment (EA) process. Gaps in legislation divided and stoked disputes amongst First Nations due to the dissolution of First Nations' roles in the 2002 EA Act. Lack of transparency and continuity in the EA decision-making process led environmental and cultural concerns to be side-lined in the pursuit of financial gain, and mired in political biases. Colonial institutions and courts also failed to value and interpret Indigenous spirituality and culture as throughout the process they were unable and perhaps unwilling to uphold and apply the Constitution to First Nations' rights. Ultimately, this case demonstrates a failure in the EA process to meet its objectives and a tendency for environmental policy to perpetuate the legacies of colonialism in Canada.

I. Introduction

Jumbo Glacier Resort was a development first proposed by Glacier Resorts Ltd. in 1991 and was to be located on Jumbo Glacier in the Purcell Mountains of South-Eastern British Columbia (University of British Columbia [UBC], n.d.; Glacier Resorts Ltd., 2019). It would have become North America's only resort to operate year-round. However, 28 years later in 2019, its approval was revoked due to a lack of substantial construction having been completed before the deadline set during the Environmental Assessment (EA) (Glacier Resorts Ltd., 2019). This decades-long EA process involved

many local and provincial stakeholders (see Table 1).

According to Patagonia's (2015) documentary, *Jumbo Wild*, 90% of local residents opposed the development. While supportive parties such as the proponent and local government promised economic benefits (of which they would be the primary beneficiaries), the opposition, including some First Nations groups, held concerns about environmental and cultural disturbances (UBC, n.d.).

Tension between supporting and opposing parties was further provoked by the complex and ongoing territory dispute between three First Nations:

Stakeholders	Details
First Nations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ktunaxa Nation (also called Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council [KKTC]) • Shuswap Indian Band • Columbia Lake Indian Band • Sinixt Nation
Proponent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glacier Resorts Ltd.
Governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local governments (e.g. Invermere) • Province of British Columbia • Government of Canada
General Public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local businesses and residents • Community interest groups
Other Interested Groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wildsight • Patagonia • Jumbo Creek Conservation Society

Table 1: List of Stakeholders involved in the Jumbo Glacier Resort EA process (UBC, n.d.; Glacier Resorts Ltd., 2019).

the Ktunaxa Nation, Shuswap Indian Band, and Sinixt Nation over who had ownership of Jumbo Valley (UBC, n.d.). The Ktunaxa consider Qat'muk (Jumbo Valley) a sacred area that is home to Kławła Tuktułakʔis (the Grizzly Bear spirit; also known to the Sinixt Nation as “piq-s-mx-ikn” or White Grizzly Bear) and is central to their cultural and religious beliefs (UBC, n.d.; Ktunaxa Nation, 2010; Sinixt Nation, n.d.). The Ktunaxa claimed that the resort's development would drive grizzly bears away from the area, thus interfering in their ability to achieve spiritual fulfilment protected under Freedom of Religion rights in section 2(a) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (*Ktunaxa Nation v. British Columbia*, 2017). However, the Shuswap Indian Band maintained that

the Ktunaxa do not have claims to the land and instead have asserted their own rights to the valley (UBC, n.d.; Sam, 2010). Currently, the Sinixt Nation maintains claim over the Headwaters of the Columbia River, located at the entrance of the Jumbo Valley, and fought the project to preserve the sacred elements of water, air, earth and fire (Sinixt Nation, n.d.). Thus, the land has value to the three nations, necessitating an added degree of care in project assessments.

Failures of the Jumbo Glacier Resort EA process are well cited in media coverage, but an in-depth look into those issues and the post-court legal dealings has yet to be produced. Therefore, this report specifically seeks to explore and analyse how the BC

provincial EA process failed to appropriately address First Nations' cultural, spiritual, and environmental concerns. This case is of particular importance in the EA sphere, as it demonstrates the inadequacies of the process in meeting its objectives and highlights an overarching failure of Canada's commitments to fostering meaningful Indigenous reconciliation.

II. Review Under the BC Environmental Assessment Act

The BC Provincial Environmental Assessment Act (BCEAA) was the main legal assessment process used to review the Jumbo Glacier Resort project. While it was initially reviewed under the Commission on Resource and the Environment (CORE) preliminary review process, it subsequently transitioned to the new BC Environmental Assessment Office (EAO), for review under the 1994 BC Environmental Assessment Act (1994 Act) (Glacier Resorts Ltd., 2019). The initial application review committee, which acted from 1994 to 1998, was comprised of approximately 60 individuals representing different federal and provincial government agencies, as well as First Nations, specifically from the KKTC, Shuswap Indian Band, and Columbia Lake Indian Band (Environmental Assessment Office [EAO], 2005; Glacier Resorts Ltd., 2019). However, at the time, the 1994 Act underwent

amendments that culminated in a new 2002 Act; replacing the initial review process. The 2002 legislation has since been criticised for several deficiencies (Haddock 2010). In August 2004, the EAO finalised the review process and approved the project. Two-months later, a 5-year Environmental Certificate was awarded allowing for the Jumbo Glacier project to begin construction (Glacier Resorts Ltd., 2019).

It is our assertion that the BC EAO and its BCEAA (2002) process did not properly assess First Nations' cultural and environmental concerns by; (1) undermining First Nations' roles, (2) lacking continuity, and (3) allowing political bias to influence the decision-making processes.

First Nations' Roles

The BCEAA process undermined First Nations' roles throughout the Jumbo Resort review process by; (1) decreasing their involvement between the 1994 and 2002 Acts, and (2) discriminating between the different Nations.

The 1994 Act mandated that for all project review processes, local governments and First Nations were required to be part of the project review committee (Haddock, 2010). Therefore, under the 1994 Act, the Ktunaxa, Shuswap Indian Band, and Columbia Lake Indian Band were all invited to become advisors (EAO,

2005). Formal positions on the committee allowed First Nations groups to voice their cultural and environmental concerns, ensuring they were legally addressed and equally considered. However, with the amendment of the Act in 2002, that engagement with First Nation groups was no longer required, resulting in the loss of their legal leverage.

During the 2002 Act review process, engagement with the Shuswap Indian Band was favoured over that with the KKTC. From the beginning of the project the KKTC and Columbia Lake Indian Band expressed their opposition to the Jumbo Glacier Resort, as they argued that it would impact grizzly bear populations, and their traditional and sacred uses of the land (EAO, 2005). The Shuswap Indian Band, conversely, expressed their openness to the proposal, as long as they were also able to benefit from the economic gains of the project. The government, recognizing the Shuswap's shared interest in prioritising economic growth and the potential to streamline the process, favoured consultation with the Shuswap Band and sought their consent over the KKTC's.

The EAO has affirmed that they invited the KKTC to take part in the technical review committee under the 2002 Act, and even offered financial assistance, but the KKTC refused to participate (EAO, 2005). It's possible that the KKTC refused to participate as

a way to protest the changes in the 2002 Act. For example, in 2009, the BC Kwikwetlem First Nation opposed a hydro transmission line by refusing to participate in their EA review process "without substantial changes" being made to the Act (Haddock, 2010, pg. 71; *Kwikwetlem First Nation v. British Columbia (Utilities Commission)*, 2009). However, this is unlikely to be the case because the KKTC continued to submit detailed comments on EAO documents and publicly voice their opinions of the resort, and deny ever having been properly consulted (EAO, 2005 ; UBC, n.d.). It is likely that their vocal opposition motivated the committee to favour consultation with the Shuswap Indian Band.

Lack of Continuity

Decision-making within the BCEAA process was unorganised and lacked continuity. Once the BCEAA review process transitioned from the 1994 to the 2002 Act, (1) the environmental evaluation criteria changed, and (2) the weight of cultural value decreased.

The BCEAA review process attempted to take into account the KKTC's concerns regarding the Resort's impact on grizzly bears and wildlife in the area by conducting an evaluation on the local grizzly bear population, however, the evaluation criteria used changed between the Acts. The 1994 criteria stipulated that the project would need to have 'no net impact,'

however the 2002 Act amended this criteria so that the project would only need to have “not a large enough impact” for the project to be approved (Haddock, 2010). As a result, there was a larger threshold for environmental impacts to be dismissed, allowing for greater harm to the grizzly bear population. This is a prime example of the EA’s neglect and dismissal of KKTC concerns.

This change was also possible as the EA does not specify mandatory content for environmental assessment reports (Haddock, 2010). Ultimately, the review methodology is determined by what is negotiated between the proponent, agencies, and EAO. This disproportionately gives more power to the government and developer to prioritise their concerns over others.

The scope of a BCEAA review is determined by the Section 11 orders of the BCEAA law, which gives the Executive Director of the EAO the authority to choose which impacts are to be reviewed (Haddock, 2010). Within the 1994 Act, environmental, economic, social and cultural impacts had to be assessed during each review process. However, within the 2002 Act, the term ‘cultural’ was excluded from this list. Meaning, the EAO actively chose not to include it. Therefore, when the Jumbo Resort review process transitioned to the 2002 Act, a majority of the Indigenous concerns that were based on cultural effects, such as

impacts to hunting, spiritual connections, and traditional uses, were no longer considered.

Influence of Political Bias

Political bias played a role in influencing the BCEAA decision-making process, which led to the (1) prioritisation of economic benefits over other impacts, and (2) offsetting of First Nations’ concerns instead of addressing them.

According to the BC Liberal government at the time, the 2002 Act was meant to streamline the BCEAA process (Haddock, 2010). As mentioned before, one of the amendments to the Act in 2002 gave more decision-making power to the EAO executive director. This required the EAO executive director to take into consideration government policies before determining the scope and procedures of the assessment to ensure the review would be consistent with government objectives. This amendment coincided with a province-wide prioritisation of economic development, even for projects with substantial environmental risks. This was evidenced in the EAO executive director’s final recommendations for the Jumbo Glacier Resort, asserting that the project was “in the broad public interest [because it provided] significant economic benefits to government and the region” (Hesketh, 2004, pg. 3).

Project alternatives or mitigation measures to minimise impacts on the First Nation's cultural and environmental well-being were not directly considered in the assessment. Instead, the committee chose to address the consequences by developing the Impact Management and Benefits Agreements (IMBA) with the KKTC and Shuswap Indian Band which would "offset" identified repercussions (Hesketh, 2004). Offsetting refers to the compensation for a significant impact or damage that a project has caused. In this case, the environmental and cultural damages would be financially compensated. This solution does not directly address the real issues, such as the decreasing grizzly bear population, or First Nations' loss of access to their sacred land, since spiritual connections cannot simply be transferred to a new location. Instead, the IMBA only attempted to quell First Nations' opposition to the project. In October 2008, the proponent concluded an IMBA with the Shuswap Indian Band (Glacier Resorts Ltd., 2019). However, the KKTC rejected their IMBA offer.

III. Legal Hurdles (Ktunaxa vs British Columbia)

Following the approval of the Master Plan in 2007 (a detailed document specific to resorts that includes project objectives, site analysis, and strategic planning) and the extension of the Environmental

Certificate in 2009, the Master Development Agreement (MDA) was approved by the Minister of Forests, Lands, and Natural Resource Operations in 2012 (Thompson, 2012). These ratifications confirmed the proposal's approval and signified that an interim agreement between the proponent and the provincial government had been reached.

Later that year, the Ktunaxa approached the Supreme Court of BC, petitioning against the MDA for development to cease on the grounds that it would have detrimental impacts to their sacred and traditional land. The petition was dismissed in 2014, re-confirming the MDA and the 23-year review process (Glacier Resorts Ltd., 2019). One year later, the KKTC appealed the 2012 petition in the Federal Court of Appeal. They claimed the development impacts were an infringement on their Freedom of Religion rights, as outlined in subsection 2(a) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Collins, and Bakht, 2017). They also cited the Crown's Duty to Consult (under The Constitution Act, Aboriginal rights) - challenging whether consultation and accommodation of their interests were considered (*Ktunaxa Nation v. British Columbia*, 2017). Their case was unanimously dismissed (UBC, n.d.).

In 2016, the Supreme Court of Canada granted leave to hear the KKTC's appeal on the previous two

dismissals and then unanimously dismissed the appeal in 2017 (Glacier Resorts Ltd., 2019). Seven of the nine reviewing judges ruled that they found no violation of subsection 2(a) Charter Rights as the KKTC's claim did not fall within the scope, since neither the Ktunaxa's freedom to hold their beliefs nor their freedom to manifest those beliefs was infringed upon by approving the project (*Ktunaxa Nation v. British Columbia*, 2017). Although the remaining two judges did determine that the project approval violated subsection 2(a) Charter Rights to religious freedom, they still dismissed the case on grounds that their Duty to Consult with the KKTC was met.

It is apparent that the Ktunaxa's spiritual and cultural values were dismissed within the provincial and federal court systems when attempting to appeal the Jumbo Glacier Resort BCEAA approval. The courts have continuously failed to properly apply First Nations spiritual rights in two main ways: (1) they devalue First Nations' spirituality, and (2) they operate within a settler-colonial institution that is structured to disadvantage Indigenous peoples.

Devaluation

According to the Ktunaxa, "Qat'muk is a very special place where Kławła Tukłutakʔis, the Grizzly Bear Spirit, was born, goes to heal itself, and returns to the spirit world" and stewardship over the land is linked to

the mutual spiritual obligation between the Ktunaxa, Grizzly bears, and the valley (Ktunaxa, 2010, p.1). The Grizzly Bear spirit is central to their beliefs, and that includes the bears and their habitat (Ktunaxa, 2010; UBC, n.d.). In the case of Jumbo Resort, the courts failed to acknowledge First Nations' perspectives and spiritual rights on fair legal grounds. First, the federal court argued that religious freedoms do not extend to "protection of the object of belief" (UBC, n.d., para. 7). Second, the court argued that claims of infringement of Freedom of Religion requires a substantial "interference with the claimant's ability to act in accordance to his or her beliefs", which was determined not to be the case here (UBC, n.d., para. 15).

The courts misunderstand Indigenous connection to sacred land and how valuable it is to practising their freedom of religion and well-being through spiritual ceremonies. Collins and Bakht (2017) explain, "[s]acred sites play a crucial role in most Indigenous cosmologies and communities; they are as necessary to Indigenous religions as human-made places of worship are to other religious traditions" (para. 1). The definition of religious freedom has not been adapted or applied to Indigenous ways of being and knowing (The Canadian Press, 2017). These decisions are generally unjustifiable (under section 1 of the Charter) because they disrespect religious equality by allowing

development on a sacred Indigenous site without appropriate compensation and/or consent (Collin & Bakht, 2017).

Structural Inequality

Canada's conception as a nation laid the cultural foundation of settler-colonialism that sees Indigenous ways of being as inferior to that of settlers. The fundamental issue is that Canadian courts and institutions were built by settlers which forced their laws upon Indigenous peoples. As settler inventions, they are enshrined with settler values and philosophies. The implications of this are evident in many legal proceedings in which courts do not value nor seek to understand Indigenous beliefs and worship like they do the more dominant religions, such as Abrahamic religions. This structural ignorance is purposeful and violent, aiming to eliminate 'the Indigenous problem' for the sake of resource extraction (Cormier, 2017). Today, the courts are influenced by underlying colonial values, systems and lenses that lead them to inaccurately define what is considered as infringement of Indigenous freedom of religion (UBC, n.d.).

Jumbo Glacier Resort is an example of how the settler-colonial legal system inherently disadvantages Indigenous peoples. First Nations are disregarded when engaging with the legal system because it is based on settler notions and has historically been used as a discriminatory weapon

against them (e.g. the Indian Act). Court cases are often long and expensive, which places undue burden onto groups who have been historically denied economic development. Additionally, First Nations have to plead their cases in English instead of their language(s), as well as argue for the legitimacy of their religion to a government and judicial system that has no understanding of it (UBC, n.d.). The Ktunaxa (2010) expressed their frustration that "[our] language does not translate well into other languages and consequently our spiritual relationship with Qat'muk may not be fully understood by others." (p.1). Structural inequality in Canada has placed immense hardship on First Nations generally and especially when engaging with settler institutions like the courts.

The Sinixt Nation also suffered from the structural inequality built into the judiciary by being legally excluded from negotiations. The Sinixt Nation has actually been considered extinct by the government since 1965, thus nullifying their recognition as a Nation or stakeholder (UBC, n.d.). Despite their vocal opposition to this project and their evident physical and cultural existence, they were not deemed an affected party of Jumbo Resort development. Had they been included in EA negotiations and proceedings, their presence and contributions would have no doubt strengthened the Ktunaxa's case. Fundamentally, their

rights as a Nation were dismissed at best and non-existent at worst, and they had no platform from which to argue that their way of life was significantly threatened by the project. This is a significant failure of the EA and the broader judicial system in consulting all affected stakeholders.

IV. Conclusion

The Jumbo Resort case study demonstrates BCEAA's failure to appropriately address Indigenous cultural, spiritual, and environmental concerns. The imagery of a picturesque resort is tarnished with decades of protest, exclusion of marginalised groups, and disagreements in cultural understanding. The dissolution of First Nations' roles in the 2002 Act created gaps in the legislation which divided and stoked disputes amongst First Nations. On repeated occasions, First Nations' spirituality and culture are devalued, dismissed, and destroyed in exchange for economic development. It is evident that Indigenous ontologies are systematically undermined by settler-colonial institutions that lack consistency and transparency.

Looking forward, consent and appropriate compensation are key

elements to sustainable development in Canada. In 2018, the BCEAA was once again amended to provide new avenues for Indigenous involvement, seeking to arrive at a consensus with the affected First Nations in alliance with the government's reconciliation goals (Nyland, 2019). While this is a positive step forward, the 2018 BCEAA should mandate that Indigenous consent be received before approving a project in order to promote meaningful consultation.

Additionally, Canadian federal and provincial courts need to work with First Nations to learn more about their cultural practices outside of 'traditional' religions, and apply more informed definitions to an adapted legal system. A start is embedding First Nations' consent and prioritising Traditional Knowledge within the BCEAA process. Religious freedoms must extend to Indigenous Canadians in a way that is conscious of historical and present injustices. Tokenistic consultations will not suffice and a major effort is needed to create a more robust and reconciliation-centred EA process for future projects.

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Temples and Transformation: Analyzing Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft in Urban Japan

by: Marco Meyer

This paper uses a photograph taken in the Asakusa District of Tokyo to analyze the presence of Ferdinand Tönnies' concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft in urban Japan. Gemeinschaft is a social theory which proposes that people are bound by common values, traditions and social order. On the other hand, Gesellschaft is a form of social organization involving the absence of close-knit communities and family ties due to the rise of capitalism and industrialization. Money is the hallmark measurement of all values in a Gesellschaft society. It is generally proposed that these forms of organization exist separately, with Gemeinschaft occurring in rural societies and Gesellschaft occurring in urban societies; however, using the photograph, I demonstrate how aspects of both Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are simultaneously encapsulated in Japanese urban spaces.



Meyer, Marco. Sensō-ji and Nakamise Dori. Tokyo, 15 August 2019

Introduction

This photograph was taken in August of 2019 on my first visit to Japan while I was staying in the Asakusa district of Tokyo — the location of Sensō-ji, the oldest Buddhist temple in Tokyo and a quintessential symbol of Japan. This historic site, along with the surrounding Nakamise Dori, a busy shopping street, is a popular tourist attraction. The contrast between the iconic Buddhist temple and the dense city in which it is situated prompted me to reflect on the concepts of social organization proposed by Ferdinand Tönnies: *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. The duality of the image represents the differing concepts of community and society. In a *Gemeinschaft* community, people are “bound together by common values, sacred traditions, and blood ties” (Phillips, 2009, p. 173). Rigid social hierarchies exist in multiple facets of life and people are cognizant of their place in the social order. Additionally, religion is a connecting factor amongst people and life is centred around feudal institutions — churches, fortifications and castles. A *Gemeinschaft* community has a sense of commonality, as those who live in this type of society tend to have common property, heritage, and households; these close-knit communities provide a sense of warmth which is not common in larger, more populous societies (Christenson, 1984). Contrarily, due to “the rise of industrialism, capitalism, and cities” (Phillips, 2009, p. 173),

Gesellschaft involves a lack of close-knit family and friendship ties, and these social changes lead to an increase in isolated individuals and fragmented social groups. *Gesellschaft* societies place greater importance on “freedom, material success, ... and individualism” (Christenson, 1984, p. 162). Furthermore, the rise of industrialization and capitalism caused money to become the hallmark measurement of all values. Tönnies viewed *Gesellschaft* as a ‘new’ form of social order which he expected to replace *Gemeinschaft* over time. Western views portray these concepts as existing separately, with *Gemeinschaft* occurring in rural spheres and *Gesellschaft* occurring in urban spaces. After considering the photograph, I could not help but think that the current structure of Japanese cities defies the belief that *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are “equated with the rural-urban continuum” (Christenson, 1984, p. 160). In this essay, I will analyze the coexistence of aspects of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* in urban Japan by examining how traditional family ties, life around feudal institutions, and kinship organization exist within an industrial and capitalist society.

Gemeinschaft in Urban Japan

An integral part of Tönnies’ *Gemeinschaft* is the importance of familial ties and tradition, both of which can be found in Japanese business practices. Nakamise Dori, the

focal point of the photograph, is a historic street lined with shops that leads up to Sensō-ji. This street dates back to the Edo period in the 17th century. Japan has a significantly higher number of family-run companies in comparison to other countries, and many of the merchant stalls on Nakamise Dori continue to be run by the same family for generations (Spacey, 2015). Family firms make up “96.9% of the total firms and 77.4% of the total employment in Japan” (Goto, 2014, p. 79). Familial ties, as well as the value of tradition, have developed trust and cooperation between owners and shareholders. Japanese businesses tend to be transferred to other family members rather than outside of the family — something that is not commonly seen in Western culture. The practice of single-family transfer contributes to the longevity of Japanese family-owned firms (Goto, 2014). Patrilineal ties are another factor that has influenced business culture, and Dōzoku groups are one such example of this practice. In this tradition, there is one principal family supported by multiple branch families. Dry-goods dealers in cities such as Kyoto and Osaka have established Dōzoku groups — with the principal family running the head office, and branch families running branch offices. The families work as a collective to maintain the business (Okada, 1952). Businesses, such as those seen on Nakamise Dori, demonstrate how family ties — an

essential part of Gemeinschaft — are maintained in urban Japanese culture.

Another facet of Tönnies’ Gemeinschaft theory is that pre-industrial communities revolved around feudal institutions, “symbolized by church spires, fortifications, and castles” (Phillips, 2009, p. 173), which acted as the centre of life. Similarly, this concept is reflected in the Asakusa district which is built around Sensō-ji. The temple, which is dedicated to the goddess Kannon, was built in 645 AD, and community life has evolved around the temple ever since (Kamimura, 1964). Gardner (2001) notes that a culture of prayer and play developed around the temple’s vicinity; numerous types of shops and entertainers, including tea houses, circus shows, vendor stalls and toothpick shops appeared around Sensō-ji. In 1853, Hanayashiki Amusement Park, the oldest amusement park in Japan, was built behind the temple. It was originally a botanical garden but later went on to include exotic animals and rides (Hanayashiki, 2020). A ride in the amusement park can be seen to the left of the five-story pagoda in the photograph. The existence of the Hanayashiki Amusement Park further supports the notion that Asakusa was a place that combined religion and entertainment. Sensō-ji as an institution functions concurrently as the centre of the community-based prayer and play lifestyle of Asakusa. Sensō-ji is the “source of humane life” (Phillips, 2009, p. 173) that Tönnies

imagined when proposing the theory of *Gemeinschaft*.

Kinship and social order — foundational concepts in *Gemeinschaft* — continue to play a role in the social structure of Japanese cities. Japan has managed to maintain kinship in contrast to Western societies where “the kinship organization has almost lost its significance” (Okada, 1952, p. 27). In an analysis of kinship in Japan, Okada (1952) notes that there are a variety of types of hierarchies in modern Japan, such as “hierarchies in business, hierarchies amongst laborers, bureaucratic hierarchies and so on” (p. 29). These hierarchies are different from ones in the West, however, as they are not viewed as a difference in professional rank or order. For example, one type of hierarchical relationship in Japanese workplaces is the *Oyabun-Kobun*, or fictitious parent-children, relationship. Senior officials are the *Oyabun* and the subordinates, or *Kobun*, work to serve them. In return, the *Oyabun* provides protection for the *Kobun* (Okada, 1952, p. 29). While this type of relationship is common in the *Yakuza*, it is also typical in businesses. People under *Gemeinschaft* social order are “linked by a reciprocal, binding sentiment” (Phillips, 2009, p. 173). This system of social order establishes a connection between workers and superiors which transcends the strictly professional connection Western workers experience.

Gesellschaft in Urban Japan

Although Japanese cities are characterized by some of the community-based facets of *Gemeinschaft*, aspects of *Gesellschaft* are also present in these urban spaces. Industrialization, one of the societal developments that is closely intertwined with *Gesellschaft*, has had a clear impact on city life in Tokyo; industrialization in Japan allowed people to alter their social standing. The compacted buildings which sit side-by-side in the photograph are notable examples that demonstrate that this is a city which has undergone industrialization. In Japan, the industry was accelerated by the creation of expansive railroad networks that connect virtually all parts of the country. Railroad construction began “in 1872 with a 29 kilometer stretch between Tokyo and its nearest deep seaport Yokohama” (Tang, 2014, p. 867). The ability to move goods and people with the railroad system was crucial to the country’s economic development. A study by Tang (2014) found that access to the railroad system “led to higher average firm capitalization, particularly in manufacturing”, as well as a disproportionate increase in firms in “more populated and less accessible areas” (p. 863). While the development of the railway system aided the industrialization of Japan, it was the merchants who were leading the local industrial revolution. Textile producers are one example of how merchants

were leading the change. Kasuri textile makers were able to transform their businesses by introducing cotton spinning factories. Eventually, the output from these factories became so great that merchants looked outside of the region to further expand the market (Nakamura, 2014, p. 23). The textile industry is just one example of how merchants in markets, such as the market on Nakamise Dori, were able to lead the charge in Japan's industrialization. The industrial revolution created opportunities for people to elevate their place in the social system. No longer were merchants limited to their lives in the market, as they were able to expand their businesses and increase their profits, which shifted their place in the social order from merchant to manufacturer.

Industrialization and capitalism, components of *Gesellschaft*, resulted in a shift towards an individualistic society. These fundamental changes incited the opening of the country, causing foreign influence to seep into the economy and society. While individualism has not completely replaced traditional collectivism in Japan, there is evidence that a shift is happening. Over the past 50 years, there has been an increase in the divorce rate and a decrease in household size (Ogihara, 2017). Additionally, there has been an increase in the number of people living alone, and a decrease in the number of three-generation households. (Ogihara, 2017,

p. 6). These changes in Japanese society indicate that Japan is following American and other East Asian cultures in becoming more individualistic (Ogihara, 2017, p. 9). It is not difficult to understand why this is the case when looking at the photograph. In dense cities, there is insufficient space for multi-generational homes: people are more likely to live alone and have fewer children (Ogihara, 2017). As well, the large number of tourists in urban centres like Asakusa results in people becoming less likely to know those around them. In heterogeneous cities, people tend to have a wider variety of beliefs and thus are more likely to act in their self-interest (Ogihara, 2017, p. 9). In an analysis of the Asakusa Kannon Temple, Kamimura (1964) notes that if one were to observe the crowds at the temple, they would notice that there is diversity in "age, sex, living conditions, and individual ability" (p. 169) amongst the visitors. Even though collectivism has not completely faded, *Gesellschaft's* promotion of individualism has altered how society operates in Japan.

Tönnies argued that in a *Gesellschaft* society, the rise of capitalism caused people to "measure all values, including self-worth, in terms of money" (Phillips, 2009, p. 173). In the forefront of the photograph is a large advertisement for Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation (SMBC), a multinational banking institution. Its presence reminds one of the pervading influence of capitalism and acts as a symbolic image of it. Capitalism has

created societies in which money is the central focus, and one area of Japanese society where money has had a particularly large influence is elections. Many scholars believe “that money matters more in Japanese elections than in most other advanced democracies” (Cox & Thies, 1998, p. 37). Money is seen as something that is essential to a successful campaign and many politicians believe an election cannot be won without significant funding. A study by Cox and Thies (1998) looked to determine how much influence money can have on votes in a campaign. The study found that Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), a party which has almost continuously maintained power since 1955, could influence the voting percentage if more money was spent on the campaign. It was determined that if a candidate increased spending by “1 yen per elector, his or her vote share increased by about 1 percentage point on average” (Cox and Thies, 1998, p. 54). Thus, the more money a LDP candidate spends on a campaign, the more votes they receive. This ability to ‘buy’ power demonstrates the extreme influence of money that is common in a *Gesellschaft* society. The existence of the SMBC billboard in a place of worship

demonstrates how nearly every sector of a capitalist society is shaped by financial power.

Conclusion

Using Tönnies’ theories of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* and a closer examination of the photograph of the Asakusa district as a springboard for discussion, one is able to see that certain Japanese cities present a contrary view to the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dichotomy. Cities and economies that were once heavily based in community, tradition, and familial ties, have undergone changes brought on by industrialization and capitalism. These changes can be witnessed in the increase in individualism and the influence of money on the electoral system. It is not that these changes have dwarfed the existence of those elements in a simpler, more rural economy, but instead seem to work in coordination with them. As the photograph demonstrates, the Asakusa District is an embodiment of coexisting dichotomies: old and new, traditional and modern, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*; it is this attribute that makes the city unique and appealing to so many.

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Information-Cultural Capitalism: Cities in the Age of Cognitive Technology

by: Zoe (Tzu-Jo) Lin

Current revolutions in cognitive technologies suggest that we are on the brink of a new transition, from a ‘cognitive-cultural’ form of capitalism recognized only a decade ago to an even newer phase of ‘informational-cultural’ capitalism. Informational-cultural capitalism is a new mode of economic production and consumption, driven by the broad diffusion of incentives for firms to replace human employment with productive, cost-efficient, high-performance technologies of cognitive automation. Nevertheless, even as cognitive technologies seem to advance capital towards the automated self-replication of surplus value, their operation still requires data with embodied, situated, human meaning and relevance. Information remains the central source of surplus value that individuals and collectives bring to urban life in the age of cognitive technologies, creating new evolutionary hybrids of information, culture, and capital accumulation. In this essay, I explore the potential social, economic, and political impacts of informational-cultural capitalism, as well as the types of emergent urban forms that reflect its distinctive structures and processes. The analysis suggests that the age of informational-cultural capitalism entails a revolutionary yet alarming transformation in the autonomy of human identity, experience, and perception – presenting an urgent challenge to disentangle contemporary urbanization from the accelerating circulation and accumulation of capital.

Introduction

Capitalist development shapes society, and is reproduced in and through its societal and cultural context. While such interactions are multifaceted, this essay focuses on one set of capital-intensive technologies that are coming to mark the distinctive features of our present moment of planetary urbanization. Three phases of capitalist development and their accompanying urban developments can be identified in recent history: 1) the dispersed, small-scale factory and workshop system of the late 18th century; 2) the large, centralized, Fordist mass production systems of the early to mid-20th century; 3) and newer

systems of “cognitive-cultural” capitalism in the early twenty-first century (Scott, 2011; Moulier-Boutang, 2012). While these three epochs present a distilled, partial view of capitalist history, the ever-shorter durations between successive phases of transformation closely mirror the exponential rate of change observed in advances in computing and information technologies. It is urgent, then, to consider the question: what will come after ‘cognitive-cultural’ capitalism?

I argue that we are already immersed in the transition into informational-cultural capitalism – a new phase of economic production and consumption resulting from multiple

revolutions in cognitive technologies. In the same manner that machine automation has been pushing human labor out of blue-collar jobs for a century and a half (Marx, 1867, pp. 351-352), the imperatives of competition and profit are coalescing with cognitive technologies to push people out of long-established occupational and industrial niches. While machine automation in the industrial age took place alongside the expansion of service industries and cognitive workers, what types of jobs can we invent in this new age? As cognitive technologies require information for training, testing, validation, and verification, the value one brings to a capitalist city in the age of cognitive technology is information, thus giving rise to an informational-cultural form of capitalism. In light of emerging cognitive technology trends, this essay explores the social, economic, political, and cultural impacts of an impending information-cultural capitalism, as well as the types of urban forms it may produce. The analysis suggests information-cultural capitalism entails an alarming reduction in the power of people, necessitating a more careful consideration of the relationship between cities and their capitalist form.

The Cognitive Technology Revolution

The rapidly growing sector of cognitive technologies will soon yield visible effects in the economy. While previous generations of information

and communication technologies supported the workforces of cognitive-cultural capitalism by statically storing, retrieving, and transmitting the information generated by human cognition, today's cognitive technologies are independently generative. Cognitive technologies, or artificial intelligence, perform labor that previously required human intervention and guidance. These technologies have the ability to generate new information through algorithmic processing when provided with raw data. Cognitive technology takes a bottom-up approach, in stark contrast to previous technologies, and finds patterns and knowledge through algorithms that sift through vast amounts of data, looking for combinations that reliably predict outcomes. As such, these technologies are highly productive in an array of domains, from speech recognition to visual object recognition, even to drug discovery and genomic sequencing (LeCun et al., 2015).

Cognitive technologies are already proving that they can outperform humans in highly skilled professions, including the healthcare industry and legal sector. Google developed an algorithm that uses a patient's current and prior computed tomography volumes to predict the risk of lung cancer, and in a two-part retrospective reader study, the algorithm outperformed US board-certified radiologists, with reductions of 11% in false positives and 5% in false

negatives (Ardila et al., 2019). Other studies have also demonstrated the promising capability of cognitive technology in detecting rare hereditary diseases in children, genetic diseases in infants, cholesterol-raising genetic variants, neurodegenerative disorders, and more (Banda et al., 2019; Clark et al., 2019; Hsieh et al., 2019; Signaevsky et al., 2019). Cognitive technologies have also proved their potential in replacing humans in the legal sector. A 2018 study compared the performance of an algorithm, the LawGeex Artificial Intelligence, to human lawyers with decades of experience to spot issues in standard non-disclosure agreements. The algorithm outperformed the human lawyers with an accuracy of 94% against the average accuracy rate of 85% by the lawyers. Moreover, while it took the human lawyers an average of ninety-two minutes to annotate non-disclosure agreements, it only took the algorithm twenty-six seconds (Buell et al., 2018). While these technologies are not yet widely adopted, these studies illustrate their efficacy in an array of domains, and it is arguably only a matter of time before they become ubiquitous; we currently sit at the cusp of a cognitive technology revolution.

The age of cognitive-cultural capitalism valorised intelligence and innovation and, as human cognition is the driver of innovation, jobs that utilize human assets thrived (Moulier-Boutang, 2012; Scott, 2011; Wyly, 2013). However, as cognitive technology can now carry the burden of

computational processing, it is critical for us to consider the position and value of human cognition as we become increasingly replaceable by machines. For decades, neoliberal economists have used the “buggy whip” example to challenge all criticism of capitalist innovation: businesses that made the whips used to prod horses quickly saw their product become obsolete when automobiles replaced horse-drawn carriages at the end of the nineteenth century. The metaphor is used to challenge public subsidies for industries specializing in ‘old’ products, or alternatively to highlight how the companies that made an old product quickly shifted to manufacture ‘new’ products in line with changing technologies and market demands (Stross, 2010). Yet current trends suggest something different when we consider those on the receiving end of the whips. In a pair of books published by two prominent futurists in separate fields of inquiry, physicist Max Tegmark (2018) and historian Yuval Harari (2018) both offer the same chilling analogy for the equine population: when automobiles replaced horse-drawn carriages, no new horse jobs were created. Humans needed more horses with the invention of the wheel and the plow, but then they were suddenly redundant with the development and diffusion of the automobile. The U.S. equine population collapsed from about 26 million in 1915 to only 3 million in 1960. Just as mechanical muscle rendered horses

redundant, will mechanical minds do the same to humans? What value can humans bring to the table in the age of cognitive technology? Trends in the business models of today's leading companies in the technology sector provide a few hints.

Cognitive technologies' bottom-up approach necessitates vast amounts of data, for their ability to execute the tasks assigned to them is dependent on the quality and quantity of data that is provided to them. It is through data that these technologies make informed decisions and find ever-improving efficiencies in their models. Tech giants of Silicon Valley profit through the discovery of what Zuboff (2019) refers to as behavioral surplus – the traces of data left from our digital activities as we go about our daily lives. Using cognitive technologies, these data collected from user activity can generate powerful models for prediction. As these models are not limited to the context from which the data were generated, the data become valuable not just to the company that collected the data but to other businesses across sectors as well, creating new, fast-changing markets for information. If the future will indeed be dominated by the ubiquitous presence of cognitive technology in all sectors, there will be a great demand for ever more detailed forms of personal information. Increasingly intimate and invasive forms of personal data power the training, testing, and validation of cognitive technologies, driving the circuits of competition and

accumulation in an emergent form of informational-cultural capitalism.

The Implications of Information-Cultural Capitalism

Social Stratification

In the new phase of informational-cultural capitalism, class structure will be dictated by the domination of cognitive technology in all sectors, characterized by a breakdown of traditional class structure, a heightened emphasis on cultural labour and mass unemployment. Scott (2011, p. 304) identifies the upper fraction of the cognitive-cultural labor force as jobs requiring "...key skills such as analytical shrewdness, deductive reasoning, technical insight, interpersonal judgment, imaginative thinking, cultural sensibility, story-telling abilities, and so on." Half of these skills are now replaceable by artificial intelligence; thus, the cognitive part of 'cognitive-cultural' will become obsolete in the age of cognitive technology. Similarly, the servile class Scott (2011) identifies is also getting eroded by technology: automated grocery stores and dining halls, security systems, janitors, concierge services, and receptionists are gradually becoming the norm. For example, Amazon Go, a chain of grocery stores operated by Amazon, has fully automated the end-to-end process of grocery shopping (Cheng, 2019).

In the same manner that machine automation pushed people out of blue-collar jobs, thinking machines will soon be pushing people out of their current work sectors. A recent report by the World Economic Forum already observed the increasing introduction of cognitive technologies into the workplace. While previous generations of job displacement due to technological change also stimulated job growth in other economic functions, the report predicts a departure this time— that cognitive technologies will lead to a net reduction of jobs (Upchurch, 2018). The prognosis of net job loss is supported by Frey and Osborne (2017), who suggest that

almost half of all occupations and their related jobs in the United States may be under threat of disappearance in the next two decades.

Capitalism's imperative to use the cheapest methods of production is driving the replacement of human labor; however, the resulting mass unemployment will, contradictorily, lead to a society of consumers without the means to consume – effectively undermining the ability to accumulate profits. As David Harvey (2014, p. 247) lucidly notes in *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*:

“If labor is the ultimate source of value and profit, then replacing it with machines or robotic labor makes no sense, either politically or economically... Individual entrepreneurs or corporations see labor-saving innovation as critical to their profitability vis-à-vis competitors. This collectively undermines the possibility of profit.”

In accompaniment with the job displacement, there will likely be a rise in social upheavals as a result of global wealth disparity (UN Development Programme, 2013). Research from the International Labor Organization (2011) found a high correlation between social unrest and the levels of discontent over the lack of jobs. Many violent clashes between protestors and police in major cities have occurred as a direct result of citizens protesting budget austerity and joblessness. The intense rise in nationalism across Europe, and of populist leaders such as

Donald Trump, as well as the political failures and tensions in Brazil, South Africa, and Russia can all be traced to these inequalities. The rampant growth of cognitive technology under information-cultural capitalism will amplify social stratification, resulting in the acceleration towards the end of the fundamental yet unsustainable logic of capitalism.

Impacts on Socio-Cultural and Socio-Political Spheres

As this new form of economic production and consumption matures,

distinct trends of its impact on socio-cultural and socio-political spheres today will intensify, including an increase in customized cultural production, individualization, and political echo chambers. In the age of informational-cultural capitalism, processes of cultural *consumption* are serving as new systems of information-driven *production*, creating new kinds of self-referential circuits of the partially-automated production of communication and cultural meanings. For example, Netflix, the global streaming platform with a dominant market share, is a self-identified data-driven company (Basilico, 2020). Beyond the ratings of content and the number of views, the company collects vast amounts of behavioral surplus of user activity, from how often you pause, rewind, or fast forward, to the rate at which you consume content. Decision-makers at Netflix are compelled by a data-centric perspective powered by cognitive technologies to determine not only the types of content that are recommended to a user but also the types of content that get licensed, renewed, or funded (Basilico, 2020). The success of this strategy will likely drive the same data-driven model of content creation to be adopted across the creative industry.

Market processes that package culture as commodity are nothing new (Benjamin, 1935). Yet cognitive technologies enable entirely new realms of individualization of cultural consumption, accumulation of capital

and competitive advantage, and dynamic, partially automated division of cultural meaning and expression. Netflix has created large quantities of short-lived shows, capping the majority of original series at two or three seasons, maintaining market share by creating an overwhelming number of fast-changing, new options (Andreeva, 2019; Lee, 2020). The long-term effects of these algorithmically-accelerated processes suggests a society that holds little shared culture. Fragmentation is already pervasive in the current era of cognitive-cultural capitalism, result of a diversified segmentation of post-industrialized production where supply chains and manufacturing were re-arranged in ‘flexible specialization’ networks as firms and subcontractors worked in more fine-grained product and service niches (Harvey, 1989; Scott, 2011; Moulrier-Boutang, 2012). Now, generations of dramatic expansion in the menu of consumer options for cultural products have carved out new frontiers in individualized modes of thought and behavior – all of them increasingly subject to automated surveillance, commodification, and exploitation. Such developments echo classical urban theory that warned of the social anomie and alienation produced by complex divisions of labor in industrialization (Durkheim, 1893; Wirth, 1938). There is now abundant evidence that the communications technologies of informational-cultural capitalism are increasingly driving alienation, as “mass self-

communications” practices (Castells, 2015) interact with the paradoxical forms of collective isolation – algorithmically networked groups of people who are “alone together” (Turkle, 2017). Here there are subtle distinctions between the comparatively limited functions of *communications* technologies, versus the wider functionality of true *cognitive* technologies. While communications technologies have long co-evolved with processes of individualization, cognitive technologies are actively reproducing processes of division through the algorithmic automation of infinitely recursive feedback loops: cultural consumption serves as the source of data for further cultural production and commodification. Data ‘produced’ by the preferences and decisions of consumers becomes more firmly entrenched into an accelerating circuit of measurement and commodification. Our confirmation biases, fueled by the cognitive technologies that learn to generate content that caters to their users’ preferences, aggravates the creation of echo chambers – environments in which individuals encounter information and opinions optimally suited to reflect, reinforce, and reproduce their own perceptions, anxieties, expectations, and other biases. These circular systems have well-documented consequences such as ideological radicalization, the loss of shared factual knowledge, and rapid propagation of conspiracy theories (Von Behr, 2013).

To make matters worse, this stratification is not just driven by passive processes of ignorance and misinformation, but also by active and deliberate processes of manipulation and disinformation. As culture informs one’s values and decisions, the processes of cultural production and consumption can be exploited and even weaponized. Datafication of the self allows organizations to micro-target specific individuals by generating psychographic models to optimize influence on audience behaviors through cognitive technology. The algorithms, compounded with the recent development of ‘Deepfake’ artificial-intelligence visual technologies, render human cognition increasingly vulnerable to manipulation. Concerns for the future of free will, or the lack of it, have been expressed by influential writers including Zuboff and Harari (Harari, 2016; Zuboff, 2019). The scandal of Cambridge Analytica, where data were harvested from unwitting users’ Facebook profiles to generate content aiming to sway political opinions, vividly illustrates the harrowing possibilities of these technologies (Wylie, 2020). These trends illustrate that the accelerating development of cognitive technology and the resulting information-cultural capitalism co-evolved with increasing human deception, conspiracy, and ignorance, creating a society of dangerously stratified, radicalized, disconnected,

and often mutually hostile communities.

Impacts on Urban Form

In the era of informational-cultural capitalism, cities are likely to be reshaped by the new economic practices in which individuals are valued for the data they represent – the same data that will, in turn, be used upon them or against them. Current trends suggest that one’s access to city life will be granted conditional on the sacrifice of more and more of one’s privacy and independence. Subtle coercion is already apparent in many of the world’s upscale urban sites of conspicuous consumption: disengaging from digital space usually entails a withdrawal from urban life altogether, and access to digital spaces are dependent on the users’ data contribution (Richter et al., 2018). For example, Amazon’s automated grocery store requires shoppers to have a smartphone, the Amazon app, and an Amazon account. In this way, quotidian interactions with the city’s built form are increasingly mediated by – and melded with – one’s digital presence. As white-collar industries now require fewer humans, they may begin to shift away from centralized urban areas. Simultaneously, as culture becomes the dominant form of product, city centers will predominantly be a place of cultural activity, intensifying their focus on attracting and serving cultural-consumers. However, as Harvey (2014, p. 543) elucidates, “if consumption is

limited to this immaterial form, then money power cannot be released to low-income populations, who require basic material goods in order to live. It has to be concentrated within a relatively small fraction of the population able to consume in this fictitious way.” Thus, cities will become increasingly inaccessible and alienating to the growing population of low-income and unemployed citizens, ceasing to be a place of opportunity. Policymakers of today are already beginning to witness these trends.

The launch of Amazon Go has raised concerns regarding equitable access to basic necessities. The store’s functional reliance on smartphones acts as an obvious barrier to those unable to afford such devices – which will themselves continue to evolve as new hardware, new software, and new retail distribution systems continue to push the cognitive automation frontier. In response to the inequities of technodependence, several cities have passed legislation banning cashless stores and retailers (Selyukh, 2020). Yet as informational-cultural capitalism continues to evolve, I wonder if such defensive regulatory moves will have any effect in protecting the widening swaths of society that will be left in the wake of the fundamental logics of cognitive-capitalist accumulation.

Conclusion

As advances in cognitive technologies are woven ever more deeply into the infrastructures of daily

life, we move further into the era of informational-cultural capitalism. This new phase of production and consumption entails dramatic reductions in the agency and power of people, with mass unemployment and the distillation of complex, multifaceted individual experiences into measurable, datafied digital selves. To adapt to life in the new urban social structures of informational-cultural capitalism, individuals must learn to leverage power through the strategic use of data – even though the same data and techniques will be used upon and against them. Urban citizens will be stuck in an infinitely recursive loop of cultural consumption as a form of data provision, and cultural formation based upon the data we provide, intensifying the fragmentation of communities. Additionally, without policies that ensure the equity of cognitive technologies and the implementation of fact-checking or extremist red flagging, people are left vulnerable to political manipulation. So long as cognitive technologies remain unregulated and unaccountable through truly inclusive, democratic systems of governance, such technologies will remain focused on the advance of capitalist values and accumulation – and thus, cities will become ever more competitive, inaccessible, and inequitable.

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Prostitution in (Dis)Order: A Case Study of New York City's Police Precinct 52

by: Silvana Martinez

In 2011, an article titled “House arrest: Why Fordham residents are trapped in their homes” was published by The Bronx Ink, a New York City online news site. The story covered the anxieties that residents of the neighborhoods of Fordham Manor and Kingsbridge Heights expressed towards the presence of sex workers in the area, associating them with neighborhood decay. The article speaks to a ‘Quality of Life’ policing paradigm that gained strength during the mid-1990s mayoral election of Rudolph Giuliani, equating the notion of the “safe city” with that of the “orderly city.” In this essay, I undertake a quantitative analysis of the New York Police Department’s (NYPD) practice of ‘Stop, Question, and Frisk’ (SQF) data between the years of 2007 and 2013 where officers cited the suspected crime of prostitution. I particularly examine Police Precinct 52, which includes the neighborhoods mentioned in the Bronx Ink article, to provide a case study of New York City’s order-maintenance policing. I observe how the discursive linking of order with safety under the ‘Quality of Life’ paradigm, which I also frame with research on gentrification, influences perceptions of neighborhood safety while criminalizing undesired bodies and practices in public space, to be policed.

In December of 2011, an article titled “House arrest: Why Fordham residents are trapped in their homes” was published in the *Bronx Ink*, an online news site produced by students at the Columbia School of Journalism in New York City. The article covered the anxieties that residents in the neighborhoods of Fordham Manor and Kingsbridge Heights expressed towards the presence of sex workers in their communities. The article emphasized conflict especially around single-family houses where residents cannot “just pack up and leave” (Consunji, 2011). Despite the article pointing out that the crime rate at the corresponding Police Precinct 52 was estimated to be “just 2.5 percent in the past two years,” residents affirmed it seemed higher (Consunji, 2011), associating the presence of sex

workers with neighborhood decay. The article reflects a specific policing paradigm that achieved mainstream legitimacy and popular consensus with the mid-1990s mayoral election of Rudolph Giuliani, focused on ‘Quality of Life’ (Vitale, 2008, p.121). In practice, this paradigm assumed that for residents to live “free of fear and harassment” in their communities, anyone who threatened this idea should be “systematically [removed]” (Vitale, 2008, p.30). Overall, it focused on equating the notion of the “safe city” with that of the “orderly city” (Chronopoulos, 2020, p.1085).

In this essay, I explore the dynamics around the New York Police Department (NYPD) Precinct 52 as a local case study of New York City’s

order-maintenance policing, focusing on prostitution as a ‘Quality of Life’ offence that links order with safety as part of gentrification and the criminalization of undesired bodies and practices – particularly non-male and non-conforming bodies (Beck, 2020; Cohen, 2018; FindLaw, 2021; Flannigan, 2019).

The ‘Quality of Life’ Paradigm and the Orderly City

The “Quality of Life” paradigm’s ideological underpinnings are of most concern to this paper, being fundamental to envisioning New York City as “orderly.” These include Broken Windows Theory, Communitarianism, and Urban Neoconservatism (Vitale, 2008). Broken Windows Theory refers to the fixation on policing of low-level offences (like prostitution, graffiti, or low-level drug dealing) under Kelling & Wilson’s (1982) influential but contested assumption that low-level ‘disorderly’ behavior leads to the proliferation of serious and/or violent street crime. The visibility of disorderly conduct was understood as a loss of social control, in turn potentially affecting people’s perceptions of safety. The notion of “disorder” was not always abstract, but rather associated with certain groups. These “disorderly peoples” were scandalous and unpredictable, from panhandlers to “prostitutes, loiterers, [or] the mentally disturbed” (Kelling & Wilson, 1982). Their presence, associated with the ‘poor’ but also intersecting with

racialized groups, were seen as threatening to upper- and middle-class New Yorkers during the 1980s fiscal crisis (Chronopoulos, 2020, p.1087). Accordingly, prevailing community definitions of “disorder” were conceptualized by “whites more than those of people of color, and those of homeowners more than those of renters,” and were also upheld by elites in both government and business (Vitale, 2008, p.47).

The police were instrumental in the enforcement of a Broken Windows-informed version of New York as an “orderly city.” They shifted their role from the protection of the legal system to the maintenance of order (Vitale, 2008, p.115). Chronopoulos (2020) holds that the “orderly city” depended on the effective implementation of Broken Windows policing which needed a “generously funded” and “efficiently deployed” police force, while advocating for low or decreasing crime rates that could “justify the allocation of resources against minor infractions” (p.1091–1092, p.1100). The paradigm came into full effect through Giuliani’s mayoral administration (Chronopoulos, 2020), and with the Broken-Windows enthusiast William Bratton as Police Commissioner. This political leadership institutionalized a ‘Quality of Life’ policing strategy which deployed laws, rules, and tactics like ‘stop-and-frisk’ and zero-tolerance (Vitale, 2008, p.121). Stop-and-frisk – formally denoted by the NYPD as “Stop, Question, and Frisk” (SQF) – is perhaps

the most controversial tactic, as it dictated that “so long as a police officer has ‘reasonable articulable suspicion’ that someone is engaged in criminal activity and dangerous, it [was] constitutionally permissible to stop, question, and frisk him or her—even in the absence of probable cause” (Alexander, 2012, p.80). The detrimental effects from this policy are still vivid especially for Black and racialized communities today, and the Black Lives Matter movement that grew in cities across the U.S. since 2012 catalyzed growing community resistance to the practice. In New York City, after a peak of 685,724 recorded stops in 2011, long-running civil rights lawsuits culminated in a landmark series of court cases declaring the NYPD’s implementation of the practice unconstitutional under the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments¹. The high SQF activity measured in NYPD data from 2007 to 2013, therefore, capture a particular historical moment in the City, shedding light on important politics and perceptions that remain relevant today.

As mentioned before, wealthier (and whiter) communities provided the strongest support for order-maintenance policing, aligning with the ideologies of communitarianism and urban neoconservatism under the

‘Quality of Life’ paradigm. The former emphasised “community rights over individual rights as a way of restoring civility and stability to urban neighborhoods” decoupling local/block dynamics from those of the larger city (Vitale, 2008, p.49, p.50). Urban neoconservatism described the poor (and racialized) as “either lazy or criminal” (Vitale, 2008, p.51), aligning with Neil Smith’s theorization of the “revanchist city.” Smith (1996, p.207) argued that a new kind of vengeance in urban politics “[expressed] a race/class/gender terror felt by middle- and ruling-class whites who [were] suddenly stuck in place by a ravaged property market, the threat and reality of unemployment, [...] and the emergence of minority and immigrant groups [...] as powerful urban actors.” In the revanchist city, conservative values are weaponized by the white and ruling class ‘majority’ against the groups and bodies of “disorder,” framing the “urban crisis in terms of social permissiveness rather than economic decline” (Vitale, 2008, p.52). This was echoed by Giuliani’s election, whose neoconservative political discourse “validated their fears, anger, and frustrations” (Vitale, 2008, p.142). These ideological moves, together with Broken Windows Theory –especially in policing– were influential in cementing the ‘Quality of Life’ paradigm where

¹ While SQF remains constitutionally permissible under the precedent of 1968 famous U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Terry v. Ohio*, for the purposes of public safety and genuine crime control, the NYPD’s practices were placed under tight court supervision; in the most recently-released data, NYPD officers conducted a reported 9,544 stops in 2020 – a 98.6 percent reduction from 2011, the peak year.

order-maintenance became synonymous with social control.

The Northern Bronx, Neighborhood Image, and Gentrification

I now consider how the neighborhood context of the Bronx section of New York City fits within the concept of the ‘orderly’ city. In a Doctoral dissertation, Catherine Guimond (2013, p.9) analyzes how “deindustrialization, suburbanization and disinvestment” also “entangled with race and racism” underlies the South Bronx’s abandonment. While “jobs, people and capital” moved from the inner-city to the suburbs—including the North Bronx—the fiscal and economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, paired with inner-city disinvestment due to ‘white flight,’ left Puerto Rican and African American residents of the South Bronx both “increasingly unable to find good-paying jobs” and vulnerable to landlords’ money-saving schemes like “stripping buildings of plumbing and appliances, and sometimes even burning the building down for the fire insurance” (Guimond, 2013, p.9). Infamous images of the Bronx in the 1970s and 1980s, showcasing buildings on fire and with *broken windows*, were strategically used by Kelling & Wilson “as a synecdoche for nonviolent forms of disorder and a metaphor for the ‘disorderly people’ associated with them” (Ansfield, 2020, p.104). The South Bronx as a place-name “became

synonymous with urban conflagration and decay” (Ansfield, 2020 p.107) and its image was circulated to instill fear of disorder—often reflecting and reproducing racist perceptions that blamed the ravages of capital disinvestment on the lower-income residents of color who remained in the community. This visuality of disorder aligned with Kelling & Wilson’s later Broken Windows Theory which fostered a presumption “that it was possible to make urban landscapes appear orderly with image-making” as well (Chronopoulos, 2020, p.1088). This notion is crucial in the context of my analysis, for as seen in the *Bronx Ink* article, people tend to perceive a place through its image, also “closely linked to [its] reputation” (Zavattaro, 2019, p.194). Perceptions “related to feelings to safety and incivility” label places as “good” or “bad”, contributing to people’s notions of their everyday reality (Zavattaro, 2019, p.194).

Another contextual feature of the Bronx that is relevant to my analysis is the spatial division of the local built environment. Guimond (2013, p.118) explains that Fordham Road is often perceived as the “boundary between the South Bronx and the North Bronx,” with the Fordham area “literally right on the line” between the dangerous ‘South Bronx’ iconography and the residential flight into the North Bronx. Figures 1 through 4 show key demographic information for the neighborhoods mentioned in the *Bronx Ink* article. Fordham Manor—north of

Fordham Road— is located within the administrative boundaries of the NYPD’s Police Precinct 52, while Kingsbridge Heights is mostly within Precinct 50, although partly within Precinct 52. Overall, census tracts within Precinct 50 have the highest median household incomes, while tracts in Precinct 52 are more varied, though most tracts south of Fordham Road fall in the lowest income brackets. Tracts along both neighborhoods have a predominantly Hispanic population, except for the majority-white tracts in the northwest section of Precinct 50 – which also have the highest median incomes. These localized ethno-racial and class dynamics are important considerations in my case study.

Another frontier-like situation for the Precinct 52 neighborhoods can be explored given most of its census tracts were eligible for gentrification in 2009 (Figure 5). In a longitudinal study, Brendan Beck (2020) analyzes how processes of gentrification within New York City’s census tracts² from 2009 to 2015 relate to police stops and lower-level arrests. In a robust synthesis of multiple sources of data, Beck (2020, p.267–268) found that “low-level policing intensified following real estate reinvestment in New York City’s eligible-to-gentrify neighborhoods between 2009 and 2015”, and while “neighborhood whitening was associated with more

order maintenance arrests”, “the typical neighborhood saw an increase in [non-emergency] calls to the police during an influx of middle-class people”, with race and class demographic changes as significant vectors of low-level policing. Beck’s findings contextualize the neighborhoods in the *Bronx Ink* article within broader processes of gentrification in accordance with police activity.

Prostitution in Fordham: Precinct 52

A large part of the literature on policing, especially concerning the stop-and-frisk tactic, focuses on the experiences of racialized men, with authors like Paul Butler using a “Black male-focused analysis” to highlight how they tend to be stereotyped and labeled as “potential thugs.” (2017, p.8-9). Data from Goel, Rao, and Shroff shows that Blacks and Hispanics are usually stopped by police based on suspicion of violent crime (2016, p.387), yet offences like prostitution are framed as “disorder”, also largely constructed around women and gender minorities (Cohen, 2018; Vitale, 2008). These dynamics tend to be sidelined in the conversation. While consequences for misdemeanors are admittedly not as damaging as being stopped or convicted for an alleged severe criminal offence – commonly the case among Black males – misdemeanors are instrumental to reproducing narratives

² While Beck used census tracts as his unit of analysis, I focus on data at the police precinct level for my case study. This difference is not significant for the purpose of this paper.

of community (un)safety. As with homelessness, sex work is typically treated as an “out of sight, out of mind” phenomenon, clearly influenced by the Broken Windows theory’s belief that social issues could more easily be obscured instead of solved (Vitale, 2008). Despite 1960s legislation acknowledging that “prostitution is a social problem rather than a criminal problem” (Vitale, 2008, p.119), prostitution in New York³ can be punished with a statutory penalty of up three months jail and/or a fine up to \$500. (FindLaw, 2021).

To study prostitution⁴ as a ‘Quality of Life’ offense in Precinct 52, I first ran a frequency tabulation applied to a customized dataset of NYPD SQF activity using the data analytics software package SAS. Analysis of the database of more than 3.6 million SQF encounters between 2007 and 2013 reveals that police officers cited prostitution as a justification for only 9,017 stops – less than one quarter of one percent of all stops across the city during these years. Prostitution is a low-level offence, so it was expected that other more serious crimes like the

suspected ‘criminal possession of a weapon,’ were almost 100 times more common⁵. Still, the frequency of stops where prostitution is cited is not insignificant.

The next step of my analysis was to perform a logistic regression (Figure 6). In the model, the dependent variable is the observation of a stop suspecting prostitution. Results highlight various factors that distinguish prostitution-related stops from all other stops (Table 1). Compared with individuals police officers identified⁶ as male, females are almost 17 times more likely to be detained for prostitution, and those officers identified as of “Unknown [Sex]” are 2.33 times more likely than males to be stopped for prostitution. Moreover, prostitution-related stops were over six times more likely to cite “wearing clothes commonly used in a crime” as a reason for the stop. Police were also 4.27 times more likely to justify a prostitution-related stop by alleging “associating with persons known for their criminal activity.” These results are consistent with policing responses to circumstances where sex workers seek clients in public

³ Prostitution is still listed by New York’s Penal code as a Class B misdemeanor in 2022. The statutory definition of prostitution is: “a person is guilty of prostitution when such person engages or agrees or offers to engage in sexual conduct with another person in return for a fee” (FindLaw, 2021).

⁴ I focused on the dataset’s variable ‘detailcm’ representing the ‘crime code description,’ for the suspected crime that constituted partial justification for the officer’s seizure of the civilian. Prostitution is detailcm 74.

⁵ Aligning with research from Goel, Rao, & Shroff, 2016; detailcm 20 (Criminal Possession of a Weapon) accounted for 23.21% of citywide stops.

⁶ Officers are required to complete a ‘UF 250’ form pursuant to SQF encounters. In the ‘UF 250’ forms the information on queer, trans, and gender non-conforming people is limited and of uncertain reliability. The categories for “Sex” are limited to “Male”, “Female, and “Unknown”.

spaces and is further reinforced by the high odds ratio (2.57) for officers citing that “area has high incidence of reported offense.” The high odds ratio for “associating with persons known for their criminal activity” suggests the importance of sex workers’ networks, but the results cannot distinguish between sex workers operating in groups for mutual support, or within organized structures associated with “pandering” or “pimping,” which are prohibited by state prostitution laws (FindLaw, 2018). Also aligning with the nature of street-side sex work, stops for prostitution were 3.91 times more likely to take place between 3 and 6 in the morning, and 1.62 times more likely between midnight and 3 in the morning. These matters are not the primary focus of my analysis, but they are key in contemporary policy debates over decriminalization.

Finally, compared with the reference year of 2013 and controlling for all other variables in the model, alleged prostitution stops were more likely in 2007 (1.39), in 2008 (1.23), and peaking in 2009 (1.63). The severity of policing stops for prostitution eased over the next two years, but by the time Bianca Consunji’s (2011) article was published in the *Bronx Ink* in 2011, policing and public safety issues in New York City had become entangled with the painful aftermath of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. Consunji (2011) described Jerome Avenue, which is in Police Precinct 52, as “the epicenter of the

freelance sex trade in the Bronx”. Yet when policing activity here is compared to the rest of the city while controlling for all factors cited by police officers as justifications for their actions, the results are counterintuitive. Holding all other factors in the model constant, a stop in Police Precinct 52 is only 1.18 times more likely to cite prostitution as a suspected crime, compared with the rest of the city; this ratio is only weakly significant, with a six-percent probability that the coefficient is the result of random variation. Considering the possibility that Consunji’s (2011) description was referring to the city blocks that Jerome Avenue crosses further south, I also included indicators for Precinct 48 (to the southeast of Precinct 52) and Precinct 50 (to the northwest). Precinct 48, south of Fordham Road, had previously been profiled in a *Bronx Ink* article titled “Prostitution and the Playground” (Schwartz, 2010). Precinct 50, by contrast, includes a more diverse mixture of incomes and a large Hispanic community in the south, as well as wealthy, non-Hispanic white neighborhoods in the northwest section of the Bronx. Compared with the rest of the city and adjusting for all reasons cited by police officers, prostitution-related stops are 2.38 times more likely in Police Precinct 48, and only 0.16 times as likely in Precinct 50. Both ratios are highly statistically significant, at ($p < 0.001$). These divergent results situate Precinct 52 in a frontier-like position between Precincts 48 and 50.

Making sense of these results requires putting Beck's (2020) perspectives on gentrification and policing into a dialogue with Smith's (1996) conceptualization of the revanchist city and some empirical details of Consunji's (2011) *Bronx Ink* article.

New, New Urban Frontiers

Bianca Consunji's (2011) vivid reporting described Fordham residents feeling "trapped" in their homes. It is important to recall that Consunji was writing in late 2011, in the depths of painful economic consequences given the 2008 Global Financial Crisis; a context that echoes the "ravaged" property market of the early 1990s economic recession in which Neil Smith (1996) diagnosed the anxieties that drove support for Rudy Giuliani's populist, racialized vengeance. Yet there are now new frontiers of competition, change, diversity, and anxiety. Consunji (2011) interviewed Mr. Ali and Mr. Karim, two homeowners who expressed deep concerns about the presence of sex workers in the area, while also describing local incidents of violent crime and their struggles with the catastrophic devaluation of property values upon the market collapse. Both invested in their homes in the early 2000s and are part of the small share (6%) of home-owning residents of Community District 7 (*Census Reporter*, 2019). However, when Consunji (2011) interviewed them, their homes were only valued at about half of

their original price: "The increasing crime and prostitution rates made [them] want to leave the neighborhood," Consunji (2011) reported, "but increasingly low real estate prices prevented [them] from doing so."

The concerns of Ali, Karim and other residents expressed with prostitution reflect a complex mix of legitimate public safety fears and real estate anxieties rooted in a crisis that truncated their hard-fought socioeconomic mobility. The year after Ali and his wife Johanara moved in, a young woman snuck into the home through a window, stole US \$3,000, and held a gun to Johanara's head; that same year, "Ali said an alleged prostitute and a male companion assaulted him outside his home" (Consunji, 2011). In Consunji's narrative, Ali, Karim, and all the others she spoke to conflate the presence of sex workers with higher-level criminal offenses in the same way Kelling & Wilson (1982) theorized, the same way Smith (1996), Beck (2020) and other critical theorists lament. Mr. Khan, Imam of the Bronx Muslim Center, was frustrated that "from midnight until 5 a.m." there were "[prostitutes] out in the street outside [his] home" (Consunji, 2011). "Where there are prostitutes, there are pimps and drug dealers," Mr. Khan told Consunji (2011), bemoaning the insufficiency of the NYPD's efforts to deal with prostitution and more serious crimes. For Mr. Ali, these experiences

transformed his understanding of the community. “It was my dream house,” he said. “But now, it feels like a prison.”

Ali’s words convey the double meaning of feeling “trapped” that Consunji highlights in the article. This feeling encompasses both fears of physical safety due to projections and associations with visible disorderly conduct, and how the resident’s ownership of land –once seen as a reliable guarantee of socioeconomic mobility– is now an anchor to a place undermined by the threat of real-estate devaluation. Attitudes towards crime and public safety are intertwined with a truncated socioeconomic mobility that is literally grounded in the commitments and expectations that come with the purchase of housing and land. Explored through Beck’s theorization and empirical research on gentrification (2020), a general new middle-class presence is correlated with the demands of order-maintenance policing. Yet, as observed in Figures 1 through 4, New York City has been at the leading edge of the demographic evolution⁷ that Camarillo (2015) diagnoses as the “new racial frontier.” “One could argue that race and ethnic relations in generations past were characterized more by interactions between whites and non-whites,” Camarillo (2015, p.141) explains, but “contemporary ethnic and race relations are increasingly defined by

interactions among and between non-whites.” Consunji (2011) notes that the Kingsbridge and Fordham communities are “composed primarily of Bengali and Hispanic immigrants,” and Mr. Ali, a frustrated, unemployed, heavily mortgaged real-estate broker, is a Bengali immigrant; describing how his dream house now feels like a prison, “Ali said some of his neighbors, particularly those from the Bengali community, felt the same way” (Consunji, 2011). Recognizing the speed of societal change around revanchist responses to urban “disorder” and ‘Quality of Life’ phenomena remains key. No longer limited to established middle-class and wealthy Non-Hispanic Whites fearful of downward mobility, contemporary demands for order-maintenance policing may also come from diverse cosmopolitan communities struggling for upward mobility and the perceived economic security and wealth accumulation of property ownership. Prostitution is all too easily regarded as a sign of the “disorderly city” –not only an offense to conservative moral sensibilities, but also as a reliable indicator of threats to the hard-won property values of striving middle-class families in an increasingly competitive, globalizing city. Vividly reported articles like Consunji’s (2011) display the full complexity of ‘Quality of Life’ symbolism, informing the quantitative

⁷ The Non-Hispanic White share of the population of the 100 largest cities in the United States dipped below 50 percent by the turn of the century; including New York City. (Camarillo, 2015).

results of a logistic regression of SQF practices.

Beyond Criminalization?

New York City's Police Precinct 52 is a microcosm of multiple, complex relations among police, communities, sex workers, and real-estate dynamics—all culminating in the punitive treatment of prostitution. The histories of the North and South Bronx and the effects of gentrification are key to understanding the frictions and positionalities involved in Precinct 52. Ideologies of the 'Quality of Life' paradigm interact with the uneven ways the 2008 financial crisis hit residents, shaping how they construe prostitution as a symptom of disorder. The frenzy of financial competition in a dense, expensive built environment have the effect of capitalizing myths that become "the determinant of 'objective' reality about the perpetrators of the crime" (Cohen, 2018, p.528) and the alleged solutions to neighborhood problems. Such considerations highlight the social constructivist essence of Broken Windows Theory, which has reproduced a taken-for-granted consensus on the visibility of crimes and the conflation of 'order' with 'safety' for four decades now. These perceptions, both in resident's minds and the practices of state institutions, determine which places will be policed, and whose bodies will be criminalized.

It remains important to note that many of these criminalized bodies belong to sex workers, whose struggles are largely ignored in popular discourse. For example, Alex, a nineteen-year-old who aspires to become a nursing assistant, sometimes takes a midnight train to Fordham to "get some coin" in quick sexual transactions, claiming such is more profitable than working a job (Consunji, 2011). Unfortunately, mainstream discussion perpetuates myths and obscures the realities of sex work, and 'Quality of Life' policing tactics continue to drive the criminalization and persistent dehumanization of sex workers. While an analysis of sex work decriminalization theories is beyond the scope of this essay, it is crucial to note that alternatives to New York's punitive model exist (Flanigan, 2019; Cohen, 2018). It is possible to address "the negative effects of sex work directly rather than preventing people from paying for or selling sex," Flanigan (2019, p.296) emphasizes. Doing so begins with redesigning legislative definitions, in consultation with the diverse voices and priorities of sex workers themselves. Creative, judicial alternatives can be developed to respect "community members' interests in limiting the visible effects of the sex industry on their community" (Flanigan, 2019, p.268), while also reducing its stigma and respecting the rights and dignities of sex workers themselves.

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Appendix A

Figures

Figure 1. Predominant Racial or Ethnic Group in the central Bronx, 2013-2017, by Block Group. Screenshots were taken using FIPS code 36005026500 for census tract reference, where the intersection of 192nd and Davidson (mentioned in the *Bronx Ink* article) is located. Note the neighborhood labels of Fordham and Kingsbridge Heights. Data Source: PolicyMap (2021).

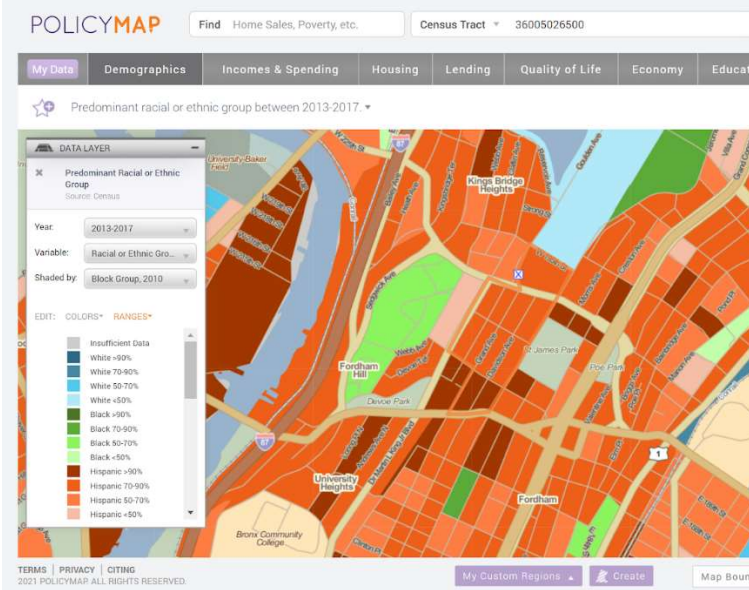


Figure 2. Estimated Median Household Income in the central Bronx, 2015-2019, by Block Group. Data Source: PolicyMap (2021).

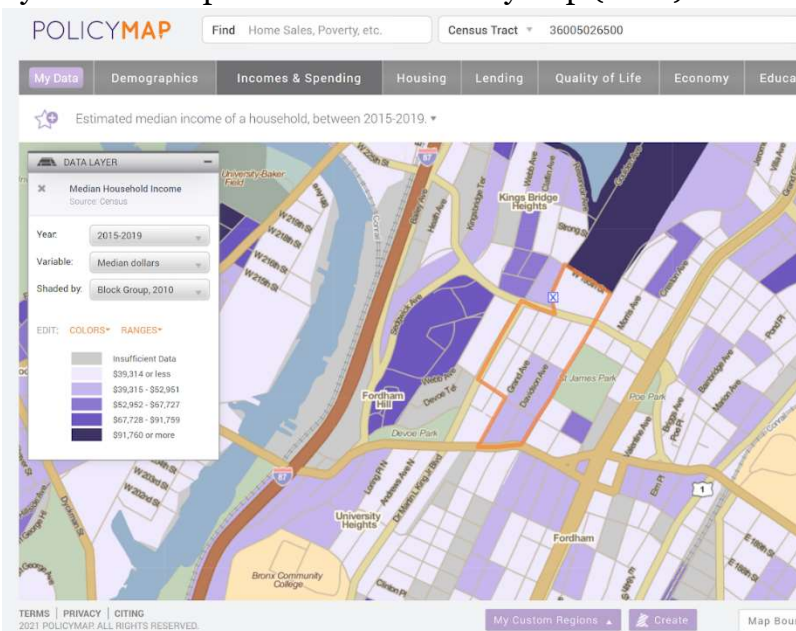


Figure 3. Estimated Median Household Income for a wider section of the Bronx, 2015-2019, by Block Group. Data Source: PolicyMap (2021).

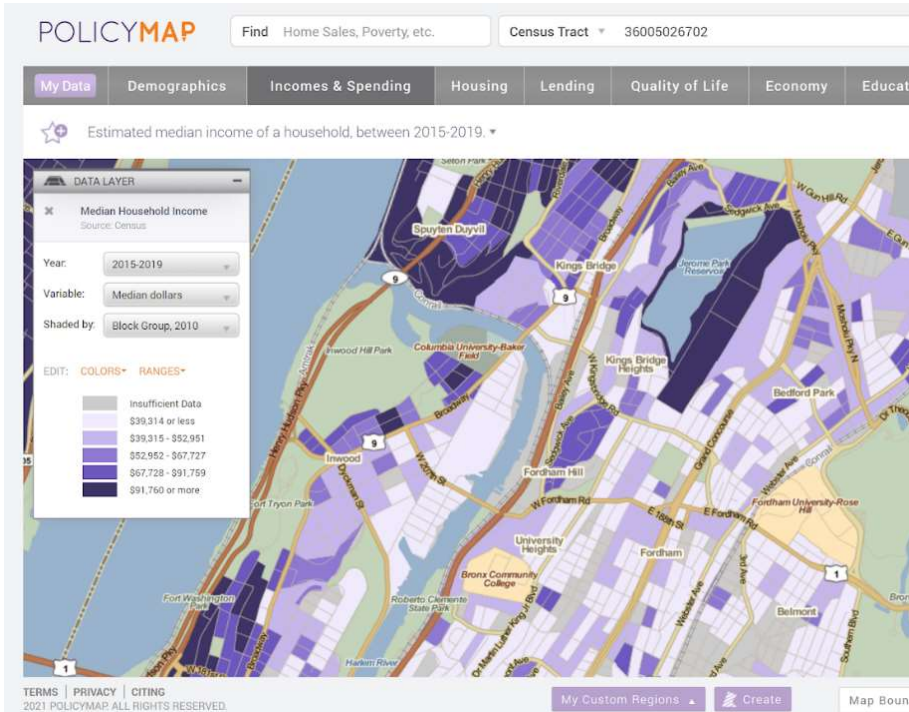


Figure 4. Predominant Racial or Ethnic Group for a wider section of the Bronx, 2013-2017, by Block Group. Data Source: PolicyMap (2021).

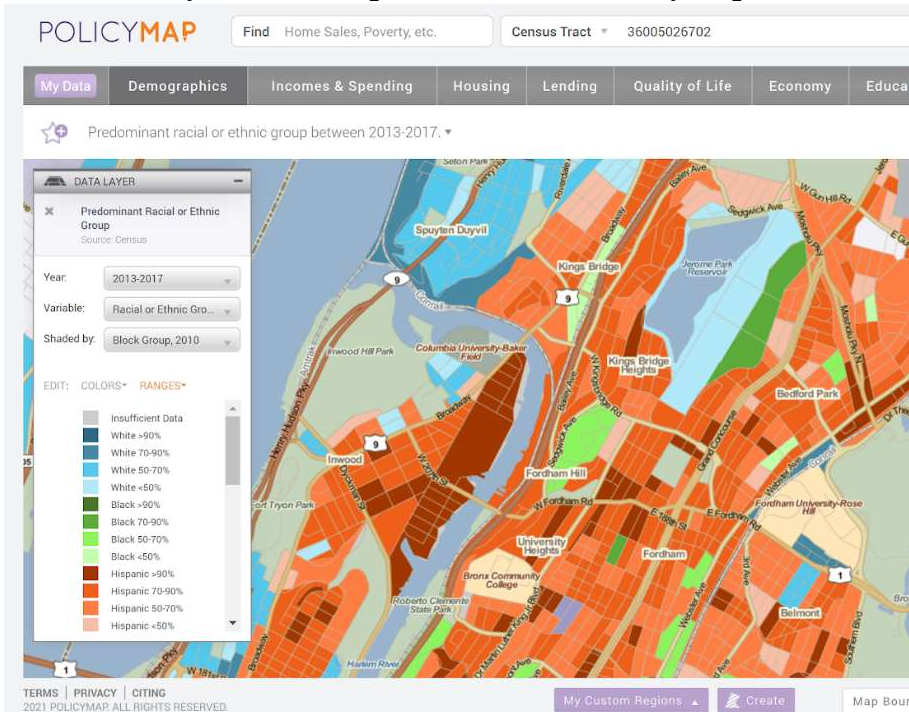


Figure 5. New York City Census Tracts eligible for Gentrification, 2009. Source: Beck (2020, p. 253).



FIG. 1. Map of gentrification eligibility, 2009.

Figure 6. SAS code for Logistic Regression of Terry Stops with Suspected Crime of Prostitution. Source: Author's analysis.

```
libname g450 '~/my_shared_file_links/ewyly/' access=readonly;
libname my450 '~';

data my450.martinez(compress=yes);
set g450.subset4;
    px52=0; if xpct=52 then px52=1;
    px48=0; if xpct=48 then px48=1;
    px50=0; if xpct=50 then px50=1;
    xdetail=0; xdetail=detailcm;
    pros=0; if (xdetail=74) then pros=1;
    rvpros=1; if (xdetail=74) then rvpros=0;
run;
proc logistic data=my450.martinez;
class x_age year x_month x_time;
model rvpros=
rx_asn rx_nhb rx_ntv rx_bhs rx_whs rx_unk rx_oth sx_f sx_z
csxbulge csxcasng csxcloth csxdescr csxdrgtr
csxfurtv csxlkout csxobjcs csxvcrim
notunif o_pers
xa_rept xa_inves xa_proxm xa_evasv xa_assoc
xa_cgdir xa_incid xa_time xa_stsnd xa_other
l_intr l_outr l_inhs l_ouhs
x_age year x_month x_time
px48 px50 px52
/ expb rsquare parmlabel;
title "Logistic Regression Model of Terry Stops
for Suspected Crime of Prostitution, 2007-2013.";
run;
```

Appendix B

Table: Logistic Regression Model

Table 1. Logistic Regression Model of Terry Stops for Suspected Crime of Prostitution, 2007-2013.			
	Parameter estimate		e ^B
Intercept	-6.580	***	0.001
Race: Asian	-0.122		0.885
Race: Non Hispanic Black	-0.222	***	0.801
Race: American Indian	-0.200		0.819
Race: Black Hispanic	-0.563	***	0.570
Race: White Hispanic	-0.272	***	0.762
Race: Unknown	0.003		1.003
Race: Other	0.096		1.101
Sex: Female	2.831	***	16.962
Sex: Unknown	0.846	***	2.330
Reason for stop: suspicious bulge	-3.248	***	0.039
Reason for stop: casing a victim or location	-0.785	***	0.456
Reason for stop: wearing clothes commonly used in a crime	1.794	***	6.015
Reason for stop: fits a relevant description	-0.292	***	0.747
Reason for stop: actions indicative of a drug transaction	-1.762	***	0.172
Reason for stop: furtive movements	-0.634	***	0.530
Reason for stop: suspect acting as a lookout	-0.577	***	0.561
Reason for stop: carrying suspicious object	-2.841	***	0.058
Reason for stop: actions of engaging in a violent crime	-2.676	***	0.069
Officer not in uniform	-0.254	***	0.776
Other persons stopped/questioned/frisked	-0.128	***	0.880
Additional circumstances: Report from Victim/Witness	-0.657	***	0.518
Additional circumstances: Ongoing Investigations	-0.158	***	0.854
Additional circumstances: Proximity to Crime Location	0.075	**	1.077
Additional circumstances: Evasive/False/Inconsistent Responses	0.329	***	1.390
Additional circumstances: Associating With Persons Known for Their Criminal Activity	1.452	***	4.269
Additional circumstances: Changing Direction at Sight of Officer/Flight	0.381	***	1.463
Additional circumstances: Area Has High Incidence of Reported Offense	0.944	***	2.570
Additional circumstances: Time of Day, Day of Week, Season Corresponding to Reports of Criminal Activity	0.024		1.024
Additional circumstances: Sights and Sounds of Criminal Activity	-0.747	***	0.474
Additional circumstances: Other	0.056		1.057

Location: Inside Transit Authority	-3.002	***	0.050
Location: Outside Transit Authority	-0.615		0.540
Location: Inside Housing Authority	-3.837	***	0.022
Location: Outside Housing Authority	-1.322	***	0.267
Age under 15	-1.275	***	0.280
Age 15-18	-0.796	***	0.451
Age 19-21	0.028		1.028
Age 22-25	0.223	***	1.250
Age 26-30	0.416	***	1.516
Age 31-40	0.625	***	1.867
Age 41 and over	0.636	***	1.888
Year of stop 2007	0.333	***	1.394
Year of stop 2008	0.208	***	1.231
Year of stop 2009	0.489	***	1.631
Year of stop 2010	-0.076	**	0.926
Year of stop 2011	-0.279	***	0.757
Year of stop 2012	-0.081	**	0.923
Month of stop January	-0.120	***	0.887
Month of stop February	-0.211	***	0.810
Month of stop March	-0.180	***	0.835
Month of stop April	0.035		1.036
Month of stop May	-0.119	**	0.888
Month of stop June	0.193	***	1.213
Month of stop July	0.280	***	1.323
Month of stop August	0.173	***	1.188
Month of stop September	0.118	***	1.125
Month of stop October	0.041		1.041
Month of stop November	-0.108	**	0.898
Time of stop 3-6 pm	-0.775	***	0.461
Time of stop 6-9 pm	-0.555	***	0.574
Time of stop 9-midnight	-0.138	***	0.872
Time of stop midnight-3 am	0.483	***	1.620
Time of stop 3-6 am	1.363	***	3.909
Police Precinct 48	0.866	***	2.377
Police Precinct 50	-1.851	***	0.157
Police Precinct 52	0.166		1.180
Number of observations	3,605,337		
Percent concordant	91.6		
Max-rescaled pseudo-R-squared	0.2879		
*Coefficient significant at P<0.05; **P<0.01; ***P<0.001.			
Data Source: New York Police Department (2008-2014).			

Trail Six Editors

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Lucie is a second year environment and sustainability major. She is interested in geographical sciences as well as human geography, but has a particular interest in earth processes and environmental racism. After completing her undergraduate degree, she plans to study environmental law.

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Mark is a fifth-year Environment and Sustainability major, arriving at UBC's Geography Department to explore a wide variety of contemporary, relevant fields such as global sustainability, social and economic geography, and atmospheric and geographic information sciences. Growing up among Vancouver's diverse population and a mixed ethnic background have greatly influenced his geographic interests, and outside of academics he enjoys roadbiking, skiing, stand-up paddleboarding and ultimate frisbee. Mark is very keen and excited to be an editor for Trail Six this year.

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Isabella is a third year Human Geography (Honours) major with a minor in African Studies, with interests in geopolitics as well as social geography. She is from London, UK and her academic interests are heavily influenced by her Ugandan heritage and Mixed - Race identity. She is excited to further pursue her interests through post-graduate studies. In her spare time, Isabella enjoys running, sewing and reading.

Isabella Montecalvo

Isabella is a fourth year student majoring in (Honours) Human Geography with a minor in Geographic Information Systems (GIS)! She is a "Third Culture Kid," with a mixed background and has grown up all over the world (US, India, Thailand, Turkey, Switzerland), and her family currently resides in Phnom Penh in Cambodia. Isabella's upbringing has informed much of who she is and what she's interested in - maps, geopolitics, identity, decolonization, transport, environmental justice, urbanism, sustainable development and climate change mitigation (among many other things, clearly). Isabella is excited to be an Editor with Trail Six this year and engage with her fellow editors and authors to showcase the stellar academic work of her peers in the field of geography!

Sol Leader-Cole

Sol is a fourth year student majoring in Geographical Sciences. Through his coursework and co-op experience he is fascinated by environmental impact

assessment and the precautions taken to ensure potential effects of development projects are thoroughly investigated and accounted for. Moving to Vancouver after having spent his childhood in Singapore where large scale construction projects were a constant feature of the city, he began to evaluate the necessity of development projects and view them in a more critical light.

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Yasmina is a second year Human Geography major and also plans to minor in Middle Eastern Studies. She is most passionate about topics related to Climate and Social Justice, Politics and history in the Middle east, and feminist theory. She is also currently the Communications Co-Coordinator at Climate Justice UBC and hopes to explore the possibility of a future career in academia and writing. When she's not juggling all her academic responsibilities, she usually spends time to enjoy journaling, write on her blog, read dystopian fiction, go on long outdoor walks, take film photographs and draw portraits of strangers.

Christian Banac

Christian is a third year Environment and Sustainability major who just transferred from Langara College. He was born and raised in the Philippines and moved to Canada during his high school years. With his experiences growing up in both Western and Eastern cultures, Christian hopes to help individuals understand more where people's perspectives on different issues are coming from. Also, Christian hopes to one day work as a policy analyst or a researcher. He enjoys singing, listening to music, photography and playing volleyball.

August Meyer

August is a fifth-year student pursuing a BA with a major in Human Geography major and a minor in Law and Society. Growing up in Vancouver, he has developed a keen appreciation for the city's natural and built environment but has also witnessed its affordability crisis rapidly unfold. This experience informed his academic interests of urban planning and design, social geography, and sustainability. During his time at UBC, August has completed three co-op terms in the nonprofit sector. After graduation, he intends to pursue a career in law. In his spare time, August enjoys learning about architecture, exploring the outdoors, trying new restaurants, and searching for the perfect almond croissant.

Jacob Ereshefsky

Jacob is a second year student planning on majoring in Human Geography with interests in both geopolitics and urban planning. Coming from Calgary, Alberta, you'll find him hiking, skiing, or watching hockey in his free time.

Rachel Young

Rachel is in her third year at UBC and is in the Human Geography (Honours) program. She grew up in Toronto, Ontario but has fallen in love with Vancouver and the West Coast! She is academically interested in economic geography and cultural geography. She enjoys reading, running, the outdoors, spending time with her dog Daisy and watching hockey.

Clarisse Obedkoff

Clarisse is a fifth year Human Geography (Honours) major with a keen interest in urbanism and planning! Clarisse grew up in the Okanagan Valley in Kelowna, BC, and has witnessed the city's growth overtime. Being immersed in a changing urban landscape, and realizing how it can impact one's sense of place, catalyzed her interest in urban planning. In her spare time, Clarisse enjoys knitting, cycling, thrifting, and skiing with friends.

Josh Emsley

Josh is a fourth year Human Geography student on exchange from the University of Manchester, UK. He is predominantly interested in social and cultural geography, having already completed his undergraduate thesis which explored the geographies of home through a case study of Airbnb hosting. Josh has been making the most of the Vancouver landscape while on his exchange, enjoying the scenic hikes, ski slopes and local craft beer. Upon return to the UK, Josh plans to pursue postgraduate research in Human Geography.

Dion Kwok

Dion is a third-year student majoring in Geography: Environment and Sustainability. She is passionate about the role of sustainable development, coastal management, and urban planning concerning climate change. Outside of her academics, she enjoys hiking, cooking, and spending time with family and friends. Dion is excited to work with the Trail Six team and to engage with student papers that exemplify the liveliness of geography.

Sarah Kelly

Sarah is a fourth year student majoring in Environment and Sustainability with a minor in GIS. She has a range of interests within geography, including climate science, conservation, environmental justice, and cartography. She grew up in Toronto before moving to Vancouver where she enjoys spending time outdoors running, hiking, cycling, and swimming.

Isak Boyd

Isak is in his fourth year as an Environment and Sustainability major. He is interested in geographical sciences and sustainable food systems, as well as the political and economic geographies which shape the world. He grew up in the US and enjoys cooking, reading, and playing soccer.

Zelda Ladefoged

Zelda is a fourth year student majoring in Honours Human Geography with a minor in Art History. Growing up in New Zealand, she has developed a keen awareness for the value of maintaining a balanced relationship between the environment and its inhabitants. Zelda spent much of her childhood on the Waitemata harbour sailing competitively and tagging along on her father's fieldwork in Rapa Nui, Tonga, and Hawaii. These experiences have shaped her interest in the relationship between place and space, specifically the ways people relate to and represent their environment. Her current interest is in art galleries and museums as places that represent the social, cultural, and economic dynamics associated with the communities where they are situated. She hopes to combine her love of Geography and Art History to work towards making galleries and museums places that are truly accessible to the wider public.

Authors

Shirley Zhong

Shirley is a fifth year Environment & Sustainability student minoring in Urban Studies at UBC. She is fascinated by the interactions between humans with the natural and built environment, and she aspires to become a community urban planner. Outside of work and school, Shirley enjoys taking walks on the beach with her film camera, having late-night conversations with friends and fostering with local animal rescues. Shirley is excited to contribute as a first-time author to this year's Trail Six Journal.

Sannah Stainsby

Sannah is a fifth year student at UBC majoring in Human Geography. Having lived in Hamar (Norway), New York and Vancouver, she has a keen interest in people, travel and language. Her academic work tends to gravitate towards the ontological side of social justice and economic development -- throughout her time at UBC she has found herself especially fascinated by their ability to shape Human interaction through time and space. Outside of academics, she is an avid day-dreamer who loves to cook, listen to music, and geek out about almost anything, ranging from fine-art to personal finance.

Cara Crompton-Ingليس

Cara Crompton-Ingليس is in her fourth year of her Bachelor of Science in Global Resource Systems at UBC, specializing in global health and international development. Her interests are specifically in postcolonial approaches to human health and livelihood, as well as studying international aid and governance critically as a way to hopefully one day change the oppressive power structures and neocolonial mentalities that underlie these systems. Having experience with maritime search and rescue, she is also intrigued by the political turmoil related to maritime rescue of refugees crossing bodies of water. In her spare time, she likes being outdoors in any capacity!

Zoe Malou Runia

Zoe Malou Runia is in her fourth year of studying Geography at the University of Bonn in Germany. In her studies, she is especially interested in learning about how a variety of geographic topics play out in an urban context. As an exchange student at UBC during winter in 2021, she had the great opportunity of furthering her knowledge in Urban Geography, bringing her one step closer to her goal of being able to design sustainable cities in the future. Outside of her studies, Zoe likes to put on some music and dance.

Elliot Landor

Elliot is a Human Geography student in his final year of the dual BA program between UBC and Sciences Po. Originally from the UK, he has lived in the US, France, and most recently Canada. Having previously studied politics and government with a concentration in the Middle East at the campus of Menton, his academic interests lie in postcolonial and other critical geographies which seek to deconstruct dominant systems of power. Aside from university, you can find Elliot indulging in hot beverages at all times of the day, discovering new shows with his roommates over sushi, or taking a long walk exploring the city.

Nkemjika Morah

Aidan Haigh

Anique Baillon

Anique Baillon is a fifth year UBC Sciences Po Dual Degree student with a minor in Environment and Sustainability and a major in Political Science. A love of the outdoors and a lifelong passion for politics has led her to focus her research primarily on the intersection of politics and environmental issues, particularly the

climate crisis. She is also interested in International Relations, community activism, and gender inequality. In her free time, she can be found skiing, reading, exploring new places, or staying up too late talking to her roommates.

Oskar Steiner

Oskar Steiner is a fourth-year undergraduate student at UBC from Whistler, British Columbia who is majoring in International Relations and minoring in Economics, having formerly studied Economics and Sociology at Sciences Po in France. His academic interests lie at the intersection of political ecology, economic and social philosophy, and human geography—particularly in addressing the role of economic thought as a driving force behind our relationship with the natural world. Outside of academics, he plays music, makes art, and aspires to be a soup chef. After graduation, he intends to pursue a graduate degree in political ecology at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris or Oxford University.

Finnigan Duffield

Finn is a recent graduate from the Geography department with a major in Environment and Sustainability. Academically, he has an interest in Cartography and GIS. He spent his four years at UBC playing on the varsity baseball team, and travelled throughout the united states as far as San Diego Pheonix, and Atlanta. Finn has a passion for the outdoors, nature and conservation, and spent his summers Backpacking and hunting in the mountains. He was born in Victoria and lived in Alberta before attending UBC.

Jessica Low

Jessica is in her final year of an Integrated Sciences B.Sc., with a focus on Environmental Science and Sustainable Conservation. Having previously worked at Transport Canada supporting contamination restoration in Victoria Harbour, she has gained an appreciation for balancing environmental conservation, social justice, and sustainable development. In her spare time, she enjoys staying active, snowboarding, and cooking deliciously easy vegan meals!

Lucia de Kleer

Lucia is in her third year of the B.A. Geography Environment and Sustainability program, having transferred to UBC from studying Environmental Engineering at UNBC. Lucia's passion for environmental sustainability and justice started in 2nd grade when she learned about climate change and helped form the Environmental Club at her elementary school! Since then, her dedication has grown through working in the local government and non-profit sectors to create safe, healthy, and

resilient communities. Additionally, she loves to jam on her guitar, find new vegan restaurants, and dance with friends in the woods.

Marco Meyer

Marco is a third year student majoring in Human Geography with a minor in Urban Studies. His experience travelling has inspired his various academic interests such as urbanism, conservation, and development in the Global South. He looks forward to continuing to research these topics in the future. In his spare time, Marco enjoys playing tennis, reading, and trying new foods.

Zoe Lin

Zoe is a fourth year student, majoring in Cognitive System and minoring in Urban Studies. She loves the interdisciplinary nature of her studies and is especially interested in the way humans interact with and fit within systems. She is driven by a passion for understanding and consolidating the often conflicting intersections between the values and frameworks of technology and society, addressing the types of issues this tension can produce, from unintuitive UX to serious ethical concerns. In her free time she enjoys taking photos of stranger, cooking mediocre food, and going really fast on all types of boards.

Silvana Martinez

Silvana is a recent Human Geography major and Sociology minor graduate. As an undergrad, she also completed the credit equivalency of an Urban Studies minor, showcasing her interest in the connections between society, culture, and space. In the future, Silvana hopes to grow from her current job at a local non-profit and continue doing ethnographic research, discourse analysis, and data processing to further explore urban life and connect to communities. In her free time, she reads journalism, listens to music, and walks the city.

Layout & Design

Matt Campos

Matt is a fifth year Human Geography major from the United States. He grew up in a quiet Massachusetts suburb, but more than anything else he looked forward to exploring the city of Boston. Exhilarating events like the Blue Man Group and greasy late-night eats with friends rarely failed to offer good times and comfort. He fell in love with the brick-scaled roads and tight alleyways of the city, even if it was a nightmare to drive in. From that upbringing and his time in Vancouver, Matt has developed an appreciation for all things urban. Matt also delights in baking sweet treats, trying out local breweries, nerding out about film and television, and

rocking out at concerts. Outside of school, he has worked in a variety of organizations on co-op, ranging from not-for-profits to a Crown corporation.

Alina Debyser

Alina is a first year student intending to major in Human Geography, and is especially interested in the urban environment, climate change adaptation, and environmental justice. She grew up in Kenya, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Denmark, and is excited to discover more of Vancouver and be part of the Trail Six editorial team this year. Alina enjoys art and design, snowboarding, and exploring Google Maps Street View.

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