

DOMICIDE: Concept, Experience, Planning

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses upon the subject of "domicide" – the destruction of homes by human agencies whose actions are deliberate in pursuit of their goals, are justified by a common good rationale, frequently employ planning or similar processes, and cause suffering to those who lose their homes. To determine the meaning of domicile, a wide array of sources is examined to evaluate the nature of "home." From this review it is found that home is predominantly a spatial, psycho-social, symbolic centre wherein resides at least a portion of an individual's, or a group's, **identity**. These meanings suggest key factors which may characterize domicile: permanent destruction of home and surroundings; loss of security/ownership; restriction of freedom; erasure of the home of memory, dreams, and ideals; loss of a memorial and source of nostalgia; de-centring; destruction of the home of acculturation; threat to family; loss of community values; loss of roots/history; loss of identity; and destruction of a place of attachment and refuge.

Chapters Three and Four fill a current gap in our understanding through the development of a conceptual framework for domicile. This framework is confirmed in Chapter Five through two British Columbia case studies of the Columbia River Basin where homes were drowned due to the construction of reservoirs. Domicide is found to have occurred throughout history at many different geographical scales and in most regions of the world. Domicide is initiated and carried out by powerful elites whose motives in war-time include revenge and leverage against another government and in peace-time may involve: socio-economic improvement; protection of the environment; racist/ideological reasons; jurisdictional reorganization; the assertion of sovereignty and the acquisition of space for settlement. Most of the victims of domicile are poor and/or disempowered, frequently are not heard in discussions of their ultimate fate, suffer through years of uncertainty, and receive inadequate compensation. The victims lose: identity, memories, and future dreams; property values and rights and security; social networks and a sense of attachment and refuge. They may

become ill or die, wards of the state, or ever cynical of government.

Review of the resistance to domicile, when considered with the findings of previous chapters, suggests that the process of domicile and the effect on its victims are serious phenomena which are likely to continue whether through major project construction or as a result of the actions of authoritarian governments. The range of measures used to mitigate the effects of domicile is therefore discussed and, in Chapter Six, new measures are suggested to augment these traditional means: counselling the grieving; the use of victim impact statements; recording people's histories; integrating the results of social impact assessment into subsequent planning processes; the use of community advocates from within the community; the use of strategic change management and dispute resolution techniques; and sharing the benefits of project construction.

Together with these specific practical recommendations, this study creates new frameworks for study of the concepts of home and domicile and provides a contribution to the academic literature in these areas. In particular, it contributes a moral dimension to this literature through focus on victims of the common good.

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DEDICATION

To my parents,

Dr. Alexander James Wood, 1914-1976

and

Eileen Ford Wood, 1917-1994

and the inspiration of home.

Chapter One: Introduction

"Someone has to lose," said the stranger. "That's economics.
The question is – who loses? That's progress."

Winifred Holtby, South Riding: a novel, 1936.

1.1 Context for Dissertation

To begin a discussion of "domicide," it is appropriate to turn first to the roots of this concept, which is as yet a neologism. As subsequent chapters will show, there have been many ideas expressed, but no really useful consolidation of thoughts about either the word or the concept. The dissertation topic arises from work on "place annihilation" (Hewitt 1983), which primarily dealt with the destruction of places in war time, and topocide, the deliberate destruction of places (which may be uninhabited, though used or known about) (Porteous 1988). These studies are usually undertaken by someone who is an "outsider," having an interest in the process of destruction. Domicide, on the other hand, most frequently occurs at the intimate scale of home, the "insider's" lived-in space and well known surrounding area, and the emphasis includes both process and effect.

Work on this concept was begun by the writer in consultation with Dr. J.D. Porteous in 1990 and builds on the above sources, as well as works by: Fried (1966) on the experience of persons who lost their homes in the West End of Boston as a result of redevelopment; Marris (1974) on response to loss, using slum clearance as one example; Gallaher and Padfield (1980) on the concept of a "dying community;" Coehlo and Ahmed (1980) on the effect of the uprooting of a group of people and their relocation; as well as many other minor sources. First thoughts on this concept were introduced by Porteous (1992) in a keynote address to the symposium on "The Ancient Home and the Modern Internationalized Home: Dwelling in Scandinavia" in Trondheim, Norway. In this address, domicile is discussed in the context of general topocide and a tentative typology is created for further study. Domicide is broadly defined for the first time as "the murder of a home," a subset of place destruction or topocide.

1.1 Scope and Commonly Used Terms

Arising from the above, this dissertation focuses upon the destruction of home or "domicide," and to begin this discussion adopts an operational definition as follows: "domicide" is the destruction of homes by human agencies whose actions are deliberate in the pursuit of their own goals and whose gain is often cloaked in the mantle of the common good. Domicide involves real victims who have no wish to lose their homes, who define their loss in specific ways, and who suffer as a result of losing their homes. Domicide involves a process which includes both planning before homes are destroyed and planning for the persons who must be relocated. As yet, domicile is mainly a Western concept. However, this description requires a more precise definition of terms, given the value-laden nature of some of these words. This section reviews the four most salient terms: "victim", "common good", "home" and then returns briefly to the word "domicide."

The term "victim" is not intended to confer a special status on people affected, as the words "the poor" did in the 19th century or "the welfare mother" does in today's parlance. Weisstub (1986, 317), in seeking a modern definition for the word "victim," quite correctly points to the long history of victimization beginning with the Garden of Eden and its created possibilities of pain and suffering, leading through the Old Testament's widows and orphans, and through the Christian martyrs and sacrificial lambs of the Crusades to this century's victims of nuclear holocaust and genocide. He also recognizes the historical focus of attention on groups of victims, as opposed to individual victims, who could be regarded with apparent scientific detachment. This detachment has become less easy and the definition of a "victim" more difficult in contemporary times given the realization that there are victims and aggressors in political, economic, familial and emotional life and given the modern media's role in exposing the "plight" of

the victim and the "evil" of the aggressor. Nevertheless, within the confines of this study, the definition of persons who lose their homes as "victims" seems justifiable, given Weisstub's description of a victim as a "person who has been unjustly treated" and whose "human or economic power has been weakened." And I would add, a person who has suffered, often through years of uncertainty, and through loss of home. Whether or not the necessary "aggressor" is present could be a matter of debate. Like Blowers (1980, ix), however, I have **not** "attempted to write a book exposing the rapacity of developers or the myopia of officials."

More satisfactory, I believe, is the connection between the "victim" and what is perhaps the real aggressor in the circumstances described in this dissertation, the concept of the "common good" as defined by either the elite or the majority. The term "common good" is often used interchangeably with the term "public interest". Raskin (1986, 38) suggests that the definition of the common good has a long history from Thomas Aquinas, who believed that it was not possible to engage in profit enterprises lest wealth leave society and end in the hands of the individual or the corporate organization who would then act against society itself, to Marxist beliefs which see the contradictions between capitalism and the common good. Fortunately, Fagence (1977, 83) provides an omnibus definition of public interest relating to urban and regional planning, and in so doing creates a bench-mark: "the public interest is promoted or protected if the community is able to enjoy increased or improved facilities, amenities and services; if the provisions are sufficient (quantity) and adequate (quality); if they are convenient, efficient, compatible, not exclusive, free of onerous restrictions; if minority interests are wholly recognized and accommodated; if external (geo-political) relationships are not prejudiced; and if most other individual rights and privileges are not unnecessarily or unduly constrained or denied." In this dissertation, where "home" is a central theme, individual rights are of

significant interest. These individual rights include both the rights claimed by the owners of private property (land and structures) and the much less tangible rights associated with the creation of a home. "Common good," where it is cited in this dissertation, is therefore a concept which is flawed, for it excludes the victims it creates through its achievement.

The definition of "home" is the subject of a separate chapter in this study as it is necessary to understand what home means before domicile can be discussed. Even the briefest review of the literature would suggest that home is a central concept relating to a person's identity and approach to the world around them. Once the nature of home is understood, then the meaning of loss of home can be explored. Discussion of the term "home" is limited here to the explanation that home, as used most commonly in this dissertation, means both physical dwelling and surroundings, be those surroundings the area immediately around the home, a neighbourhood in an urban context, or a rural landscape.

Finally, we return to the neologism "domicide" – the destruction of home by human agencies whose actions are deliberate in pursuit of their goals, involve planning or similar processes, and cause suffering to their victims who lose their homes. What this dissertation hopes to show is that while domicile may be a conceptual neologism, it is strongly grounded in fact. To reach this goal requires the examination of a series of research questions.

1.3 Purpose, Research Questions and Dissertation Organization

To understand domicile it is first necessary to understand the nature of home. The primary purpose of the first section of this research (Chapter Two) is, through a review of and immersion in a wide array of literature on home, to better understand the nature of home and thus to formulate those aspects

of home salient to domicide. As well as achieving this goal, I hope to contribute a new review of the concept of home and create a new framework for understanding the concept. To achieve the purposes of Chapter Two, two main questions are addressed: What is the meaning of home and how important is this concept in people's lives? Given a general understanding of the meaning of home, what does losing home mean?

Chapter Three seeks to extend the presently rather vague concept of domicide through review of many illustrative cases and thus to establish clearly the nature of domicide and its salient characteristics and suggest a framework for its study. In particular two questions are addressed: What are the means of, motives for, and processes of domicide? Are the parameters of domicide, as suggested in Chapter Two in terms of the meaning of losing home, exhibited in the cases studied?

Chapter Four augments Chapter Three through an examination of the responses of persons faced with the threat or prospect of domicide as well as by examining current planning and other processes which occur both before, and following, the decision that homes will be destroyed. This chapter acts as a basis for the question: How are the importance of home and the meaning of its loss currently incorporated into planning for those who must lose their homes?

Chapter Five returns to the questions of Chapter Three and Four but narrows the focus. This chapter is intended to deepen our understanding through an empirical study, testing the validity of all that has been previously discussed by a review of circumstances in the Columbia River Basin where homes were drowned.

Finally, Chapter Six augments Chapter Four by suggesting a number of innovative ways in which planning methods might assist those who are to

lose their homes through domicile. Chapter Seven is the conclusion to the dissertation.

1.4 Methodology

Above all, the methodology for the creation of this dissertation must be seen as empirical. "Generalizations" are stated and, rather than generating an "hypothesis", research questions are formulated. From that point, based on a stated research plan, data are collected and analyzed and finally, conclusions are drawn. Each chapter follows and builds upon or elucidates the one before.

Each method is grounded in humanistic geography where "knowledge is obtained subjectively in a world of meanings created by individuals" (Johnston 1983, 5). Qualitative methods are used throughout in recognition of the difficulties inherent in "the reality reconstruction business: the tortuous business of learning to see the world of individuals or groups as they see it" (Eyles 1988, 1). The necessary skills associated with this methodology relate as much to common sense and creative interpretation as to techniques of data collection.

To create Chapter Two, which required examination of a wide array of literature on the subject of home, a bibliography was first assembled and content analysis of this material undertaken to enable:

- 1) portrayal of all the meanings associated with home
- 2) creation of a collection of quotations which are either typical or particularly familiar to readers on the subject of home
- 3) provision of general explanations and specific examples, and
- 4) review of the above findings to create a resonance in both my own mind and that of my reader regarding the meaning of home.

Content analysis involves the systematic and objective identification of specific characteristics in the literature (Stoddard 1982, 185) with my only assumption or bias being that the works to be examined should fall primarily within the academic literature about home. Given the problems and advantages of this methodological approach (Stoddard, p. 193-195), my use of content analysis to create a framework for interpretation had the advantage that a number of frameworks have been created by previous authors in this way and therefore there was a point of comparison. A disadvantage of this method was the time it took to undertake content analysis of many sources.

Chapter Three, in which the nature of domicide and its salient characteristics are defined, required a wide-ranging investigation of a vast array of disparate and sometimes fugitive literature – never previously brought together – in order to portray circumstances which might be regarded as domicide. Here the desire was to formulate a new and original concept, as well as its structures and categories, through reading and re-reading and by creating and refining ideas through many iterations. The methods chosen to do this involved content analysis but where textual interpretation was necessary, many of the benefits and problems of strictly hermeneutical enquiries were encountered. Stewart and Mickunas suggest that in a hermeneutical approach “we read [the text] with the expectation that we can bridge these gaps [of time, language and culture] ” and:

let the text speak to the interests of the reader...the task of interpretation involves a dialectical process that includes the reader as well as the autonomy of the text. To sacrifice either pole of this continuum is to fail to understand the text (p.162).

Ricoeur, cited in Barnes and Duncan (1992, 6), argues the case for textual interpretation by pointing out that the meaning of texts is concretized through their interpretation, just as institutional arrangements are a

reflection of social life. Second, an interpretation of text is often essential where, for example, the original author has not been able to consolidate the implications of complex events. Written texts also have new significance when interpreted in relation to later events.

Barnes and Duncan (1992, 2-3), in their discussion of discourse, text and metaphor in the representation of landscape, point to some of the necessary cautions when interpretation of the "world" is to be accomplished through "closereading" of "texts". They acknowledge that humans decide how to represent things. However, once reality has been translated into text for the first time, writing on the basis of this text constitutes a new world. Secondly, the interpretation that we place on text is coloured by the circumstances or particular interest which bring us to that text. Finally, we must be wary of the rhetoric of others. All of these guidelines were important in the preparation of Chapter Three.

In Chapter Four, I return to the methods of literature review to examine responses of persons to the impending threat of domicile as well as means currently in use to assist these persons such as citizen involvement techniques, social impact assessment and planning. I also relied on my experience as a professional community planner to find shortcomings and suggest improvements, which are discussed in Chapter Six.

Using the operational definition of domicile described at the beginning of this chapter and further elaborated in Chapters Two and Three, an in-depth case study method is used in Chapter Five to ratify and extend earlier findings. The two case-studies investigated are examples of drowning of homes caused by the construction of reservoirs, in this case behind the Hugh Keenleyside and Libby dams in the Columbia River Basin. These case studies were chosen for several reasons:

- 1) I was familiar with this geographic area following work (during 1978-1985) with the Revelstoke Community Impact Committee, which was put in place during the construction of the Revelstoke Dam. In that situation, homes were not drowned but there were impacts on community infrastructure, daily life and the environment as the dam was constructed. In the final year of that Committee's life, I was project manager for a study which was to determine whether any further compensation or mitigation was due to the City of Revelstoke and surrounding areas. These studies recommended minimum further compensation but, I believe, heightened my desire to deal with situations where such retrospective review would relate more closely to the affect on people in the area. In addition, I welcomed the opportunity to work again in a geographic area in which I felt "at home," although it was quite different from my real home.
- 2) The subject area was within British Columbia and accessible within the constraints of my employment responsibilities. Further, my employment with the Water Management Program, B.C. Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks, provided me with easy access to archival records and file information which would otherwise be difficult to trace.
- 3) Finally, the choice of a situation where domicile is caused through the creation of a reservoir represented, for me, an extreme case. For those who would lose their homes, it would simply not be possible to go home again. Both home and well-known surroundings and landscape were erased.

Research was undertaken through a search for and examination of primary sources in the form of archival material (described in detail in Chapter Five and listed separately in the bibliography). Although material such as the transcripts of hearings had been used by others and thus was re-interpreted, I believe that the material in the files of the B.C. Water Resources Service and the material in the B.C. Government Archives collected by Guy Constable and James Ripley has not been previously reviewed in this way. In the case of the James Ripley and the B.C. Water Resources Service material, I was the first user of this information. Review of existing books and reports

also described in detail in Chapter Five provided important information and these sources were re-interpreted in the context of this dissertation.

To augment this material, I had initially hoped to undertake depth interviews with persons who had lost their homes through the construction of the Columbia River Basin projects but was prevented from so doing by an apparent conflict of interest with my employment responsibilities. This situation is described in detail in Chapter Five as it is the key to my choice of participant observation as a method for collecting information. Nevertheless, I did have the opportunity to interview, discuss and ratify my observations with several officials of B.C. Hydro, the entity responsible for the construction of the Canadian projects, as well as other government officials, when I helped to arrange and participate in the Kootenay Symposium meetings. These meetings were held in 1993 and 1994 to determine past impacts of the Columbia River projects on the Kootenay Region and to plan for the future of that region. While many of these interviews were short conversations by telephone or during meetings, I was particularly fortunate to travel with staff of B.C. Hydro during the Kootenay meetings and therefore was able to discuss my findings with them, probe specific areas of interest, and record my impressions in notes at journey's end. In these situations, the most important qualities necessary are those described by Eyles and Smith (1988, 8): be an empathetic listener, a good conversationalist, and a competent social theorist able to link responses with a broad base of knowledge. In addition, expressions of interest, encouraging gestures, probing questions, and leading questions are all important (Donovan 1988, 191).

It was in the context of the Kootenay meetings that I became a "participant observer," not in the commonly accepted sense of the word by living with others, but as part of a re-living of past experience in present time during a number of meetings and two symposia. This method of research

became particularly important as it was necessary to ratify findings from my review of archival material and literature review through participant-observation rather than by undertaking depth interviews. It is the task of the participant observer, in the term's normal usage, to partake in the ordinary daily life of those whom he or she observes and thereby to provide interpretation (Eyles 1988, 8-11; Smith 1988, 18-27). Observation may be from the vantage point of the complete observer (where there is no contact between the researcher and the researched) or as a participant (where the researcher becomes a functioning member of the group and the observation role is concealed); as observer-as-participant (where the role of the researcher is made clear from the beginning) or as a participant-as-observer (where the researcher interacts with the subjects in their normal social environment and their relationship is defined by the research). My varying roles in this regard are described in Chapter Five. In all of these activities, however, my emphasis was on listening to the victims of domicile as they spoke about their loss of home and while listening, or immediately thereafter, recording their views.

In participant observation the researcher is at all times both inside and outside the group, both involved but sufficiently detached to be a critical commentator. In brief, the method involves participation, observation, and description; then abstraction, contemplation and communication to others (Smith, p.33). Advantages of participant observation include the ability to become immersed in the life of persons being studied and thus to understand not only the setting and events, but impressions and feelings. Continuous analysis of data and sensitivity to the need for changes to direction in the research permit an inductive approach to the creation of theory. Problems may arise: in terms of the standardization of the observation, observers and method; with data which stress effect but not cause; and in the representation of a group which is atypical. The use of this method in the creation of

Chapter Five demonstrated the last of these problems and hence this material was used only to augment analysis of documents from the period when the dam was being planned.

1.5 Social and Practical Significance

The subject of this study has both practical and social relevance as it augments our knowledge of the processes and human effects of the destruction of home. This phenomenon has received little coordinated academic attention beyond those works noted above and described in more detail in Chapter Three. Both planning processes and social impact assessment appear to neglect the least empowered in our society, in this case the victims of domicile. Through a better understanding of the meaning of loss of home, and of the context of planning and impact assessment in relation to that loss, it is suggested that the impact of this loss can be minimized. "The proponent must not be faceless but must be there, taking place in the debate and community planning activity which surrounds any development" (Wilson 1981, ii). This study encourages future dialogue between the planner, the politician and the planned-for.

The creation of a new framework for discussion of the subject of home and development of the concept of domicile is expected to contribute to the academic literature in geography, planning, and related disciplines. In particular, this work is undertaken to contribute a moral dimension to these disciplines. Throughout this dissertation, my bias is to provide the victims of domicile with a heroic stature in order that they may also be recognized in an academic literature which frequently has focused on government process and policy. In essence, this dissertation seeks to reveal the shadows on the landscape which occur when common humanity is lost in ignoring the rights and needs of others (Tuan 1993, 239), and the light which prevails in

enhancing the dignity of the victims of such shadows. Geographers have been urged to seek a regeneration of their discipline through:

- 1) producing effective social knowledge;
- 2) generating realistic expectations, in part by deliberating with stakeholders as participant-observers;
- 3) rethinking research goals as contributory to the policy-making process;
- 4) adopting a reflective spirit open to moral and human consequence; and
- 5) placing an emphasis on interdisciplinarity (Steed 1988, 10-11).

More recently, universities have been exhorted to "rethink their mission...[and] recognize the "scholarship of integration" which involves synthesizing results already obtained and making connections across disciplines" (Wilson 1991, 25). In its synthesis of material from many disciplines and sources, in its moral dimension, and in its practical conclusions, this study strives to meet some of the goals set both for geographers and for universities in general.

Chapter Two: The Nature of Home

It's my favourite place, here – down the new road through the iron gate. I stand here and watch the seasons come and go. At night the moonlight plays on Hunder Beck...and the waters sing a song to me...I know this place will always be loyal to me. If I have nothing in my pocket I will always have this. They cannot take it away from me, it's mine, mine for the taking and always will be...even when I'm no longer here. Wherever I go...and whatever I am...this is me...

Hannah Hauxwell, Seasons of My Life, 1989.

2.1 Introduction and Methodology

Everyone knows what "home" means. Yet this apparently simple concept has been the subject of countless studies, many stories and much art and poetry. Home has been a theme of research in disciplines as varied as anthropology, environmental psychology, sociology, gerontology, women's studies, history, ethnoarchaeology, architecture, education, planning and, of course, geography. As mentioned in Chapter One, I have three reasons for examining the subject in breadth. First, I wish to allow a full immersion in the subject of home in order to completely understand its meaning and the importance of this concept in people's lives. From this perspective, I wish to suggest those aspects which would be of significance when home is destroyed, and in so doing, alter our mental construction of the meaning of home. Finally, knowing that a full examination of the literature will occur, I hope to contribute the most comprehensive review on the subject of home available at this point and to create a new typology or framework for understanding the concept.

2.1.1 Collection of Source Material

To provide the necessary references for this study, three methods were used. Given the significance placed on the study of home in geography, a bibliography was first created by referencing writings in this subject area. Home is one of the central concepts of human geography. At the global scale, Carl Ritter's geography is "the study of the earth as the home of man" (Hartshorne 1949, 62). At the meso-scale, Kniffen believed that mapping of the types of houses in Louisiana was an "attempt to get an areal expression of *ideas* regarding houses – a groping toward a tangible hold on the geographic expression of culture" (Hartshorne, p. 230). At the micro-scale, J. B. Jackson urged that "the primary study of the human geographer must be the dwelling...as the microcosm, as the prime example of Man the Inhabitant's

effort to re-create Heaven on Earth" (Jackson 1952, 6). Each of these examples, together spanning the century before 1960, focuses on physical manifestations of home yet recognizes the greater depth of meaning.

Since the 1960s the geographic literature on home has flourished. For example, Mackie (1981, 7), in reviewing the roots of the study of home, lists the following concepts: lifeworld (Buttimer 1976, Ley 1977, Seamon 1979); attachment (Tuan 1974, 1975, 1977); dwelling (Buttimer 1976, Relph 1976, Seamon 1979); rootedness (Godkin 1980, Tuan 1980); existential insideness (Relph 1973); homeland (Tuan 1974, 1977); territoriality (Porteous 1976); and home in relation to journey (Tuan 1971). To this array must be added the work of Hayward (1975, 1976) on home as an environmental and social concept.

Seeking a context beyond that of geography, material for inclusion in this chapter was also found by searching keywords in bibliographic summaries and sources from other areas of academic study. In addition, general readings undertaken during the preparation of the dissertation augmented the more specific readings. These sources included explorations of the meaning of home and studies of specific aspects of home. Particularly useful are studies within the realm of environment and behaviour research which have sought to clarify the concept of home in order to relate this concept to other variables (Rapoport 1992, 1). As well, a limited amount of general literature including both biographies and fiction was considered. The latter category would undoubtedly provide a rich source for analysis. There are countless juvenile and adult fiction books in the University of Victoria Library alone bearing the word "home" in their title. However, detailed analysis of such sources must be left for a separate study.

Finally, the works of fourteen commentators who have studied the subject of "home" were reviewed and are summarized below (Figure 2.1).¹

Together these studies show an emphasis on home and relationships, particularly family and friends, as well as on the belief that home creates identity, provides shelter, privacy and security, and is the predominant centre of our lives. A lesser theme is found in the combination of personal and material status and ownership as these concepts relate to home. The most recent works have focussed upon home as the source of emotional well-being, comfort and happiness.

2.1.2 Content Analysis

All of the sources listed in the assembled bibliography, including the works of the commentators noted above, were reviewed and their contents relating to home noted. Frequently, material referenced in these sources was re-examined to ensure that the meaning of home described by the original author could be elicited.

Following review and notation of chosen sources, content analysis was undertaken to determine specific and general themes. Gillian Tindall, in Countries of the Mind (1991, 9), suggests that she is not so much interested in actual landscapes and dwellings, but in what these have become in the minds of the novelist. Similarly, I am interested, not in actual homes, but in what "home" has come to represent in the minds of writers or the interpretations of researchers from various disciplines.

Content analysis suggested five major categories for examination in creating a typology of home, categories which are more general and somewhat broader than the work of previous commentators. These comprise: the definition of home and changes to this definition over time; the spatial and physical aspects of home; the symbolic meanings of home; the psycho-social aspects of home; and the meaning of home to an exile or the homeless. Having established general themes through content analysis, a

second review was undertaken to determine typical quotations. This material is included in text boxes in the dissertation to permit the reader some degree of immersion in the literature of home and thus to reach individual conclusions about the meaning of home. A third review of the material provided general explanations and specific examples which are used to support the discussion within each of the general themes. Finally this material was reviewed and compared with the quotations to permit further reflection on the meaning of home and thus to understand what would be lost when domicile occurs.

This chapter therefore examines each of the major categories chosen to explore the concept of home, with greatest emphasis being placed on the spatial, symbolic and psycho-social aspects of home as these categories are of greatest relevance to the theme of domicile.

2.2 Definition of "Home"

My home is the house I live in, the village or town where I was born or where I spend most of my time. My home is my family, the worlds of my friends, the social and intellectual milieu in which I live, my profession, my company, my workplace. My home, obviously, is also the country I live in, the language I speak, and the intellectual and spiritual climate of my country expressed in the language spoken there...My home, of course, is not only my Czechness, it is also my Czechoslovakness, which means my citizenship. Ultimately my home is Europe...and - finally - it is this planet and its present civilization (Havel 1991, 49).

2.2.1 Definition

The definition of home is an obvious starting place for a study of the meaning of home. Tuan (1971, 189) wrote that "perhaps no single term in another language covers a significative field of comparable scope." The English word *home* can mean: "a dwelling place or house, a village or town, a collection of dwellings (Old and early Middle English); the place of one's nurturing, with the feelings which naturally and properly attach to it; a place,

region, or state to which one properly belongs, in which one's affections centre, or where one finds refuge and rest" (Hayward 1975, 3). However, home in French, *maison*, refers to the physical structure while the German *heim* connotes refuge or asylum. To these may be added the Old Nordic *heimr* for homeland and world and the Gothic *haims* which translates as village, as well as the Greek *kome* which also translates as village.

Rybczynski (1986, 61) echoes this theme: "This wonderful word, "home", which connotes a physical "place" but also has the more abstract sense of a "state of being" has no equivalent in the Latin or Slavic European languages. Sopher (1979, 262), analyzing the meaning of the words "home," "neighbourhood" and "place," also examined these words in different languages. He provided a new perspective by suggesting that reference to home (town) and home (land) implies all of the warmth, security and intimacy associated with references to home as a family dwelling.

To rely on one definition of the word "home" is misleading and it is tempting to follow Kim Dovey's lead and suggest that "all of its uses in everyday life constitute its meaning" or that "home is a notion universal to our species, not as a place, house, or city, but as a principle for establishing a meaningful relationship with the environment" (Dovey 1978, 27). Box 1 presents a series of meanings of the word "home" and even this brief review points to disparate meanings, often influenced by the perspective of the writer. The quotations in Box 1 are chosen for their attempt to provide a summary statement about "home." As such they suggest a common sense of refuge, possession, attachment, affection and personal freedom. In

summary, this section has briefly shown that the wide-ranging definition of home, particularly in the English language, includes disparate physical places and evokes various emotional responses.

Box 1—Meaning of the Word “Home”

“home” is a label applied voluntarily and selectively to one or more environments to which a person feels some attachment (Hayward 1975, 3).

Loewy and Snaith, following a study of consumers in the U.S. housing market, reported the central concepts of home as:

- a place to raise children/family
 - a place to live/stay/spend your time
 - a place to rest/relax/be comfortable in
 - a place for love/warmth/understanding
 - a place that I own/is my own/belongs to me
 - a place for privacy/to be alone/get away
 - a place you can always come home to
 - a place to be independent/can do as I please/security
- (Loewy and Snaith 1967, cited in Hayward 1975, 3)

“Home” brought together meanings of house and household, of dwelling and refuge, of ownership and of affection. “Home” meant the house, but also everything that was in it and around it, as well as the people, and the sense of satisfaction and contentment that all these conveyed. You could walk out of the house, but you always returned home (Rybczynski 1986, 61).

Home is the place where one loves and is loved; it is a place where I go to rest, in which I feel secure enough to lower my guard and lie down to sleep; home is where I keep my possessions; home is a place of comfort where pleasant experiences take place (Shaw 1990, 230).

house/home (place to live in)

The distinction was once more clear-cut than it now is. A ‘house’ was a building for living in. A ‘home’ was a ‘house’ (or flat or family residence) seen as not just a place to live in but a place of domestic comfort and family happiness. Today the two words are – at any rate in the jargon of real estate agents – one and the same thing: “new show ‘homes’ for sale”...In senses other than ‘house’, however, ‘home’ remains a highly emotive word, as in ‘homeland’, ‘homesick’, ‘home town’ and even the ‘Home Guard’ (Room 1985, 122).

2.2.2 Changing Definition of "Home" Based on Use/Decoration

Etymological review of the word "home" has been used to clarify its meaning (Hayward 1975, 3; Mackie 1981, 21).² However, for the purposes of this study, a brief description of the changing use of home as a physical structure/social concept in its European-American context, provides a more useful background. In addition, a review of trends in home decoration suggests that emphasis on comfort and particular styles reflects the importance placed by society on the creation of "hominess."

Homes, or in this case dwellings, were once more public; for example, the lord's home had great halls full of servants and visitors, while the homes of artisans included their workshops and shops. In Home, a history of housing, technology, and social attitudes from the Middle Ages to modern times, Rybczynski (1986) traces the development of home as a concept. In the fourteenth century, townhouses combined living in an upper area of one single large chamber and working space at the lower level. Beginning in the 1600s, homes, at least for the better-off, contained "privacies," rooms in which the individual could be sheltered from public view. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, homes became the scene for domestic rather than working life and comfort gained new importance. Funk and Wagnalls' New Standard Dictionary (cited in Mackie 1981, 58) presents the 18th and 19th centuries' view of the home as a private sphere and refuge, essentially a feminine space: "Home (dwelling) came to mean an endeared dwelling as the scene of domestic love and happy and cherished family life..."

Rybczynski believes that the evolution of home comforts was gradual, accommodating the introduction of electricity, the disappearance of servants and reappearance of the small family home. But the emphasis on home comforts became much more prevalent after the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes held in Paris in the summer of

1925. This extraordinary focus on the home interior featured pavilions highlighting the glamour of elaborate decoration and lighting and the *Esprit Nouveau* of Le Corbusier. The scene was set for modern home decoration.

While the emphasis on home decoration has continued throughout this century, there have been changes in the general social attitudes towards home. In the 1950s Jackson wrote that "the modern American home, even the modern farm home, is fast becoming little more than a place where members of the family (not all of them, by any means) eat one or two meals a day, sleep and enjoy occasional sociability " (Jackson, 1952, 6). The late 1960s and 1970s in North America can be seen as a period when self-fulfillment meant more than attachment to anyone or anywhere. But more recently there is the "coming [of] a new awareness, a slowing down, a search for roots, family ties, a passion for the 'natural' and for the land, that powerful symbol of connectedness" (Johnson 1982, 9). This is seen as a return to the pervading theme of home as a central cultural value and a means to stabilize society (Wright 1980, 294). The Communitarian Manifesto (Gwyn 1992, A5) published in November 1991 seeks "an active citizenry concerned about the moral direction of the community" and Clinton's 1992 American presidential election campaign promoted "changing values" to strengthen the family and community. This emphasis has translated into concern about the family and social values of home. Amitai Etzioni contrasts this movement with the environmental movement: "We have had, and still have and still need, an environmental movement. What we need now is a social environment movement, to heal society in the same way we're trying to heal nature" (Gwyn 1992, A5).

Reflecting these values, home decoration for the privileged has returned to more traditional themes. The designer Ralph Lauren mimics various historical periods in his home fashions and is "not so much

interested in recalling the authentic appearance of a historical period as he is in evoking the atmosphere of traditional hominess and solid domesticity that is associated with the past...a desire for custom and routine in a world characterized by constant change and innovation" (Rybczynski 1986, 9). The British designer Laura Ashley's "whole philosophy centred around the home, the family...making products that make people feel comfortable, cosy" (Markoutsas 1992, C1).

Although a formidable task, and thus beyond the scope of this work, a review of people's own histories would doubtless add to this discussion of the meaning of home. The History Workshop movement has been responsible for the development of a "people's history," often created by ordinary people writing about themselves, and frequently creating the only histories available which describe the lives of women and children. Biographies, while often telling of human relationships and social class, less frequently discuss the meaning of home to their subject (Porteous 1989, 232). Together with fictional accounts, however, these sources would augment the study of the meaning of home. Similarly, the lives of previous inhabitants can sometimes be traced through their homes (Box 2).

Box 2-Home as History of Its Residents

She is cordial as I leave, but she has told me she likes being alone. Of course she isn't alone at all. The place is filled with her predecessors...(Johnson 1982, 112).

To dwell means to inhabit the traces left by one's own living, by which one always retraces the lives of one's ancestors (Illich 1985, 8).

The corner to the right of the front door is the one that fifty years ago held an umbrella stand and where my father...deposited a dripping wet umbrella; and where for twenty years hung a horseshoe found by my uncle Corrado...(Levi 1989, 25).

This section has shown that, in this century (except for a short period in the 1960s), there has been a continual increase in emphasis on home as refuge, security and possession, source of attachment, affection and memory, and lived-in space in which "hominess" is an important value.

2.3 Spatial and Physical Aspects of Home

I live in my house as I live inside my skin: I know more beautiful, more ample, more sturdy and more picturesque skins: but it would seem to me unnatural to exchange them for mine (Levi 1989, 25).

Spatial aspects of place are expressed as a cluster of meanings as illustrated in Box 3:

Box 3 - Home - Cluster of Meanings

Home is the space - group - time entity in which individuals spend the greater part of their lives. It is preferred space, and it provides a fixed point of reference around which the individual may personally structure his or her spatial reality (Porteous 1976, 390).

The concept of home is applicable across all scales from the individual psyche, the room, the house, the street, the neighbourhood, the town to the nation and the globe. Home can refer to a physical entity such as a cave, a house, an orphanage. On an experiential level, home can refer to the daily round of life in one's habitual abode (Mackie 1981, 2).

From this cluster of meanings several themes emerge: home as a hierarchy of physical places; the dichotomy between private space and public space; home as the core node or centre of one's activity space; and the physical appearance of home. While I have relied on a European-American context for this discussion, I note that a wider and less ethnocentric range of research perspectives will soon augment this commentary (Benjamin and Stea, in press).

2.3.1 Home as a Hierarchy of Physical Places

Generally, and despite the American attempt to define home by what we carry around in our car (Appleyard 1979, 18), the spatial concept of home is conceived as a series of concentric zones ranging from one's room to one's nation. Each of these levels of home can be considered as a separate focus of attachment with the levels of dwelling and surrounding neighbourhood or landscape being the most relevant to the concept of domicile, although certainly whole regions can be affected:

- Room:** My home is the room I live in for a time, the room I've grown accustomed to, and which, in a manner of speaking, I have covered with my own invisible lining (Havel 1991, 49).
- Dwelling:** As a home the house is a creation having special properties accessible only to the people who made it their home. These properties...are difficult to portray from the outside. This is because in its deepest sense home is always something personal and private (Karjalainen 1993, 70).
- Neighbourhood:** To be forcibly evicted from one's home and neighbourhood is to be stripped of a sheathing, which in its familiarity protects human beings from the bewilderment of the outside world (Tuan 1974, 99).
- Landscape:** Pioneer records are rich in examples of settlers forming unusually strong attachments to the familiar features in the landscape (Rees 1982, 1).
- Village:** The villager who has never moved away...retains the unique mark of his particular village. If a man says that he comes from Akenfield he knows that he is telling someone from another part of the neighbourhood a good deal more than this. Anything from his appearance to his politics could be involved (Blythe 1969, 18).
- Region:** Fried and Gleicher (1961)...concluded that "the commonest core lies in a widespread feeling of belonging someplace, of being 'at home' in a region that extends out from but well beyond the dwelling unit" (Hayward 1975, 6).
- Nation:** O Canada, our home and native land...(Lavalleyé and Routhier 1880).
- Earth:** To be at home on the planet and welcome here, humanity must understand and appreciate the primacy of that home, the Eden we have never left, and the wild that is its emblem (Rowe 1990, 34).

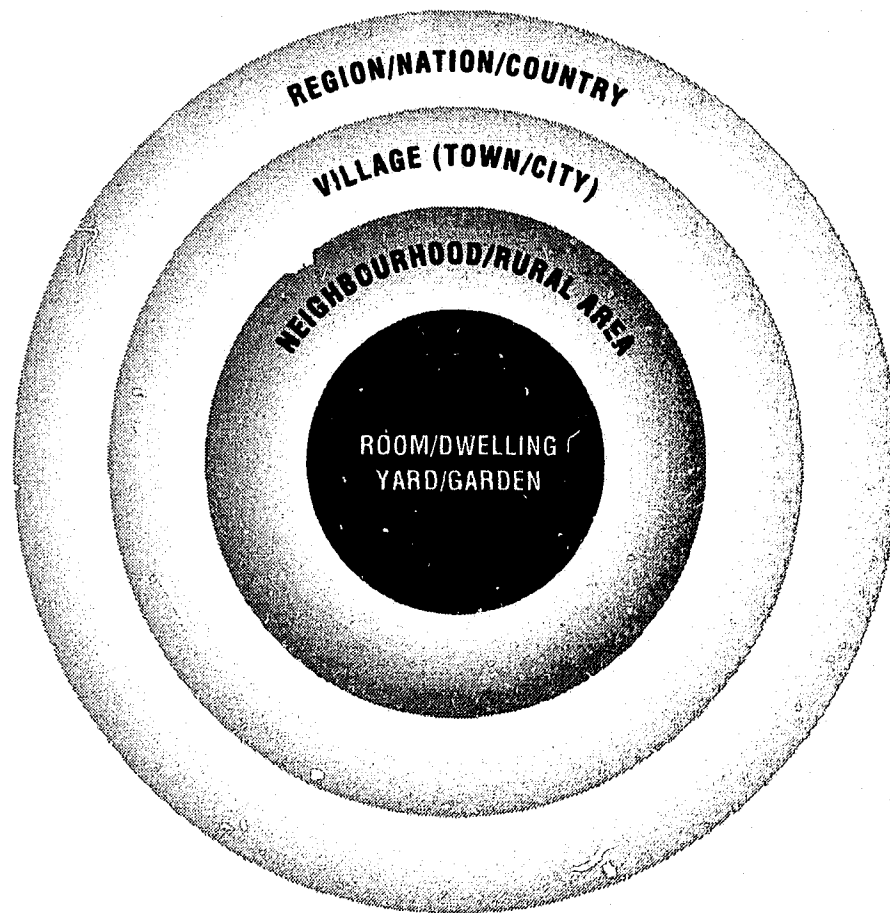
The concept of home as a hierarchy of places may also be seen as a clustering at various spatial levels; for example, there is a link between room and dwelling. The dwelling is then set in a neighbourhood and the neighbourhood in a village, town or city (or in the case of a rural area in a landscape). Finally, all of the above are found within a region, country and/or nation. Recent research in France suggests that humans are most attached to the levels of the dwelling and the nation (Burgel 1992, 4). However, the literature suggests that, at the sub-national level, the dwelling and its immediate surroundings are the chief focus of an individual's spatial concept of home. This level, which may include one's neighbourhood, appears most relevant to the concept of domicile to all except the pastoral nomads, modern-day gypsies, and New Age travellers whose lifestyle is ostensibly free from such absolute constraints. Figure 2.2 illustrates the clustering of these various spatial levels as well as the hierarchy of places identified as home.

2.3.2 Private and Public Spaces

Within those spaces which are recognized as home, private, semi-private and public spaces are recognized. Bollnow viewed the house as the means by which "man carves out of the universal space, a special and to some extent private space and thus separates inner space from outer space" (Bollnow 1960, 33). Greenbie (1981) distinguished home space as private and distinct in the following inventory, which ranges from private (home) to semi-private or public space:

- Private Spaces: home space
- Street Space: to go through or to go to
- Village Space : fences and neighbours
- Public Spaces: the community of strangers
- Urban Space: the marketplace of goods and symbols
- Humane Space: promenades, parks and places for peace of mind

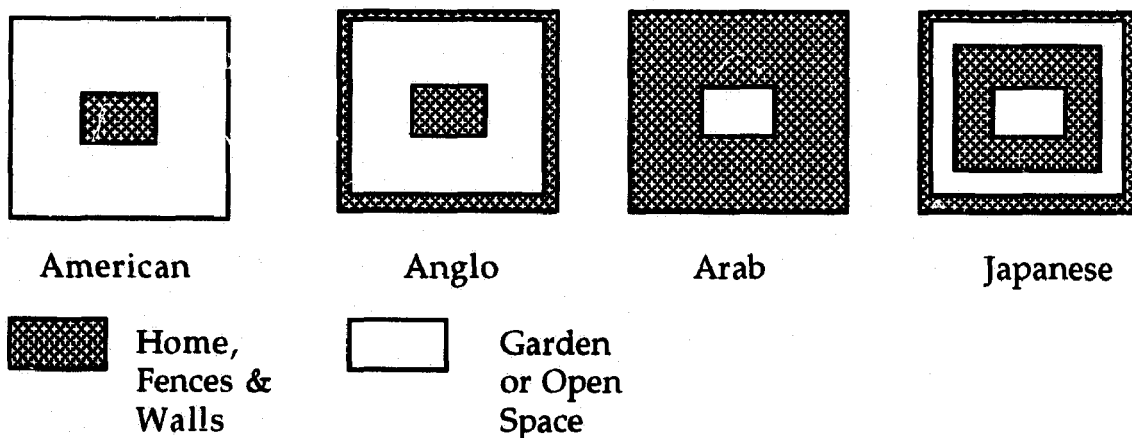
FIGURE 2.2
HOME AS HIERARCHY OF PLACES ON EARTH



In his photo-essay, he recognized the significance of the single family dwelling as a transition in space between our own bodies and the outside world, a transition which is assisted by the provision of windows, fences and thresholds (Greenbie, p.2-17). This dichotomy of private versus public space and the intervening thresholds (porches, steps, front yards, back yards, driveways, sidewalks and alleys) is also explored by Taylor and Brower (1985) who conclude that these spaces, emanating from the home, help to define the behaviour of the immediate community.

The threshold of a home has particular significance as it is the division between public place and private sanctity and thresholds vary depending on the cultural norm. Thresholds "make the connection between full and empty" (Bachelard 1964, 133). While Americans may have open unfenced front yards, the English often have a fenced front garden with a gate. Moslems, on the other hand, have high walls even around their compounds. (Rapoport 1969) (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Thresholds



Altman and Gauvain (1981) also discussed the role of thresholds as well as the role of windows in terms of the accessibility which these parts of the home provide to residents. After studying victims of burglaries, Korosec-Serfaty and Bolitt (1986) found that the boundaries between inside and outside the house are essential features of dwelling experience, the door

providing the boundary between the outside and the inner self. Each of these commentators recognizes the important transition which occurs between the inside and outside of homes, private and public spaces, and emphasizes for us the importance of the interior of the home, the most intimate scale of home.

2.3.3 Home as a Core Node

Viewing home in the context of its larger setting, it can also be described as a core node within a nexus of nodes which comprises the individual's activity space (Porteous 1977, 93) (Box 4). Home is the place from which one starts out and to which one returns after a day's work – "a still point in an ever turning world," an irreplaceable centre of human significance and existence (Hayward 1975, 6; Relph 1976, 39-40). This concept is of fundamental importance to any study of domicile, for if home is the "centre of the world" then leaving home is "undoing the meaning of the world" (Berger 1984, 56-57).

Box 4—Home as Core Node/Centre

Nothing can be *done* without a previous orientation, and any orientation implies acquiring a fixed point. For this reason, religious man has always sought to fix his abode at 'the center of the world' (Eliade 1957, 22).

And lastly in the name of fire which controlled is the greatest friend of man and uncontrolled his most relentless enemy; greatest of forces; worshipped since the most ancient times; focusing point of mankind. The family gathers about the fireplace; the Indian lights his tepee fire, and where the pioneer far from civilization makes his tiny blaze, that spot is home (W.D. Richardson in Engel 1983, viii).

The creation of a center of sanctity in a profane world is the beginning of order in space. This center is the germ of the home. The center of consciousness that is self is realized in the environment as the center of radiating binary pairs. Many characteristics of home previously described radiate from this center – familiarity in a strange world, security within insecurity, certainty within doubt, sanctity within profaneness, order within chaos, passive sanctuary in an active world (Dovey 1978, 28).

2.3.4 Physical Appearance of Home

Discussions of home, the physical dwelling, often focus on outside appearance where both public/community and private/individual values are reflected. At the community level, dwellings reflect certain values through the use of materials and design, while at the individual level, specific details which reflect the inhabitants and their societal ties become more evident, particularly within the home (Altman and Chemers 1980; Altman and Gauvain 1981). This situation is perhaps exemplified by Santa Fe, New Mexico, where adobe is used as the building material throughout but where the design details of individual buildings create a constantly changing image.

Werner et al. (1989, 280) find a relationship between home appearance, personalization and upkeep and ethnic identity, social class, lifestyle preferences, and religious identification. By choosing to live in a home having a certain external appearance, a person may also express how they wish to be seen; for example, certain housing developments appear very ostentatious (Porteous 1976, 384) while others communicate attitudes such as attachment, openness and neighbourhood sociability. Werner et al. (1989, 279-296) found, for example, that strangers identified friendly home exteriors by the presence of Christmas decorations.

When we are invited inside, we experience the wonderful variability of home: the decoration, atmosphere and meaning of its rooms. Weisner and Weibel (1981) studied interior home environments and found four major distinguishing characteristics: disorder/functional complexity; decorative complexity; warmth/child-orientedness; and the presence of books. Further, they found that values and cultural/lifestyle choices, rather than material conditions, were the strongest predictors of home environment differences. This thought is echoed by Johnson (1982, 5): "How they spoke, all these rooms, but how often they communicated things their owners never

intended." Exploring the more difficult concept of atmosphere within the home, Pennartz (1986) analyzed the experience of pleasantness in rooms and found a correlation with various spatial characteristics such as their size and shape. Some rooms are found to be special places for the assertion of self-identity. The attic and cellar, often the secret spaces of the home, have been studied by Korosec-Serfaty (1984, 303). She found that these spaces are experienced as a whole with other parts of the home and while they may have negative connotations for some, for others they signify shelters, allowing appropriation, accumulation, and security.

Traditional societies enclosed sacred space within their homes, which like the hearth helped to "unify natural, social and supernatural realms and to resolve symbolically the conflicts among them" (Rakoff 1977, 86). Pastoral nomads orient temporary shelters and body positions in relation to their fire as the centre of their geographic area (Dovey 1978, 28). For example, both Mongolian nomads and scholars refer to the Mandala, "The Yurt and the Universe,"

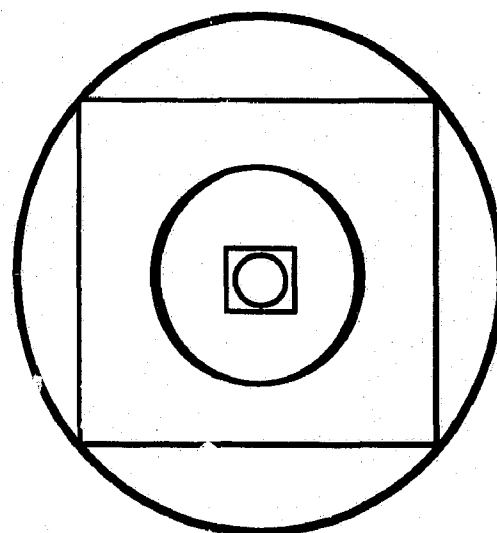


Figure 2.4: The Yurt and the Universe

(Figure 2.4) which shows the brazier at the center, surrounded by the hearth square and then the Yurt. This is bounded conceptually by a box representing the four corners of the Earth and a circle representing The Earth (Faegre 1979, 93).

Home is not only the centre of our world but centre *and* whole. While today one may only rarely find needlework decorations such as "Home Sweet Home" or "God Bless this Home" centered over the hearth, the family still

centres around the electronic hearth or the dining table. Home is the centre of life for most human groups; domicile involves loss of this centre.

2.4 Symbolic Meanings of Home

...for most people there is a transformation of the experience of space or a piece of land into a culturally meaningful and shared symbol, that is, place. The symbol (place) then evokes the transformed experience and reminds us of its cultural meanings and social implications (Low 1992, 286).

As place transforms to a symbol, so does home in most of its manifestations. Westerners place individual, psychological symbolism on their homes; Navajo Indians attach cultural or collective symbolism to their round dwellings. In contrast, the formerly nomadic Basarwa who inhabit the Kalahari Desert in Botswana attach no symbolism to their homes (Kent 1992, 3). This section presents an array of symbolic meanings of home including: home as a memory of past experience; home as a source of nostalgia; and idealized or imaged descriptions of home. Home also carries an ideological sense in terms of homeland or private property. For some people, home may also mean the grave or God.

2.4.1 Home as Memory or Memorial

Memories of home frequently pervade our reminiscences about the past or are revealed through psychoanalytic means. Tuan (1971, 190) believes that the word "home" is more applicable to an accumulation of past experiences than to the immediate reality of home. But home is also a "memory machine," causing us to relive our past experiences through its contents (Douglas 1991, 294). Attempting to separate out our memories of home in order to extract the essence of dwelling places, Bachelard (1964, 29) concluded that home brings memories and dreams together: "the house protects the dreamer...is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams of mankind." This intertwining of memory

and imagination was also recognized by Tindall (1991, 221). She reminds us that in Jung's dream of a house there were different floors sheltering different activities and in the basement were old bones, memories hidden below our consciousness. The theme of remembered home and all the warmth and affection centred therein is further illustrated in Box 5.

Where home provides a lasting memory in the form of a memorial, a strong link between home and identity is found. In exploring the meaning behind landscapes, Lucas (1988, 89) discusses Wordsworth's poem Michael. He suggests that the destruction of the cottage named "The Evening Star," and the land surrounding it strewn with stones, means an end to memories: "[the stones] tell of broken hopes, of the destruction of continuity, of the obliteration of a family and even of community, for they had been gathered for a sheepfold which Michael had intended to build with and for his son, who was to have been the inheritor of his land." The land and buildings are thus marked with a human significance which outweighs any value they may have as picturesque objects. Similarly for the poet Clare, "to change the look of the land was to wound the lives of those who lived on and through it...altering the landscape obliterates 'objects of memory'" (Lucas, p.89).

Box 5—Home as Memory or Memorial

Typically the home is set in the past, in memories of childhood, as a "recherche" for the "temps perdu", the home of memory, which is the only basis for a sense of identity which the exiled writer can maintain (Gurr 1981, 11).

If the meaning of home lies in the accumulated memory of each past day, it also lies in an expectation of future days.... In our memory home is peaceful, reassuring and comforting but as we experience each day, home also holds darkness and sadness...(Mackie 1981, 43-45).

Memories of the outside world will never have the same tonality as those of home and, by recalling these memories, we add to our store of dreams; we are never real historians, but always near poets, and our emotion is perhaps nothing but an expression of a poetry that was lost (Bachelard 1964, 29).

The accumulation of consecutive rooms in his memory now resembled those displays of grouped elbow chairs on show, and beds, and lamps, and inglenooks which, ignoring all space - time distinctions, commingle in the soft light of a furniture store beyond which it snows, and the dusk deepens, and nobody really loves anybody (Nabokov in Tindall 1991, 221).

We are all profoundly affected by the places we live, often without realizing it. Their problems and paradoxes become our own, changing us and making us part of them. When we leave, the memories of their rooms and streets stay in our minds like ghosts, or the voices of old lovers (Johnson 1982, 6).

Their little tract of land serves as a kind of permanent rallying point for their domestic feelings, as a tablet upon which they are written which makes them objects of memory in a thousand instances when they would otherwise be forgotten. It is a fountain fitted to the nature of social man from which supplies of affection, as pure as his heart was intended for, are daily drawn (Wordsworth cited in Lucas 1988, 87).

2.4.2 Home and Nostalgia

Memories of home often result in severe attacks of nostalgia. According to Tuan (1971, 189) the word "nostalgia," from the Greek *nosos* (return to native land) and *algos* (pain or grief), was coined in 1688 by one Johannes Hofer, a medical student, who believed that this "homesickness" deserved medical attention. Since the concept of home is now writ large across popular magazines (for example, see "Thoughts of Home" each month in the American publication House Beautiful), it seems just possible that

"home" is currently vying with "nature" as the post-Romantic or Postmodern replacement for God. Nostalgia is rampant (Box 6).

Box 6-Home and Nostalgia

We have more than the ever persistent nostalgia...for some simple and quiet home where we can recapture long-lost values swept away by social change...(Johnson 1982, 7-9).

..they were returning to very diversely imagined paradises [but] nostalgia was common to them all... (Holt 1966, 131).

Be it ever so humble; there's no place like home (Payne 1823).

Home again home again jiggety jig (from nursery rhyme To Market, To Market)

You can't go home again

...and for starters let us admit right off that Thomas Wolfe hit The Motherlode back in 1934. But wouldn't Tom have gone out of his tree had he had any notion of what that piece of information would mean today; cause, why, You Can't Go Home Again has been squared and cubed and raised to the fourth power! (Anonymous 1972, 131)

I want to look for Ne-Hi Pop and Burma Shave signs and go to a ball game and sit at a marble-topped soda fountain and drive through the kind of small towns that Deanna Durbin and Mickey Rooney used to live in in the movies. It's time to go home (Bryson 1988, 43).

I thought: as soon as all this is finished, we'll go straight back to Brixton. We'll softly and silently steal away, although we'd had plenty of offers, don't think otherwise. We could have stayed out there, cut ourselves a nice little niche out there, hit the high spots. But I was pining away for home - for the whirr and rattle of the trams, the lights of Electric Avenue glowing like bad fish through the good old London fog, longing for rain and weather and bacon sandwiches, for the healthy chill of 49 Bard Road on a frosty morning, for the smell of home, the damp, the cabbage, the tea, the gin (Carter 1991, 142).

Should we not think of the problem of home and place...as only a bit of nostalgia or a remnant of whispering from the past but finally melting away in this age of postmodernism? (Karjalainen 1993, 72)

It is a common experience that a certain slanting of the light, or the smell of a spice from our past, will bring home flooding back to us (Norris 1990, 239). Proust's remembrance of his childhood in Combray whenever tasting or smelling *petites madeleines* is the most famous literary example of such an experience. The past, even the form of a remembered landscape, is essential in order to understand what we are seeing: "...patterns in the landscape make sense to us because we share a history with them" (Lowenthal 1975, 5). Buttimer recognizes that nostalgia for place, and particularly for rural settings, is often experienced by persons enveloped by urban surroundings. She suggests that such feelings are strongest during periods of significant change in either social or physical environment (Buttimer 1980, 166). Indeed social mobility in many countries has ensured that nostalgia for home has become endemic (Hardyment 1990, 12).

2.4.3 Ideal/Images of Home

Nostalgia frequently involves idealization. The specification of an ideal home will, of course, vary depending on the individual. Thus Tuan contrasts the Alaskans' liking for their "frozen landscapes" with the Nuer for the Sudan (Tuan 1974, 114). Homes can also become the embodiment of fantasies (Johnson 1982, 4), the manifestation of an ideal which is realistic or not, and as such provide a place of escape (Box 7). Felicité in La Fortune des Rougon sits in a window gazing at the Place de la Sous-Préfecture which was "small square, bare, neat, with nice light houses, [and] seemed Eden to her" (Zola cited in Tindall 1991, 47).

Homes sometimes take shape as a product of our imaginations. While the widely-fantasized luxury of building one's own home is less frequent today, such a home must surely be the ultimate example of our imaginings. Rybczynski (1989, 191) describes Carl Jung's country retreat which was created over a period of thirty-two years in a style intended to emulate the past. It

was, in Jung's words, "a kind of representation in stone of my innermost thoughts."

Box 7-Ideal/Images of Home

Though I live by choice in the city, home is a rambling country house in some place where there is snow on the ground. There are fireplaces and many bookcases and deep carpeting everywhere.... Though I can scarcely sew on a button, my dream home is a showplace of handicrafts, all created by me (Johnson 1982, 2).

...we invest in places where we live with a lifetime of images about home (Johnson 1982, 7).

People have intellectual, imaginary, and symbolic conceptions of place as well as personal and social associations (Buttimer 1980, 166).

Home may also be idealized, a preconceived image of what home should be (Cooper, 1971)...such idealized images give a false notion to reality of everyday experience of home.... The experience of home is not bound to any one ideal form but is as variable and as valid as there are individual life trajectories (Mackie 1981, 28-29).

It grows in the sun and sleeps in the stillness of night; and it is not dreamless. Does not your house dream? And dreaming, leave the city for grove or hill-top (Gibran 1923, 31).

Idealized visions of home, frequently seen as a detached house in a rectangular yard, may provide a false sense of reality, for home can vary from apartment to park bench (Cramer 1960, 41; Porteous 1977, 65).

Beyond imaged or idealized visions of home, Bachelard (1964) has influenced a whole generation of writers with his concept that the house protects the dreamer. Like Rybczynski (1989, 190), many may have first thought this an "obscure conceit," but upon reflection, found it quite reasonable, for home is where "it is safe to let our minds drift." And dreams of home are not only of the built environment, but also of a favourite place where you go to dream, where "topophilia" is manifest (Tuan 1961). Such dreams may soon extend to cyber-space, where virtual reality permits the "morphing" of impossible dreams and, for the artist: "Going home, feeling

home, [will not be] as easy as it once was. We've still got the instinct, but someone has thrown away the map" (Creighton-Kelly 1992, 18).

A more down-to-earth example of the ideal home was found in the acquisition of a home in a suburban area. While the earliest suburbs housed poorer segments of the population "outside the city gates," the richer elements of society also found a place for larger mansions or summer homes. By the late 1700s, suburbs in England had taken on a new air of respectability and, later still, improvements to transportation heightened the trend for suburban living. In a review of Oliver et al.'s Dunroamin: the Suburban Semi and Its Enemies, Blythe (1981, 22) acknowledged how suburbs in the 20th century became "...part of a comfortable and preferred way of life of half of Britain's population." The suburb is also home to half of the American population and to much of the population in Australia. As such, it presents a mixed picture as an ideal home. Criticism of suburbs abounds and has spilled over into fiction such as Orwell's Coming up for Air or Bowen's Attractive New Homes (Tindall 1991, 237). Nevertheless, Blythe believes that the general preference for this type of home should not be ignored.

Older suburbs have become more like inner cities with problems of the old and the homeless and with a decaying infrastructure but new suburban developments continually attempt to recreate new sorts of idealized homes. Bearing names like Heartland or Green Valley, some recently-constructed suburbs have been described as "a seamless facade of interminable, well-manicured developments punctuated by golf courses and an occasional shopping plaza done in stucco" (Guterson 1992, 55). These developments, which have sprung up in the desert outside of Las Vegas, are not, however, without problems of crime, substance abuse, gang violence, and intrusion from heavy industry.

While achieving an ideal home may be impossible, understanding the image of home which people carry becomes crucial in planning new homes, an activity which almost inevitably follows the destruction of home. The advantage of suburban-type homes may have been seen as their provision of a "clearly evidenced universe," in their opportunity for "authentic living" as defined by Bachelard who proposed that the complete experience of home includes homes with cellars and attics, snuggling into villages or rising in the middle of fields (Marc 1972, 137; Korosec-Serfaty 1984, 305).

2.4.4 Ideological Senses of Home

The ideological sense of home is expressed in terms of home as a right; the sanctity of private property; and home as homeland, involving patriotism. Berger (1990, 85) suggests that the word "home" has been taken over by two kinds of moralists: the defenders of domestic morality and property (including women), and those who defend the notion of homeland.

Hollander (1991, 31) illustrates home as a right with reference to Robert Frost's The Death of the Hired Man:

Home is the place where, when you have to go there,
They have to take you in.
'I should have called it
Something you somehow haven't to deserve.'

He also suggests that while home may not be an earned right, it may become so where home is one's private property. When first legally possessing a home, it does not immediately feel your own, for it takes some time to erase the signs of ownership of previous residents (Lang 1985, 202). Even when a home becomes one's own property there are still limits on its use, usually expressed in the form of building codes and zoning bylaws. These limits have been enshrined through numerous legal precedents including the common law principle of "nuisance." On what is perhaps a lighter note, the American

Supreme Court held that a man's home is his castle but his backyard is just the castle's "curtilage" and enjoys much less privacy, particularly where that curtilage is used for growing marijuana (Will 1986).

While the importance of home ownership may vary (for example, this seems less important in Switzerland than in Australia, Canada and the United States), Rakoff (1977, 94) found that his sample of white, middle-income people in the Seattle area continually returned to the premise that ownership was necessary for such aspects as permanence, security, control, status, refuge, and family life. Rakoff also suggested that "for most people home ownership, current or imagined, is the single most important characteristic of the house, in large part because ownership helps them to resolve the conflicts and ambiguities that the private, home space is heir to" (p.100). Authors specializing in this subject area have provided broad descriptions of the concept of property, including (Denman 1978, 2; Macpherson 1978, 179; Ryan 1987, 72):

- 1) a social and jurisdictional institution
- 2) a vehicle of power in human relationships
- 3) a determinant of the occupation, possession and ownership of land
- 4) at the centre of political divides
- 5) essential to the fulfillment of economics and resource use
- 6) providing opportunities for freedom, self-expression and allegiance
- 7) the boundary between the individual and the state.

Like "home", "property is *not* an object but rather is a social relation that defines the property holder with respect to something of value (the benefit stream) against all others" (Bromley 1991, 2).

At some stage, homes often change from private property (the ultimate bastion) to a product (the ultimate exchange commodity). Rakoff (1977, 88) saw the house as a crucial commodity of the political economy as well as the

scene of much of everyday life while Rapoport (1985) examined the role of choice and the importance of environmental quality in choice of home environments.

While hardly a legitimate source of information, it is interesting to note that my Christmas 1991 mail included a single fluorescent green sheet from Realty World Victoria which said:

Is There Someone You Miss...?

How often we forget what makes a house a Home. A house is a Home when everyone you care about knows that they are welcome at your door. And each year this festive season presents a new opportunity to renew old friendships.

The biblical story of the prodigal son followed, and on the reverse of the sheet was a "Moving checklist" and the offer of a free evaluation of selling price. This contradiction is recognized by Heidegger (cited in Relph 1976, 40) who feels that home is a perverted phenomenon when expressed in terms of monetary value, and by Raskin, who notes that while "the idea of 'Home' tends to be relegated to sentimental songs and sayings...the actuality is a series of residences built, sold, and occupied as generally replaceable commodities" (cited in Hayward 1975, 4).

Hardyment also explores this theme and, in considering the effect which moving to a new house may have on children, decries the way in which homes are considered simply a financial investment. She says: "Isn't it a form of prostitution, this decking of houses in seemly shades of Dulux and knicker-blinds from Laura Ashley, and putting them up for sale as desirable residences?" (1990, 12).

In an ideological sense, home may also mean homeland (Box 8). Exploring this concept, Schama (1991) contrasts the wartime visions of homeland by the British artist Frank Newbould, which showed a stone-walled village nestling at the base of undulating hills, with a German poster

by Bergmann which showed a plowman with a strong horse tilling fertile acres. Two quite different versions of home are portrayed by these artists who wished to take advantage of the notion that landscape and people are as one, therefore relating (and perhaps manipulating) their countries' mood of what is important in wartime. Even today the themes of art often focus on ideals like home, place, nationalism, refuge and safe spaces (Creighton-Kelly 1992, 18). A particularly strong recognition of a sense of home is also found in accounts of pioneers who chose a particular place to settle because it reminded them of their homeland (Rees 1982, 3).

Box 8-Home/Homeland

The claim that landscape and people are morphologically akin, constructed, as it were from common clay, and that they constitute in some primal cultural sense the nature of each other – that land and homeland may be interchangeable – is now a familiar commonplace (Mack 1991, 11).

At a larger scale America is experienced as home (Sopher 1979, 129).

...human groups nearly everywhere tend to regard their own homeland as the centre of the world... (Tuan 1977, 136).

Marta tells me of the violation of her house, of the door kicked in by soldiers. And yet although her house was destroyed, its very *shelteringness* desecrated, she is quick to add that Guatemala, without politics, is paradise. How can this be – that we yearn for hell and call it paradise? (Norris 1990, 238)

Tis the star spangled banner; O long may it wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.
(Key 1814).

Another ideological sense of the word "home" is its use to mean the grave, heaven or God, although this is now less used (Box 9). From past time, reference to Ecclesiastes 12.5 identified home as heaven and the place of ultimate return (Hollander 1991, 33). Gurr (1981, 13) suggests that Donne equated his need for God with his need for home. In keeping with the previous discussion of home as ideal, Gurr believes that today "the ideal of God as our home has tailed off into a pallid cliché, an unconvincing assertion of wish fulfilment, the idea of getting away from it all taken as far as it will go." It is, perhaps, this loss of the notion of heaven as providing the ultimate home which makes clinging to the earthly home more poignant. Cemeteries, as the home of the dead, then take on an even greater meaning as sacred space, but exploration of the meaning of such space is beyond the scope of this study.

Box 9 - Home Meaning the Grave/ Heaven/God

...and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail: because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets... (Ecclesiastes (12.5))

For though through many straits, and lands I roam,
I launch at paradise, and I sail toward home (Donne).

"Turn up the lights," he protested to the nurse, adding in a paraphrase of the popular song of 1907, "I don't want to go home in the dark." (Langford 1957, 245).

If there was one of those tiny graveyards behind the house with its cluster of family graves, my envy became awe. It was a sacred place as well, their home. They had buried their ancestors on their land...home, according to Reynolds Price, is a religious place containing our dead (Johnson 1982, 103).

O God, our help in ages past,...and our eternal home (Watts , Psalm 662).

2.5 The Psychological and Social Aspects of Home

Man is born homeless; and the search for home
Creates him and destroys him hour by hour.
(Herbert Reed cited in Tindall 1991, 213)

The psychological and social aspects of home are explored now in terms of the meaning of home at various stages in the life-cycle, by role or relationship (spouse, parent), by feelings toward home, and by the relationship of place to self. Home in this context is where the heart is, "an ideological construct created from people's emotionally charged experiences of where they happen to live" (Gurney cited in Sommerville 1992, 529).

2.5.1 Home at Various Stages in the Life-cycle

Traditionally, people were born at home and might also die there. Thus, the periods of childhood and old age predominate in discussions of the meaning of home (Box 10). For the child, home provides the centre, the mold, the place where socialization and acculturation occur (Appleyard 1975, 6; Hobsbawm 1991, 66; Porteous 1990, 157). Home is the place where the child first "learns to understand his being-in-the world" (Norberg-Schulz in Relph 1976, 42); later it is where a person's "looking-glass self" learns to interpret how others react to home and thus to themselves (Gunn n.d., 18). When students at the College of Environmental Design at Berkeley were asked to design an ideal living environment, they frequently included aspects of their childhood environment (Cooper 1974).

Home is the centre which provides initial protection, and from which forays for exploration and escape are made. Through direct observation of children in a New England town, and through depth interviews, Hart (1979) observed this ever-widening range from home. Home may be a place of refuge for the child, or where home is less than satisfactory an imaginary home may be created as a place of escape (Johnson 1982, 1). The

Box 10 – Stage in Life-cycle*Child*

Sarah and I often spent cold, rainy afternoons playing "in My Mansion" to escape our less than satisfactory childhoods (Johnson 1982, 1).

It is from the home that we begin our journey into the world beyond the immediate space of the house that we live in...(Winning 1990, 246).

In his text "The Homecomer" Schutz (1971) describes home as "starting point as well as terminus." By this I believe he means that our journeys, in a broad sense of the word, begin and end in a specific place (Shaw 1990, 272).

Old Age

I've seen it here, elderly black people don't fit in nursing homes here, they get bitter and disillusioned, very miserable if they can't return. When you're old, you should be among your own. You can't let go of your roots, they're something to hold on to. With retirement and illness, it's better to be there (Western 1992, 22).

As one grows older, a man returns to his roots, so closing the circle of his life (Vassilikos 1991, 310).

...it is the actual geography of boyhood and girlhood which the old long for...(Blythe 1980, 41).

environmental psychologist Mary Jankoski believes that our childhood homes put a permanent imprint on our neurological abilities: "You think it only translates into preferences but it actually affects our nerves" (Kyriakos 1994, D9). Perhaps here the formation of the idealized home begins.

Porteous (1991) has noted how children's books often seem to involve a quest and return home with a small "action space" to permit the return to home as quickly as possible. In fact, for many of us, "home may well really mean our childhood home" (Porteous 1990, 143). Home is also more central to adults when children are at home (Appleyard 1979, 18) when, as parents, they provide the center of security for their children. I recall the admonition from the mother of a prominent politician, that an all-important factor in a rosy future for the child was the stability, including place-stability, of the home.

In old age, there is the desire, even when far from home, to return to one's home of origin (Western 1992). Both Rowles (1978) and Blythe (1980), in their interviews with the elderly, recognize the significance of childhood landscapes. For some, however, last days are spent in euphemistic "homes": homes with special names like old folk's homes, nursing homes, retirement homes, sunset homes and mental homes. "In the psychiatric wing no one speaks of home" and people lose their identity (Porteous 1990, 186). Porteous (1976, 388) also recognizes the one-way nature of the journey to the old-people's home and the consequent decline in health, which is similar to the effects caused by relocation during urban renewal. For example, in Lieberman's (1983) study of six hundred and thirty-nine elderly people, one-half were either dead, physically impaired or had deteriorated psychologically one year after they had changed their living arrangements. Those near death exhibited withdrawal and passivity in order to cope with their circumstances. Some elderly people are moved several times to accommodate their need for different levels of care. Such occurrences were subject of press reports in British Columbia in 1993 during recent changes to the health-care system and caused me to write the following letter which was published in the local newspaper:

Shame on the CRD for its lack of humanity in removing residents of Rose Manor. While I can claim no special knowledge of Rose Manor, as I walk past each day to work I feel that it exudes a special sense of well being for its residents...I do claim some special knowledge about home, however, as I am in the midst of writing my PhD. dissertation on the subject of home, and more particularly on domicile - the destruction of home. An extensive review of the literature of home from many disciplines, and in both fiction and poetry, confirms the importance of home to identity and well-being...I believe that the necessary support should be provided to permit residents who now call Rose Manor 'home' to remain there (Smith 1993).

Happily, Rose Manor was spared, but not before a number of its residents were removed to other facilities. How different it would be if the elderly were enabled to participate in the design of their future homes (Boschetti 1990).

2.5.2 Home Based on Role of the Individual.

In the more central stages of the life cycle, feelings toward home vary according to the role of the individual or relationship to others. Home is often inseparable from family, and may be defined in terms of the responsibilities of the husband, or as the workplace for wives or for women in general (Box 11). An examination of the meaning of home to women as seen through "people's history" would be particularly interesting as, traditionally, women have spent more time at home than men.

Box 11—Home/Role or Relationship

There is an infinite difference between the home we choose and the one that is chosen for us. Women follow men to the places where they work, and it falls to them to carve out a hollow in the new space and make it work, and men, who choose the places, more often remain apart from the life of the place where they live (Johnson 1982, 10-11).

For me, home is inseparable from family. It is within the fold of the familiar that I am allowed to be me. It is where I don't need to explain who I am (Norris 1990, 242).

"Home' is some place where I could be happy, whether it's here or Barbados doesn't matter. Where it's happy, warm, you can have friends come into, can do what you want, can have a laugh and a joke and play a few records or something. In many ways this is more my home, ours, we've worked, saved, got this place, made it what we want it to be. The Barbados one was my parents' home" (Western 1992).

Rybczynski (1986) suggests that feminization of the home began in the 17th century in Holland and reached its peak in 19th century America in the work of Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe. In this work it was recognized that "woman's place was in the home [but] that the home was not a particularly well-thought-out place for her to be" (p.160).

For some, this feminization of home has negative connotations. McDowell and Massey (1984, 128-130) discuss the lifestyles of women in 19th-century County Durham and modern Hackney. In the former, the women's role of unpaid work in the home where "working clothes had to be boiled in coppers over the fire which had to heat all the hot water for washing clothes, people, and floors" supported the filthy and dangerous business of mining. Modern women in Hackney provide another definition of the "woman's workhouse" as they are involved in piece work for the rag trade, in their own homes:

I used to get my work done in five hours, now I work ten or twelve hours a day...The kids say, mum, I don't know why you sit there all those hours. I tell them, I don't do it for love, I've got to feed and clothe us. I won't work Sundays though. I have to think about the noise...I'm cooped up in a cupboard all day - I keep my machine in the storage cupboard, its about three feet square with no windows (p.130).

For others, particularly American middle-class women prior to 1940, home was viewed in a more positive light as the setting for domestic arts. The transformation of house to home was a traditional role in which "the atmosphere of home was seen as having an almost mystical effect on its inhabitants, determining their moral standards, happiness and success in the outside world" (Motz and Browne 1988). Such an attitude to home seems typified by the following:

A homekeeper am I: this is my task
To make one little spot all snug and warm,
Where those so bruised and beaten by the day
May find refuge from the night and storm.

Gladly I serve - love makes the serving sweet;
I feel no load - love makes the burden light;
A happy keeper I of home and hearts -
Serving I reign - a queen by love's own right.

Florence Jones Hadley in The Mother's Magazine
in Davison (1980, 67).

Two studies have confirmed that this feminization of home is still prevalent despite women working outside of the home. Ahrentzen et al. (1989, 89-101) studied the use of space in homes by five hundred and thirty-eight family households in Toronto. They found that fully employed married women spend more time in rooms with family members and are more involved in housekeeping and child-care activities than their spouses. Tognoli (1980) also found that more women than men were involved with activities in the home. However, this circumstance may be changing. Mui (1992, 293) studied the arrangement and allocation of space within a house and finds that as societal attitudes and the status of women and men change, the use of space within the home also changes.

Davison (1980), in a discursive journey through women's magazines, traces three generations of American women and their homes and finds that women are now developing an ambivalent attitude to the pleasantries of domestication. This domesticity of home may not be such a bad thing, however, for as Hardyment (1990, 12) points out "home as nest" may not be as smart as a "des. res. with all mod cons," but it may well be preferable.

Other studies in the area of human relationships have provided information about the physical arrangements of home and how they reveal the relationship of those who live there. Peled and Ayalan (1988, 87-106) describe a therapy in which a couple were made aware of how the meanings they invested in the spatial organization of their ideal homes revealed the conflict in their relationship. As a result of this analysis, a spatial layout was produced which assisted in their therapy. Irwin (1992, 288) studied polygamous Mormon families in Utah and found that the environmental setting played an important role both in the viability of relationships between the husband and each of his wives, and the relationships between the wives.

As a result of this analysis, a spatial layout was produced which assisted in their therapy.

There is often a distinction between one's own home or the family home as a social unit, and the home of parents, particularly when the latter is in another country (Western 1992); the parental home is frequently the site of traditions and can be oppressive to the individual (Appleyard 1979, 4; Porteous 1976, 387). But new homes are made and new traditions begin. When ten women and men who lived alone were asked to describe their experiences after leaving their parental homes, they described: an initial phase of feeling "not at home;" then an awareness of a need for home; and finally the psychological and physical arrival at a place that felt like home (Horowitz and Tognoli 1982). The authors interpret these findings to suggest that home can have various environmental and psychological dimensions over time and that the meaning of home does not depend on traditional family structures.

2.5.3 Feelings toward Home

Feelings toward home are most frequently expressed as affection (Box 12). We love our homes and they respond. Feelings of "at homeness" and "about home" and "being at home" form the connection or measure of quality between person and home. We often choose to make homes the settings for important rituals such as birthdays, weddings or funerals (Saile 1985). Metaphorically, we speak about being at home with people or with an idea.

Box 12- Feelings toward Home

Home is where the heart is (attributed to Pliny, quoted in Hayward 1975, 2).

Where we love is home, home that our feet may leave, but not our hearts (O.W. Holmes, quoted in Hayward 1975, 2).

Attachment to place is defined as "the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for individual's and group's understanding and relationship to the environment" (Low 1992, 286).

Our house was not insentient matter – it had a heart and a soul, and eyes to see with; and approvals and sollicitudes and deep sympathies; it was of us, and we were in its confidence and lived in its grace and in the peace of its benedictions. We never came home from an absence that its face did not light up and speak out in eloquent welcome – and we could not enter it unmoved (Clemens cited in Rybczynski 1989, 171).

The geographic literature about home is broadly contained within this continuum which links place, home, and feelings about home, the latter connecting people to place. Relph (1976, 1) asserts that "to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know *your* place." Hay (1987, 1) described sense of place as resulting from both residence (in one place) and awareness (of that place). He traced the study of sense of place through various areas of geography. Much of the literature involving sense of place is relevant to a discussion of the meaning of home as it links human behaviour and habitat. However, its discussion is limited here in order to focus on literature directly related to home. Beyond feelings of affection for home, this literature has expressed other concepts including psychological territoriality, rootedness, security, irrational attachment and refuge.

2.5.4 Home: Territoriality and Rootedness

Hayward (1975, 5-6) developed clusters of meanings about home. One cluster included home as territory, tying the physical space of home and neighbourhood (home area, home range, hometown) to feelings of

familiarity, belongingness, and predictability, and a spatial framework for behaviour. Porteous (1976, 384) discussed the ethological concept of territoriality in relation to home and found that home provides the individual and the family with a triad of satisfactions: identity, security, and stimulation. The territorial imperative is very strong where home is concerned. As Porteous suggests: "the average citizen appears to expend more effort personalizing and defending the home than any other level of fixed physical space." With some irony, I note that as I quoted these words my peace was shattered by the doorbell and the presence of a religious group selling their concept of "survival." The result was indignation on my part that they could so readily invade my home.

Feelings toward home may involve a bonding which is so close as to be described as rootedness or significant attachment. This sense of rootedness may be the test for being authentically at home (Relph 1976, 41) or at least it "implies being at home in an unselfconscious way... [where] human personality merges with its milieu" (Tuan 1980, 4). "To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul" (Weil 1952, 43). Feelings about home may also involve an almost irrational attachment, where people are so attached to their homes that they are satisfied to remain within them, contenting themselves with diversions which come to them (Johnson 1982, 145). This attachment is also found where people have worked the land and built their homes. Writing about the poem Michael, John Lucas (1988, 87) provides a new construction on Wordsworth's words:

What makes the landscape where Michael lives cherishable has nothing to do with its picturesque properties, as 'you' are brought to realize...: has to do with endeavour, work, and all that is contained in the key terms: 'occupation', 'abode', 'dwelling'. It is because of these things that the fields and hills where Michael dwells:

...had laid
 Strong hold on his affections, were to him
 A pleasurable feeling of blind love,
 The pleasure which there is in life itself.

2.5.5 Home as Refuge and Security

Home also provides a sense of security or refuge (Box 13), feelings which relate even to the most rudimentary form of shelter:

Box 13-Home as Refuge/Security

Dunroamin came into its own when vast numbers of upper working and lower middle class families from dreary Victorian terraces and rural slums just managed to scrape their way into a situation which, slump and war threats notwithstanding, gave them the feeling of secure anchorage (Blythe 1981, 22).

Home is one sure refuge for persons forced to frequently venture beyond it. The "house as haven" is not a lifestyle confined to the lower class... (Porteous 1976, 386).

...home is for me as yet a fortress from which to essay raid and foray, an embattled position behind whose walls one may return to lick new wounds and plan fresh journeys to further horizons (Maxwell 1963, 210).

For almost everyone the notion of home is usually a positive one. It is the known as opposed to the unknown; it is certainty as opposed to uncertainty, security rather than insecurity, the knowledge that in the final analysis someone else, our parents, will make the necessary decisions and will protect us from harm...even where homes are inadequate children may choose to stay because it is the only real experience of home and parent that they know. It is familiar and predictable (Shaw 1990, 227).

Home may become a defensive symbol protecting the family against 'the spectre of destitution', and the bewildering outside world (Appleyard 1979, 5).

This is the true nature of home - the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division (Ruskin cited in Welsh 1971).

Western homes provide a physical defense against threats, with parlours for meeting guests and windows for surveillance (Gunn n.d., 2). Who shall enter and what shall take place therein may be controlled (Dovey 1978, 27). The significance of such control is seen in modern day home-

security arrangements. The cartoon character Calvin ponders as he wakes to a slight sound at 2 A.M.: "When someone breaks into your home, it shatters your sense of security. If you're not safe in your own home, you're not safe anywhere." And then: "A man's home is his castle. But it shouldn't have to be a fortress" (Waterson 1989, 10).

Several commentators have stressed the sense of security provided by home. At home you can "leave the world and be alone, safe from danger"(Marc 1977, 14). This is seen as particularly true for low-income groups, for whom home becomes haven (Gans 1967, 27; Willmott and Young 1957, 269). By contrast, Vidich and Bensman (1960, 58) note that for professionals and skilled workers home is a different form of security, an accumulation of equity. More significantly for this dissertation, Bollnow proposes an "anthropological function of the house" where the feeling of security provided is essential for self-identification (Egenter 1992, 6). If home equals security, it is all the more devastating when home is invaded or destroyed.

2.5.6 Relationship of Home to Identity

Within the literature of home, there are frequent discussions of the meaning of home to self, the way in which home shapes identity or in which homes are shaped by the inhabitant (Box 14). This relationship is argued in differing ways. Self is seen as the most important, among other considerations, in the integration with home; being at home is defined as being close to self. Home is a second body. Home is seen as a symbol of self and self-identity. Home shapes you and in turn is shaped in your image. Home may change you against your will or without your knowledge. Ironically the strong sense of self created by a strong sense of home may also

be the factor which preserves you when home is lost.

Box 14-Place-identity/self-identity

Don't I, when I go into other people's homes, draw the most sweeping conclusions about them...aren't they offering it up for view, like a road map of their very souls? (Johnson 1982, 2)

No act of self-scrutiny can be complete if we don't see ourselves in relation to these outer shells and understand their influence on us...I have lived for varying periods in five widely disparate places since I was a child. Because of the nature of each place, and because of what I was when I lived in them, each changed me – usually against my will, for I fought them all, probably for the same reason we fight intimacy, the fearful yielding that might hurt (Johnson 1982, 12-13).

It's not even enough difference to make me a mongrel. I never really noticed the difference until I went back there, again, and found how different from home my home was. You don't choose your own landscapes. They choose you (Carter 1982, 24-25).

For even as you have home-comings in your twilight, so has the wanderer in you, the ever distant and alone. Your house is your larger body (Gibran 1965, 31).

In the life of a man, the house thrusts aside contingencies, its councils of continuity are unceasing. Without it, man would be a dispersed being. It maintains him through the storms of the heavens and through those of life. It is body and soul (Bachelard 1964, 29).

To be at home, to dwell authentically, is to be incorporated into the landscape of home which is the place from which we have our sense of who we are (Winning 1990, 257).

While the motives for choosing a home are still instrumental (sufficient space, good access, and various creature comforts), economic and aesthetic, the symbolic role of the home as an expression or confirmation of desired identity is increasingly important, though seldom discussed except in critical terms (Appleyard 1979, 4).

Zonn (1983, 3) pursues the place-identity/self-identity perspective of home. For him, place-identity is the unique character of a place as seen and interpreted by the individual while self-identity is the way persons see themselves as unique from other persons. When place-identity and self-identity are closely allied, a strong attachment may result, but this does not necessarily result in a home. Zonn argues that home involves the intersection of self, center, rest, authenticity and insideness. Similarly, Dovey (1978, 28) suggests that to be "at home" or to "make oneself at home" is to act naturally and come closer to one's self. Lang (1985, 202), confirming the special, close relationship between home and self, sees home as "the intimate hollow we have carved out of the anonymous, the alien," in fact our second body. The analogy of the house as body is echoed by Bachelard and Gibran (Box 14). Cooper (1974) found the home to be a symbol of self and self-identity based on studying literature, poetry, dreams, and contemporary architecture.

Proshansky et al. (1983, 57-54), in studying urban identities, theorized that there are a series of functions by which place identity and a sense of belonging occur. These functions seem to represent the various stages in the link between home and identity, with the final stage representing the most territorial aspect. The stages comprise: a *recognition* function which provides an environmental past against which the immediate physical setting can be measured; a *meaning* function which suggests what should happen in places and what is appropriate behaviour; an *expressive-requirement* function which is the expression of tastes and preferences to the space; a *mediating change* function where change in a space is required; and finally, an *anxiety defense* function which occurs when other people must be involved in any change to a place.

Appleyard (1979, 5) explored a number of ways in which home and identity are linked. These include the creation of our identities and traditions

during the time we are resident in our first family homes; the special bond which is created when people have the privilege of building or designing their own home; and by the way in which choice of home may express identity. However, Appleyard cautions that any discussion of the way in which home reflects identity must recognize that: "We can be, successively, the person we would like to be, the person we wish we were not, and the person we think we know we are." This is a caution echoed by Proshansky et al. (1983, 80) who note that little attention has been paid to sex, class, ethnic and other group differences in considering person/physical setting interactions. Finally, the identity created by home can also be limiting. Concerned that designers who are captives of past residential situations could not develop innovative housing or housing for different socio-economic or cultural groups, Ladd (1977) encouraged architecture and planning students to reconstruct their residential histories and thus break down these constraints.

Augmenting these academic sources are discussions of the relationship between place and identity or self in poetry and prose. Four examples are provided here. Rachel, in A Friend From England (Brookner 1987, 123), calls the mute and unfriendly walls of her bedroom 'Unheimlich', yet finds this word mild to describe her sense of alienation. In Clare's "The Flitting" and "To a Fallen Elm" the subject is the interconnectedness of place and identity, and the loss which results from separating person from place (Lucas 1988, 89); in the case of "The Flitting" it is the loss of Clare's "home of homes" and the familiarity of his neighbourhood. In Seasons of My Life, the story of Hannah Hauxwell's lone struggle to survive on a desolate farm in the Yorkshire Dales, the theme of place-loyalty and identity is exemplified. She says of her farm: "Wherever I go...and whatever I am...this is me..." Mole in Wind in the Willows recognizes himself as a creature of "tilled field and hedgerow;" his natural instinct causes him to be unhappy in the Wild Wood and quite unsure about the River Bank. For Mole, exile would be unthinkable.

2.6 Home to the Exile or Homeless

Just so, the migrant's adopted home is never home but the migrant is too changed to be welcome in her own country. Only in dreams will she see the skies of home. The ache of exile cannot be assuaged by travelling anywhere, least of all by retracing old steps looking for houses that have been bulldozed and landscapes that have disappeared under urban sprawl and motorway.

(Greer 1993)

2.6.1 Home and Journey

Home and journey have been offered as the fundamental dialectic of human life (Tuan 1971; Porteous 1976) but for Porteous (1990, 107), this dialectic is home and away. The ultimate expression of this antinomy may be home and non-home: exile or homelessness. There is a major cultural assumption that home is not only who you are but where you come from, your cultural milieu (Creighton-Kelly 1992, 18). Life away from home is considered inauthentic, despite the place of exile being the new home. Winning (1991, 180) drew upon her experience of teaching English as a second language to formulate her ideas regarding home and away: "At home people speak to each other in a particular way; At home there is more laughter; An accent comes from somewhere else; When away from home we hear the sound of words; *and* The talk of home is different."

The literature relating to exile (see Simpson 1995) is sufficiently large to be the subject of a separate dissertation if studied from the perspective of travel writing, fiction, and poetry; however, only a brief glimpse is offered here in order to elicit the feelings about the meaning of home of those exiled (Box 15). In so doing, the literature about those prodigals for whom exile is self-imposed, for whom elsewhere is better, is not denied. For others, the longing for home while far away is not so pleasant. Such feelings might well be similar to those of a person permanently exiled from home by domicile.

Box 15-Home - Exile and Homelessness

There was probably no place on earth that can have seemed less like home, no atoll or hill station or desert oasis that can have been less sympathetic to the peculiar needs of the wandering Englishman and his family. But, like the good colonist that he was, he did eventually manage to fashion the place into an approximation of Surrey-in-the-Sea (Winchester 1985, 119).

...but the British who were out in Burma were not engaged in new ideas, new books or new ways of being men and women... They imported Life as They thought It Was, with confidence (Wiggins 1989, 25-27).

...the symbolic character of the notion of "home" is emotionally evocative and hard to describe...home means one thing to the man who has never left it, another thing to the man who lives far from it, and still another to him who returns...[it] is an expression of the highest degree of familiarity and intimacy (Schutz 1971,107-108).

The house had been lived in by strangers for a long time. I had not thought it would hurt me to see it in other hands, but it did. I wanted to tell them to trim their hedges, to repaint the window frames, to pay heed to repairs. I had feared and fought the old man, yet he proclaimed himself in my veins. But it was their house now, whoever they were, not ours, not mine (Laurence 1989, 191).

Meanwhile, the wafts from his old home pleaded, whispered, conjured, and finally claimed him imperiously (Grahame 1908, 86).

...this sense of home is the goal of all voyages of self-discovery which have become the characteristic shape of modern literature. In varying degree the normal role of the modern creative writer is to be an exile. He is the lone traveller in the countries of the mind, always threatened by hostile natives (Gurr 1981, 13).

It is suggested that writers begin with a sense of home as base and source of identity. In exile, the writer's loss of home provides a sense of perspective and a point of comparison but may also anticipate for others loss of identity, history and sense of home (Gurr 1981, 14). Porteous (1990, 141), following a discussion of the work of Graham Greene, suggests that Greene continuously points out the "inauthenticity of existence away from home," even though he found it necessary to escape home. Gerard Manley Hopkins, who believed that he had been exiled from family, friends and homeland by prejudice against his religion, constantly sought home in new places (Martin 1991). Kerouac's whole life of journeying was a search for home and his writing a record of this yearning for home (Nicosia 1990, 19).

For an exile, home may mean country of origin or a former residence, or both at the same time. Western (1992) interviewed thirty-four expatriates from Barbados living in London. When asked, "When you use the word home, what are you thinking about?" the largest single response was "Barbados"; the second, "It depends upon the context"; and the third, "I've got two homes, Britain and Barbados."

Exiles who suffer homesickness often attempt to make their new place of residence as much like home as possible. Schutz points out that to live in a land of strangers is to live in a place where their past and ours do not cross – as if we have no history (cited in Norris 1990, 240). The modern writer in exile, particularly in Britain and the United States, often seeks home through the re-creation of a past time and a focus on cultural heritage (Buttimer 1980, 166; Gurr 1981, 14). The desire to mimic homes of origin seems to have been particularly prevalent among colonial exiles (Winchester 1985, 119; Wiggins 1989, 25-27) and permitted the desired escape from the reality of the outpost. According to Gurr (1982, 15), James Joyce, in exile, spent his literary life trying to recreate his Dublin home in minute detail. In India, hill stations such as

Simla and Ootacamund mimicked the distant English way of life. For Canadian pioneers, the feeling of homesickness frequently passed when a place was found where the landscape looked like home (Rees 1982, 1). In order to recreate home, Emily Carr's father cultivated an English garden in the nineteenth-century British Columbia landscape (Carr 1942).

Returning home also has special meaning to an exile or frequent traveller. Shaw (1990) speaks of the elaborate plans for a return home; the unfulfilled expectations when things are not as they once were; the pleasure of a return to security. Some exiles, of course, are unable to return home because their home has been destroyed; the home which they have marked as authentic, which has formed a point of comparison and which has been the focus of memory, is lost forever.

2.6.2 Home and the Homeless

Homelessness is becoming more prevalent and, as discussed by Gurr (1992, 14), is the "sickness in the culture itself" of a technologically advanced society. The United Nations International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (1987) broadly defined the homeless to include those who have no homes such as "street people" and disaster victims and those who are relatively homeless in terms of their living standards (Charette 1987, 4). Writers on homelessness frequently define the subject on the basis of lack of control, privacy and poor material conditions but neglect more emotional issues such as indifference, powerlessness, and anomie (Sommerville 1992, 530-33). These issues are important in the context of this dissertation. Feelings about absence of home create a counterpoint to expressions regarding the positive qualities of home.

However, there is also another side to any discussion of homelessness and that relates to the feelings held by the homeless about the sub-standard

conditions in which they live. For many people, squatting provides a minimal home when otherwise they would be completely homeless. Their own home may no longer exist due to eviction from their own or family land; they may be unable to stay in their home or on their land due to economic circumstances; or they may leave due to social or political pressures. In general squatting has had, at its base, the desire for a decent home or for land. Examples of such circumstances occur throughout the world, housed one tenth of the global population in 1980, and have many different names: shanty towns, *bidonvilles* in France, *gourbeviles* in Tunisia, *favelas* in Brazil and *colonias paracaidistas* in Mexico (Gimson 1980, 206). A few examples are given here. In the South Pacific the Suva area of Fiji had twenty-five squatter communities housing eight thousand people in 1987 and in Papua New Guinea squatters formed one-third to one-half of the population of the larger towns (Mason and Hereniko 1987, 141,173).

In another form of squatting which uses existing but empty houses, over a quarter of a million people in Britain took over housing which did not belong to them between 1960 and 1980. As one individual said: " I Peter Manzoni, restorer...having noticed that the premises known as 29 Winchester Road were open, unoccupied and in an advanced stage of decay, entered thereon with the express intention of *creating a home* "(Ingham 1980, 166).

As homelessness is also a subject sufficient for a separate study, it is simply observed here that, like exile, homelessness speaks of the loss of identity experienced by those away from home and that squatters' communities demonstrate the desperate desire to regain some semblance of home. When the former home has been destroyed, however, this is clearly impossible. Yet there have been few attempts to study the destruction of home and place, including the motives for and process of destruction and the

human reactions to the loss of home and place. The present study will attempt to remedy this deficiency.

2.7 Conclusions: The Nature of Home and its Meaning in Relation to Domicide

In this chapter I have examined many sources in an attempt to understand the nature of home including the meaning of, thoughts about, and attributes of home. In sources from geography and from environment-behaviour research the primary goal has been to define the concept of home. This chapter has set a simpler goal; namely, providing immersion in literature from many sources in order to understand the importance of home in people's lives as well as to act as a basis for an examination of the concept of home in relation to domicile. However, as a result, I am also able to propose a new framework for any consideration of the concept of home. Based on literature review, five major categories which lead to an understanding of the nature of home have emerged and, within each of these, there are a number of sub-themes. These categories are:

1. *Definition and history of home* including: the changing meaning of the word "home"; the way in which homes have changed in their role and appearance; how homes reflect the history of their residents; and the changing role of home in relation to its female residents.
2. *Spatial and physical aspects of home-place* including: home in relation to its surroundings and territory; home as a core node, as part of a hierarchy of places, levels or concentric zones; and the dichotomy between inner space and outer space.
3. *Symbolic aspects of home* including: descriptions of past, present and future homes as well as idealized and imaged descriptions of home and home as a shelter for dreamers; home carrying an

ideological sense in terms of homeland, private property, and a marketable commodity; and home meaning the grave or God.

4. *Psychological and social aspects of home* explored: in terms of the meaning of home at various stages in the life-cycle; meaning depending upon role or relationship; by feelings toward home including territoriality, rootedness, security or refuge; and by relationship of home to self, the way in which home shapes identity.
5. *Exile or homelessness* compared to being "at home".

These findings complement and enhance previous conclusions from both humanistic-literary and empirical-behavioral research which show that all of the aspects of home interpenetrate, and that home has multiple, complex meanings. As expressed by Werner et al. (1985), home should be treated as a "holistic transactional unity" where separate qualities (physical, psychological, temporal) are considered in an integrated manner. Home is thus a spatial, psycho-social, symbolic centre wherein resides at least a portion of an individual's, or a group's, **identity**.

Certainly, home is a complex, multi-faceted phenomenon, a term voluntarily applied to places of varying size. Home is found to have several meanings which can coexist, without contradiction, within the individual. Each person's experience relating to such an intimate subject as "home" appears to significantly colour the interpretations of home's meaning: "home was something complicated, 'irrational' and at the same time very important" (Wikström 1994, 317). For example, women have traditionally experienced a more intense process of home-making; cultural differences may affect the expression of feelings about home; home means different things to people of different ages or in different roles; and home may only be important to a person when it is private property. Most important is the close relationship between person and home, the emotional bonds which exist. Home, more

than anything else, is where the heart is and while feelings and attachment to home may vary between individuals, all of these factors when combined provide a rich description of the meaning of home.

This chapter has expanded and refined existing typologies of home summarized in Figure 2.1. What has been added is a greater depth of understanding based on the opportunity to review writing on this subject from several disciplines, from fiction and poetry, all in one place and from various perspectives. Figure 2.5 provides a summary of these findings and depicts those aspects of home which are of greatest significance to those who might lose their homes: the first box shows key words from the work of other commentators (from Figure 2.1); the second box shows key ideas arising from the new typology I propose (with the areas of greatest significance highlighted); the third box extracts key factors from this typology in defining the meaning of home; and finally, the fourth box defines key factors relating to the meaning of domicile.

Figure 2.5 : Key Factors in Defining the Nature of Home and Domicide

From Figure 2.1:

Socio-cultural/Family
Control/Privacy/Refuge
Security/Safety
Personalized Place
Commodity/Investment/Ownership
Spatial Order
Origins/Continuity/Permanence
Nostalgia
Etymology

Base/Starting Place/Centre
Shelter
Attachment/Rootedness/Possession
Home/Journey/Away
Happiness/Comfort/Warmth
Community/Neighbours
Rest
Dreams/Paradise
Temporal Orientation



Proposed Typology:

Definition:

- definition
- uses through history

Symbolic Aspects:

- memory or memorial
- nostalgia
- ideal/image/dreams
- ideological: property rights
commodity/homeland/grave or God

Home to the Exile or Homeless:

- seeking and making home in new places
- inauthenticity
- sense of perspective
- loss of identity/history

Spatial and Physical Aspects:

- hierarchy of places
- private and public space
- core node/centre
- outside appearance
- inside appearance
- sacred space: hearth/centre

Psycho-social Aspects:

- stage in life-cycle
- role or relationship
- feeling toward home:
territoriality/rootedness /attachment
- refuge and security
- relationship to identity

Figure 2.5: Key Factors in Defining the Nature of Home and Domicide
(Cont'd)



Key Factors in Defining the Nature of Home:

Outward Lookingness

Focus: **CENTRE**

Refuge
Freedom
Possession
Shelter
Security

Inward Lookingness

Focus: **IDENTITY**

Family
Friends/Community
Rootedness
Attachment
Nostalgia/Memory



Key Factors in Defining the Nature of Domicide:

- de-centreing
- destruction of place of attachment and refuge
- restriction on freedom
- loss of security/ownership
- permanent destruction of home and surroundings
- loss of identity
- destruction of home of acculturation
- threat to family
- loss of friends/community/values
- loss of roots/history
- erasure of home of memory/dreams/ideals/memorial/nostalgia

Of greatest importance to this dissertation is a consideration of the aspects of home which are of significance when home is lost. In Chapter Five, the examples chosen for consideration will permit a comparison of the nature of home to individuals whose home is to be lost with the descriptions in this chapter. To fulfill the goals of this chapter, it is important to review and summarize those aspects of home considered of particular interest in any consideration of the effect of domicide. These factors are found within the general groupings of spatial, symbolic, and psycho-social meanings of home.

Within the category of spatial meaning, it is found that home is primarily the house (shelter) we live in but also that our sense of home is enriched by garden (or rural setting); neighbourhood; village, town or city; and country or nation. These are all called home and there appears to be no value, in terms of this dissertation, to more narrowly defining the concept of home in its physical sense – certainly all can be subject to domicide. While Burgel's (1992, 4) research suggests that attachment is chiefly to dwelling and nation, most of the literature suggests a primary attachment to dwelling. At the level of dwelling, home is a special place – inner space as opposed to outer space (Bollnow 1960, 331) – with definite connections to the outer world through thresholds, doors, and windows. Within the home, placement of furniture and decoration express comfort and, particularly where residents have lived for a long time or for more than one generation, identity. Domicide, even when a new home is found, means that home is never the same. Change is inevitable. Home has the sense of being permanent, the core, the centre from which other characteristics of home emerge, the home of identity, the place to return to. Destruction of it implies "undoing the meaning of [this] world" (Berger 1984, 56-57). Together, homes define community and community values. When whole communities are permanently destroyed, the loss, quite obviously, is all the more significant.

The symbolic meaning of home is epitomized by Hannah Hauxwell as she gazes at the home she must leave (and which through her good fortune will not be destroyed) and says: "they cannot take it away from me, it's mine, mine for the taking and always will be...even when I'm no longer there" (Hauxwell 1989). Home is the "memory machine" (Douglas 1991, 294) and while memories may be bad or good, in memories of home as in childbirth, the pain may be put aside. Home is the place where memories and dreams meet, where identity is formed. Domicide erases the physical place of memory and source of identity, not by conscious choice, as when one changes homes, but through the deliberate acts of others. Worst, it is suggested, is the loss for those whose home had become a living memorial through work on the land or structure, meant to be passed on to future generations.

Home discussed in the context of nostalgia was raised by Tuan in 1971 (p.189). Since that time commentators on the subject of home have given this concept less prominence, yet my review of current popular literature suggests nostalgia for home to be a predominant theme. Nostalgia does not appear to be "melting away in this age of postmodernism" (Karjalainen 1993, 72) despite the effect of shrinking physical distances due to advances in transportation and communication technology. But the postmodern period still retains the desire for economic expansion and thus homes and their settings are destroyed. For some, nostalgia for home may be all that survives.

Home is portrayed in ideal or imaged ways, and for those whose home is destroyed, this may be the only hope to which they can cling and which comforts them as they move on - the possibility of finding and creating their ideal home. Home is also considered a basic right and the concept of private property is sacrosanct, particularly in the United States, Canada and Australia. It is this factor which will set a significant measuring-point in requesting compensation for those who lose their homes through domicile.

Psycho-social aspects of home have been defined in terms of the meaning of home based on stage in the life-cycle, role or relationship, feelings toward home, and by the relationship of home to self. Home is where the heart is, "the locking together of self and artifact" (Bordessa 1989, 34). Home is significant at all times in our lives but particularly when we are children. Home is the centre, the mold, our home to family and friends, our place in the community, and the place where acculturation occurs.

Feelings toward home include psychological territoriality, rootedness, a sense of security, irrational attachment and refuge. Given these feelings, the invasion and/or destruction of home is likely to be all the more devastating. The link between home and identity is the subject of a large number of the studies reviewed in this dissertation and is common in literary sources. The sense of identity created by a sense of home may therefore be destroyed when home is destroyed.

Discussion in this chapter regarding the meaning of home to the exile or homeless essentially permits us to review a similar situation to that which arises when home is destroyed. Predominant for the exile is the desire to seek or recreate home in new places. Yet in these situations, the exile may be able to return home. Others cannot return home, for the home which they sought or remembered no longer exists. At a certain conscious moment in time, their "object of memory" has been obliterated forever.

This chapter provides a discussion about the nature of home and the necessary background for the description of the deliberate destruction of home in Chapter Three. If home has multiple, complex meanings which interpenetrate, then so does domicide (Figure 2.5). All the complexity that defines the nature of home, when combined with the examples of domicide which will be explored in the next chapter, support the belief that that which

is lost is not only the physical place but the essence of home and aspects of personal self-identity.

Endnotes to Chapter Two:

1. The following provides a more detailed description of the works summarized in Figure 2.1.

Yi-Fu Tuan (1971) pointed out the complexity of the concept of home in terms of its etymological roots, the antinomic relationship of "home" and "journey," the sense of rest associated with home, and the nostalgia associated with home. Hayward (1975) developed an overview of the multiple meanings of home while studying home as an environmental and social concept. Beginning with common (dictionary) meanings and then through readings in history, myth and literature, he found descriptions of physical structures which are primary places of residence, descriptions of home as territory or a locus in space, and descriptions of home as a locus of self-identity or as a social or cultural unit. In a later publication (1976), based on a study of a small sample of young residents of Manhattan, he identified nine attributes of home, namely: relationships with others; relationship with community; self-identity; privacy and refuge; relationship with other sources of meaning about home (not shown on Figure 2.1); as a personalized place; as a base of activity; as a relationship with parents of place of upbringing; and finally, as relationship with a structure or shelter. According to Rapoport (1992), a recent Ph.D dissertation (Depres 1991) has reviewed Hayward's typology as well as six others to create a revised typology. This involves: security and control; reflection of one's ideas and values; acting upon and modifying one's dwelling; permanence and continuity; relationship with family and friends; a center of activities; a refuge from the outside world; an indicator of personal status; as a material structure in a particular location; and a place to own.

Rakoff (1977, 93-94) interviewed a panel of white, middle-income people in Seattle and found the meanings of home a "multi-vocal

symbol" which included: physical shelter; a commodity or an investment opportunity; a place where child-rearing and family life occurs; an indicator of personal status and success; and a sense of permanence and security.

Mackie (1981) defined two main themes of home within which sub-themes were discussed: home as centre included the relations between home and identity, home and dreams, house and self and home and away; and home as refuge, covering protective qualities of the home and historical origins. Viewing home as a "principle for establishing a meaningful relationship with the environment," Dovey (1978, 27-30) saw home as a place to which a person is attached, as security, as possessed territory, as the familiar, as base and starting place. Reviewing the meaning of home in a more recent article, Dovey (1985) has expanded this consideration to include amongst the properties of home the following: spatial order, temporal orientation, socio-cultural order, spatial identity and temporal identity. He has also identified the processes related to home which are expressed as the spatial dialectics of home and journey: inside and outsideness; order and chaos; and the social dialectics of self /other, identity/community, and private/public. Additionally, he contrasts bringing our meaning to our homes versus homes conferring identity.

Tognoli (1987, 657) explored six aspects of home: centrality, rootedness and place attachment; continuity, unity and order; privacy, refuge, security and ownership; self-identity and gender differences; social and family relationships; and socio-cultural context. Yet another theoretical framework for the meaning of home is proposed by Sixsmith (1986) who used a multiple sorting task plus in-depth interviews to determine the different meanings which home holds for people. She found twenty collective categories of which the six most frequently mentioned, listed in order of frequency, are: belonging, happiness, extent of services, self expression, spatiality, and type of

relationship. Watson and Austerberry (1986, 93-7) identified meanings of home including decent material conditions and standards, emotional and physical well-being, loving and caring social relations, control and privacy, and simply living/sleeping place. Somerville's (1992, 533) typology is based on a search for the meaning of home in order to define homelessness. He finds key signifiers for home including shelter, hearth, heart, privacy, roots, abode and paradise and contrasts these with those of homelessness: lack of shelter, lack of hearth, heartlessness, lack of privacy, rootlessness, and 'purgatory.'

Rapoport (1992) analyses the term "home" in both popular (folk) and professional use and recognizes the following aspects of home: affective core, security, control, being at ease, relaxed, ownership, kinship, feeling comfortable, family, friendships, laughter, contentment, personalization and taking possession. He then attempts to dismantle the study of "home" believing that the word is frequently just a synonym for "house" and further that it is used to mean both an object and the relationships to that object in both professional and popular literature.

Following interviews with persons affected by a renewal project, Wikström concluded that home should not be interpreted as a scientific concept (1994, 318). He found home to mean warmth, comfort and safety. Home was also a point of departure, a sense of autonomy, an opportunity to mutually create space, a place filled with memories, a sequence of events, and in both a negative and positive sense, part of a neighbourhood.

2. For example, reviewing the development of the word "home" in the English language, Mackie (1981, 21) demonstrates the changing sense and development of the word since the twelfth century:

900-1250 A.D.	village, dwelling place [home-circle]
1300	place of dwelling or nurturing, grave or last home
1600	place, region, refuge, rest or satisfaction, native land
1700	seat, centre or native habitat
19th C.	institution providing refuge or rest
20th C.	home as a building

Chapter Three: The Nature of Domicide

I lost two cities, lovely ones. And, vaster,
some realms I owned, two rivers, a continent.
I missed them, but it wasn't a disaster.

Even losing you (the joking voice, a gesture
I love) I shan't have lied. It's evident
the art of losing's not too hard to master
though it may look like (*Write it!*) like disaster.

from "One Art"
Elizabeth Bishop
Geography III, 1976.

3.1 Introduction

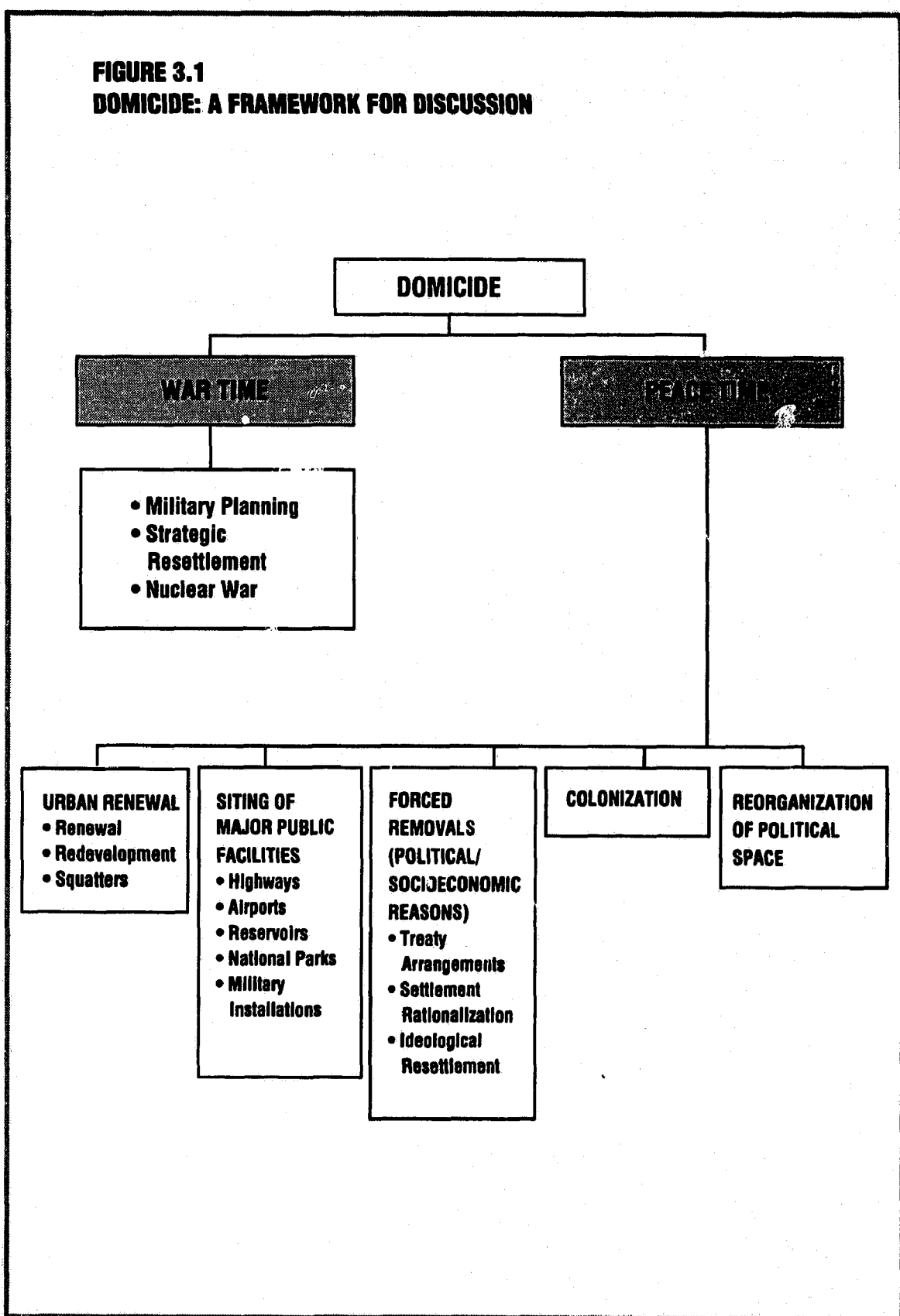
Chapter Two has surveyed literature sources to provide a discussion of the nature of home, and from this base, key factors relating to the meaning of domicile are posited. These factors include loss of physical aspects of home (dwelling and neighbourhood and/or land); loss of security and something owned or possessed; restriction on freedom; cutting of emotional ties: the source of memory, ideals and nostalgia; and loss of the centre of a person's life: the home of identity, family, roots, history, community values, and a place of attachment and refuge. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the widespread nature and frequency of domicile – the deliberate, planned destruction of home carried out by persons with specific goals expressed in terms of a common good rationale whose actions affect unwitting victims who suffer as a result – as well as to suggest a new framework for the study of domicile. My emphasis in this discussion is on the means, motives and process of domicile as well as on gaining an understanding of the experience of victims of home destruction. In addition, I wish to determine whether the parameters of domicile developed within Chapter Two are found in the circumstances I will review.

Destruction of home occurs by a variety of means. Gallaher and Padfield (1980) identified these to include: the violent actions of humans or nature; the abandonment of a natural region (when, for example, resource extraction is no longer profitable); the decay of a socio-cultural system or civilization, or extinction of a form of association. To this must be added uprooting caused by redevelopment or major projects. Currently there does not appear to be a full conceptualization of ideas regarding home destruction although the work by Fried (1966), Marris (1974), Gallaher and Padfield (1980), Coelho and Ahmed (1980), and Porteous (1992) introduced earlier suggests certain aspects and generalizations.

3.2 Framework for Discussion

Of the above-noted contributions, Porteous (1992) has provided the most effective initial framework for this discussion of domicide as he has moved beyond recognition of the experience of loss, to explore who is responsible for place destruction, and why and how it occurs. To further explore this theme, I have suggested a narrower framework (Figure 3.1) based on goals whose realization involves domicide. This framework is therefore used to create section headings to guide the discussion of this chapter. The information is presented in the form of short descriptions intended to familiarize the reader with the means of, motives for, and effect of domicide. However, in certain cases which are particularly well documented (for example, Third London Airport, Newfoundland, Republic of South Africa), longer descriptions are given. The list (Figure 3.2) created is by no means exhaustive but has been chosen to ensure that an adequate picture of the process and result of domicide would emerge. At the end of the chapter, the common themes of domicide are expanded and refined and a possible framework for this concept is explored.

FIGURE 3.1
DOMICIDE: A FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSION



TYPE	SCALE	LOCATION	WHEN	MOTIVE	BY WHOM
3.4 WAR TIME					
3.4.1 Military Planning					
	Nations	Europe	WWII	Territorial aggression	Germany
	Village	Lidice	1942	Revenge	Germany
	Neighbourhoods	Warsaw Ghetto	WWII	Ethnic cleansing	Germany
	Town	Oradour-sur-Glane	1944	Territorial aggression	Germany
	Region	Yugoslavia	1986-	Regain Bosnia	Ethnic factions
	Town	Rosewood, USA	1923	Ethnic cleansing	Klu Klux Klan
3.4.2 Strategic Resettlement					
	Villages	French Algeria	1956	Create security zone	French gov't
	Villages	Vietnam	1960s	Remove enemy's pol. base	U.S. government
	Territory	Iraq	1980s	Stop rebellion	Iraq government
3.4.3 Nuclear Disasters					
	Cities	Hiroshima	1945	Stop war/revenge	
3.5 PEACE TIME					
3.5.1 Urban Renewal/Redevelopment					
	Neighbourhood	Boston, Mass.	1960s	Relocation from slum area	U.S. government
	Village	Howdendyke, Yorks.	1970-	Industrial expansion	County gov't/Corp.
	Squatters' areas	Various	1968-	Eviction	Governments

Figure 3.2: Domicide Case Studies

DOMICIDE	SCALE	LOCATION	WHEN	MOTIVE	BY WHOM
3.5 PEACE TIME					
3.5.2 Siting - Public Facilities					
Highways	Home	Horseshoe Bay, B.C.	1963-1967	Construct parking lot	B.C. gov't
	Community	Durham, N. Carolina	Late 1970s	Construct highway	City gov't
Airports	Village/region	S.E. Britain	1969-	Construct airport	National gov't
Dams	Region	Tennessee Valley	1940s	Economic development	U.S. gov't
	Region	Volta River	1960s	Energy development	Ghanaian gov't
	Region	Kariba Gorge	1960s	Energy development	Zambia gov't
	Region	Egypt-Nubian land	1969-80	Energy development	Egyptian gov't
National Parks	Regions	B.C. aboriginal lands	1950-1960	Energy dev't/Protect fish	Corporations
	Region	Alberta	1980s	Energy/Flood control	Government
	Region	Kidepo Valley	1939-	Park creation	Governments
Military Installation	Region	Newfoundland	1970	Park creation	Federal gov't
	Islands	Marshall Islands	1946-58	Nuclear testing	U. S. gov't
3.5.3 Forced Removals					
Treaty Settlement	Settlements	Sinai region	1970-	Peace treaty	Egyptian gov't
Settlement	Company towns	Canada	1980s	Economic change	Corporation
Rationalization	Region	Newfoundland	1940-1970	Economic/social change	Canada gov't
	Settlements	Canada Inuit	1953	Sovereignty	Canada gov't
	Settlements	Greenland Inuit	1960s	Economic/social change	Danish gov't
	Settlements	Canada Innu	1965	Find new hunting areas	Canada gov't
	Company towns	Chile	1960s	Reduce dependence on US	Chilean gov't
	Community	Kojo, Japan	1979	Stop migration to cities	Japanese gov't
Ideological Resettlement	Region/villages	Romania	Late 1980s	Gain arable land	Romanian gov't
	Rural areas	Mozambique	Late 1970s	New social order	Government
	Rural areas	Rhodesia/Zimbabwe	1931-	Agric. reform/Apartheid	Government
	Urban/Rural	South Africa	1960-1994	Apartheid	Government
3.5.4 Colonization					
	Territory	Delaware lands, U.S.	18th-19th C.	Land settlement	U.S. gov't
	Territory	Nisga'a lands, B.C.	1883-	Land Settlement	B.C. gov't
3.5.5 Re-organization of Political Space					
	County	Yorkshire, U.K	1972-	Gov't reorganization	British gov't

Figure 3.2 (Cont'd): Domicide Case Studies

3.3 Destruction of Home: Deliberate or Not?

In creating this dissertation, I was aware that there are examples of home destruction which result in permanent loss of home but which do not meet the definition of domicide provided in Chapter One. These situations (destruction by natural hazards or technological accidents) do not involve deliberate destruction of home but nevertheless are relevant in the context of a discussion of domicide as illustrated below.

3.3.1 Natural Disasters

Natural disasters are recognized as a significant means by which homes are destroyed (as this is written (July 1995) 150,000 homes have been lost in the Hunan province of China) and natural disaster planning and relief is a subject area which has received considerable attention in psychology, planning and geography since the 1960s (Burton et al. 1978; Foster 1980; Rossi et al. 1982; White 1961; Wright 1979). While discussion of natural hazards is limited in this study in order to focus on domicide, it should be recognized that there are significant similarities and differences between the two processes which are expected to be of relevance. In particular, severe emotional reactions occur following the loss of home in a natural disaster. However, after a natural disaster, the victims can normally blame only nature or God. The situations are also different in that the reaction to loss from natural disasters is immediate and therefore commentators have had to rely mainly on observations made soon after the event occurred. Thirdly, it appears to be endemic to our political system that such losses are mitigated as rapidly as possible, unlike planned domicide where compensation may not be given for years. Thus recovery from natural disasters is often rapid as persons rebuild their homes in a safer way or a more protected place.

Baum (1987) has undertaken an extensive review of the literature on the effect of disasters, particularly psychological effects, which are similar to but often more severe than the results of planned homicide. He indicates that such events are the cause of social disruption, disorganization, and massive migration as well as individual reactions of trauma, fear, stress and shock. Some studies suggest that chronic stress occurs while others state that, although the immediate psychological effect may be acute, it will also disappear rapidly. The latter circumstances may result from the immediate desire on the part of disaster victims to rebuild their homes, often supported by communities who respond with greater social cohesiveness after disasters.

Simpson-Housely and de Man (1987, 3) have also studied psychological reactions to disasters but from the perspective of how personality traits such as sense of control and anxiety affect these reactions. They confirm that knowledge of personality traits and response to natural hazards enhances understanding of human appraisal of the hazards concerned. Such findings could also contribute to an understanding of how to respond to those who lose their homes in other circumstances, for example, certain people might be expected to act as leaders in planning a new future where domicile must occur.

Accidental disasters, which are not deliberate, are similar in these and other respects to natural disasters as the following examination will show.

3.3.2 Technological Hazards

The destruction of home caused by the Chernobyl disaster on April 26, 1986 exemplifies home destruction which is unplanned but also unnatural. Ironically, it has been suggested that the Chernobyl disaster was foretold by the city's name which means "wormwood," that herb so distinguished in Revelations, Chapter 8, Verse 11 (Haynes and Bojcun, 1988):

And the name of the star is called Wormwood:
and the third part of the waters became wormwood;
and many men died of the waters,
because they were made bitter.

Precursor to destiny or not, the name Chernobyl has come to signify an accident which was to change the lives of many and forever cause distrust of nuclear power plants by others (see studies in the special edition of the Journal of Environmental Psychology 1990). What was to have been simply an experiment to determine whether the addition of a special magnetic field regulator could continue the electricity flow when the reactor's turbine was cut off, became an unmitigatable disaster. Shcherbak (1989) tells the story of how this short moment in time changed Chernobyl from "a pleasant little provincial Ukrainian town, swathed in green, full of cherry and apple trees" where "the beauty of Polissia nature had blended astonishingly harmoniously and inseparably with the four blocks of the power station" (p. 9) to an area where devastation was totally hidden but where "increased radiation level would show itself in mushrooms, peat bogs, black currant bushes and in villages at the corners of buildings where the rainwater ran from the roofs..." (p. 4). But at first this hidden danger was not known, and people were simply evacuated. Not knowing they were leaving their homes forever, they took with them only their summer clothes and their most important possessions.

Much that has been written about this aftermath has focussed on finding fault, and the effect on human health and ecology. However, Marples (1988, 146-47) focuses on the social impact, on people who returned to their homes and on those who did not. The first described themselves as "the happiest people in the world" because they had been allowed to regain their homes. Others, who were accommodated in apparently pleasant, permanent housing elsewhere, continued to long for their own homes. About twelve hundred people, mostly retirees, eventually returned to their old homes despite the certain risk from radiation..."these people are coming back of their

own volition. It's their home"(p. 147). "They survived the Nazis and fear nothing" (Dodds 1989, 6). But for others, farmers and their families who had lived within ten to fifteen kilometres of the exploded reactor, return was impossible and their lives were changed forever. As a mark of this change, Shcherbak (1989, 167) carries with him the memory of abandoned villages, and particularly the village cemeteries, "'shadows of forgotten ancestors' where the living will no longer ever return."

Another example of a disaster caused by technological failure is described in studies of the residents of Saunders, West Virginia, two years and five years after a dam failure on Buffalo Creek wiped out all traces of their town. The residents exhibited chronic symptoms of psychopathology comparable to "highly distressed" psychiatric patients (Gleser et al. 1981, 141). Their valley had been completely changed and there was no home to which they could return. The dam failure was a human-induced error and for those displaced: "It is...a form of shock – a gradual realization that the community no longer exists as a source of nurturance and a part of the self has disappeared" (Erikson 1976, 302). The residents of Buffalo Creek felt that they had been betrayed by those who they normally would trust (Gleser et al., p.149). Only those men who were able to rehabilitate still-standing homes showed less anxiety (p.147).

The examples given in this section are of unplanned events which have caused destruction of home. Several factors emerge:

- 1) for some, like the elderly residents of Chernobyl, and those who rebuild immediately after natural disasters, there is only one home and while it exists, in some form, it is the place that they must be;
- 2) there are significant psychological effects caused by the disaster event and the loss of home, community and self; and

3) recovery is often rapid following a natural disaster event.

However, this dissertation focuses on the equally significant destruction of home caused by deliberate actions. The next section describes the events of war which result in domicile.

3.4 War-time Domicide

In the deliberate destruction caused through war-time military planning and strategic resettlement, settlements may be completely destroyed imposing "lasting wounds on the human meaning that has been accumulated over centuries, symbolized in these places" (Violich 1993, 11). Together the examples in this section illustrate the affect of military planning and strategic resettlement on large populations (particularly following nuclear disasters), their identity and the places they call home.

3.4.1 Military Planning

Aerial bombardment of Europe in World War II brought systematic annihilation to many small settlements and large parts of major cities, making sixteen million people homeless in its wake and causing death to 1.6 million civilians. Hewitt (1982) examines this war-related destruction and reaches a number of conclusions germane to this study. First, he reviews the meaning of this destruction in terms of identification with home and nation and suggests that this sense of identity is also what makes places important targets in war. He notes the similarity between natural disasters and man-made destruction through war in the thoroughness with which such destruction occurs. Both also bring disorganization of space and "untimely death." War, however, involves organized premeditated action against an identified enemy and their source of well-being (p. 2).

Finally, he suggests that justification for such destruction is based on retribution to the enemy, leverage against its government, as well as being the inevitable outcome of war (Hewitt 1983, 276). However, he notes with irony that, as cities are rebuilt, the existing "abyss of inhumanity and human misery" is obliterated (p. 277). Perhaps of greatest importance to this discussion is Hewitt's comment that:

Except in brief moments of crisis, human survival is never just individual biological persistence, but the need to have a communal place or to re-establish the continuity of past places....Somehow, in extremity one discovers that the intersubjective reality of place has a more general and fundamental human significance than objective form and function or measures of the material setting (p. 277).

Hewitt (1982, 2) cites the burning of Carthage by Rome as well as the ploughing and sowing with salt of its ruins, and the razing of the Czech village of Lidice as the ultimate examples of place destruction. In the latter case, in revenge for the belief that the village had harboured the executioners of General of the Police Heydrich, Hitler's orders were clear (Bradley 1972, 78):

1. All men are to be executed by shooting.
2. All women are to be sent into concentration camps.
3. Children are to be concentrated, those capable of being Germanized are to be sent to SS families in Germany and the rest elsewhere.
4. The commune is to be burnt down and levelled to the ground.

Lidice was to act as an example to others who might contemplate resistance. The destruction was completed by ensuring that the town's layout was erased into the surrounding landscape. New roads were built, brooks diverted and grazing areas for sheep created over the site. Edna St. Vincent Millay expressed her horror of this action in The Murder of Lidice (1942, 29):

Now, not a stake was left on a stone,
 Nor the frame of a window-sill
 Where a woman could lean in the dusk alone
 Her arms aware of the warmth of the stone,—
 In Lidice, in Lidice —...

Oradour-sur-Glane provides a similar example of war-time place destruction. This French village was destroyed and six hundred and twenty-four of its residents died in June of 1944. The old village has been kept just as it remained after the Germans destroyed it and all the paraphernalia of living remains as it was left fifty years ago. However, the ruined village exists in stark contrast with the new village of Oradour which was rebuilt after the war several hundred metres away from the old village. In yet another eerie reminder of the past, two hundred and fifty homes (exactly the same number as those destroyed) were constructed for the twenty-five persons who survived (Chatain 1992).

Finally, the elimination of both a place and its people which occurred in Warsaw is described to illustrate domicide caused by military planning. In September 1939 during a seige of the city which lasted three weeks, over fifteen thousand of its inhabitants were killed and 12 percent of the city razed. In 1943 the ghetto in the northern part of the centre was razed and the Jewish population of three hundred and fifty thousand deported and exterminated. In 1944, in reponse to the Warsaw uprising when the city's inhabitants and insurgent soldiers fought for every house and every street, the city was burnt and one hundred and fifty thousand people killed, after which the Germans burned and dynamited the rest of the city.

For Jewish people, domicide had early beginnings with their expulsion from Jerusalem by the Romans after a series of Jewish revolts in AD 66, 116 and 132-35. Thus the return to the homeland of Israel became all important in 1948. The extermination of European Jews is often thought of as the killing of a people with no territory other than their nation state of Israel. But in fact, these people had homes at the urban scale and often lived a "happy and secure middle-class existence [which was] interrupted by a lightning bolt of terror and followed by unspeakable agonies" (Deak 1989, 64). In his review

of sixteen of the estimated ten thousand publications on this subject, Deak points to the continuing debate on who decreed the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" or when and why it was adopted. Some have concentrated on the evil of Hitler while others on the faceless bureaucrats who were willing to do their master's bidding. Zygmunt Baumann (cited in Deak, 72) explains the situation in the following way which speaks again to the recognition of special interests:

The lesson of the Holocaust is the facility with which most people, put into a situation that does not contain a good choice...argue themselves away from the issue of moral duty...adopting instead the precepts of rational interest and self preservation. In a system where rationality and ethics point in opposite directions, humanity is the main loser...

Deak also acknowledges that as the survivors become older, they can view their "homeland" with some longing, despite the tragedies which occurred. This feeling for homeland is difficult to understand, particularly when it is placed alongside Polish author J.M. Rymkiewicz's description of *Umschlagplatz*: "the place that was to be the back door of hell, through which a people who had lived in its vicinity since the Middle Ages were to make their last exit" (Zand 1989, 16).

Wars like World War II are unlikely to occur again, but Hobsbawm (1994, 8) points out that "the years after 1989 saw more military operations in more parts of Europe, Asia and Africa than anyone could remember: in Liberia, Angola, the Sudan and the Horn of Africa, in former Yugoslavia, in Moldova, in several countries of the Caucasus and the Transcaucasus, in the ever explosive Middle East, in ex-Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan."

The war in the former Yugoslavia has destroyed homes in cities and villages throughout that country. Military and rebel action is a continuation of tensions between national movements in the Balkans which have occurred over the last one hundred and fifty years, but which have been

expressed as "ethnic cleansing" since World War II. The pro-Nazi Ustache - Croatian Party which took power in 1941 stated that of the six hundred thousand Serbs living in Croatia, "a third would have to convert, a third expatriate themselves, and a third die" (Hartmann 1992, 18). The "ethnic cleansing" of today is said to be the idea of sixteen members of the Belgrade Academy of Sciences and Arts who circulated a secret memorandum in 1986 calling for proper treatment for the Serb nation and the Serbianization of territories to which they laid claim. These policies have awakened long-standing desires for revenge.

Resulting from these hostilities, destruction of the cities of Sarajevo and Mostar has caused a wave of Bosnian emotion at the deliberate bombing of the national libraries, museums, and archives - "the history of our homeland is gone." Here the destruction becomes "memoricide" and the losses are irreparable: the university's holdings; the national archive of newspapers and periodicals; a collection of oriental manuscripts; the historical archives of Hercegovina before the Ottomans conquered the region in the 15th century; a library of calligraphic and illuminated manuscripts dating to the 12th century; and, ironically, an anthropological collection which included records of Serbian civilization (Manchester Guardian Weekly 1992, 7).

The toll on the human population has amplified this "memoricide". Thirteen thousand people sought shelter in the city of Dubrovnik when their villages were bombed. Those who could not find room with friends were placed in tourist hotels, and then, an easy target from the sea, were bombed again. As old people were killed and the records of villages destroyed, the very remembrance of these villages and their homes is expunged (Wilkes 1992, 22-25).

One final example provides evidence of a different sort of war with similar results, this time directed at the negro inhabitants of Rosewood in the United States. In 1923 the Klu Klux Klan burned the town to the ground. Today, two survivors, now in their seventies, are petitioning the state legislature to place the town's name on maps and provide restitution for property which was seized or burned (Washington Post, 1993).

3.4.2 Strategic Resettlement

A frequent phenomenon of war or its supporting activities is strategic resettlement, from which inevitably arises loss of home. The motives for such resettlement include the need to remove civilians from battle zones or from the influence of opposing political ideologies. Examples briefly explored here include resettlement activities in French Algeria, Vietnam, and Iraq.

In Algeria, the Challe Plan, which was put into place at the end of the 1950s, was based on the enormous strength which could be mustered by Maurice Challe against the activities of the Algerian Armée de Libération Nationale – estimated by the end of 1956 to number four hundred thousand men, twenty soldiers to every freedom-fighter. Besides the activities of war, the Plan was implemented to ensure that rural Algerians were kept beyond reach of the revolutionaries and to create “free-fire” zones where resistance could easily be put down. To achieve this plan, there were massive resettlements of Algerian peasants into “temporary” encampments, some of which existed in conditions of squalor (Talbot 1980, 186).

As in Algeria, scientific advisors to the United States government and Department of Defense believed that the “solution in Vietnam” was to remove the people who formed the political base for guerilla forces (Ekberg et al. 1972, 110). Begun in the late 1960s, this policy dictated the destruction of three thousand hamlets and the removal of their population to cities and

camps under government control. These camps or strategic villages were fortified settlements whose inhabitants were permitted to work outside the village in agricultural occupations. As a result, the Vietnamese people suffered effects ranging from psychological apathy to death from cholera, typhoid and plague. They became "'ghosts -- both living and dead' wandering a land where everything that once made sense of their lives had been destroyed forever"(Isaacs 1983, 20).

In the 1980s, destruction of home at the regional level was seen in Iraq where it is believed that about three thousand Kurdish villages were destroyed and up to five hundred thousand persons relocated in order to stop the Kurdish rebellion and create a security zone along the Iranian border. The Iraqi government has denied that these have been forced removals and suggests that the relocation is "only a communal program aimed at uplifting economic and social standards of villagers" (Chicago Tribune 1989). But many of the Kurds are now returning to build their homes again, stone by stone in the ruins of towns like Qalaa Dizah. In the words of one man: "I feel like I have just been born again...Saddam, he even destroyed our dreams. Coming back is the only way to defeat him"(Nordland 1991, 29). The return home is much more difficult following a nuclear war.

3.4.3 Nuclear War

However remote the threat of nuclear war may seem at the present time, as recently as 1990 the Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A.) commissioned a report titled Nuclear Disasters and the Built Environment. In this report, the impact on buildings from a nuclear war or nuclear reactor accidents are considered. In the case of the former, the damage caused by blast forces from nuclear explosions as well as the pulse of radiant heat, and the strong winds which might follow are described. To bring this into

perspective, the specific example of the Hiroshima explosion on August 6, 1945 is provided:

The whole of Hiroshima was instantaneously covered by a bluish-white glare. The fireball grew within a second to form a sphere some 400 metres across, giving off heat which set fire to buildings and trees and burned the skin off many people and animals caught in the open. Solid materials on the ground at the hypocentre reached surface temperatures of 3000-4000 degrees Centigrade...Within 10 seconds the brightness of the fireball had disappeared. Meanwhile the blast wave spread out from the explosion flattening buildings to a distance of 2 kilometres, causing widespread damage to 5 kilometres, and still carrying sufficient force to break some window glass as far as 27 kilometres away (p. 89).

Of seventy-six thousand buildings in the city, almost three-quarters were destroyed and most of the remainder were seriously damaged. It has been estimated that sixty-eight thousand people were killed and a further seventy-six thousand injured (p. 90).

The report concludes that some protection could be achieved by sheltering in houses or other buildings. However, survival may be a questionable goal in these circumstances as reconstruction could be impossible due to the problems of radioactive contamination and shortages of building materials. Survival could also be precluded through the ultimate destruction of the world during a global nuclear war. If sufficient bombs were exploded, a cloud of black smoke could be created which would encircle the world, block out all sunlight, stop photosynthesis and end all life on earth – the coming of nuclear winter (Fisher 1990, 123).

3.4.4 Summary

The destruction caused by wars affects large populations and extensive areas, based on a motives of retribution to the enemy, leverage against its government, and/or ethnic cleansing. During strategic resettlement the motive is the removal of civilians to safe places, often built to minimal standards, or away from a certain political influence, and has been described

by its proponents as the uplifting of social standards. These actions are planned by powerful leaders (e.g. Hitler, Challe), "faceless" bureaucrats or a select group (e.g. Belgrade Academy of Sciences and Arts) whose followers, having no good choices, turn to rational interest and self preservation to justify their actions. There is loss of human meaning symbolized by family and friends and by place and history. "Memoricide" occurs. Judging only by the barrage of television pictures from the former Yugoslavia during recent years, the suffering of those displaced is intolerable.

But the destruction of war rarely results in the permanent annihilation of cities or landscape, although individual dwellings, villages or neighbourhoods may be irretrievably lost. People inevitably rebuild on the same site, even in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Within less than a year of its destruction, nine-hundred thousand Hanoverians returned to live amongst the ruins of their city which had been 80 percent gutted (Hewitt 1983, 277). Although they are never the same, this rebuilding has been likened to rebirth, particularly when the enemy has been vanquished. In time, as survivors of these events grow older, those who leave may look back to their home place with longing, despite the terrible things that have happened, or may harbour continued resentment and, like the residents of Rosewood, seek recompense even seventy years later.

Most important to this discussion, however, is that loss of place through war is obvious and possibly preventable. This dissertation therefore concentrates on the more subtle processes of domicide during peacetime where rebuilding is most frequently impossible.

3.5 Peace-time Domicide

Destruction of home occurs in civil life through relocation and replacement of residents during urban renewal and redevelopment, siting of

public facilities, forced removals, and through colonization or reorganization of political space. Each of these is explored in turn with summaries at the end of each section to illustrate salient aspects of domicile.

3.5.1 Urban Renewal/Redevelopment Projects/Squatters' Settlements

Although it may seem that such displacement is not as prevalent today as it was in the 1950s and 1960s, Rohe and Mouw (1991, 57) note that in 1987 alone, twelve thousand households were directly displaced by Housing and Urban Development and Department of Transport projects in the United States. They suggest that while the economic impacts of such displacement are now better mitigated, the social impacts continue. To illustrate this type of domicile, examples of loss of home during urban renewal or redevelopment projects are first explored. While the literature on urban renewal might have permitted a lengthier exploration, only a few examples are chosen here to avoid repetition of much that has been written in the 1960s and 1970s. These examples are followed by a brief discussion of squatters who seem to personify humanity's desire to create a home, no matter in what form or how precarious their existence may be.

Urban Renewal

In what has become a classic of its time, Marc Fried (1966) discusses the disruption and disturbance to people relocated from a residential area in Boston's West End. These feelings are typified as "grief" with "feelings of painful loss, the continued longing, the general depressive tone, frequent symptoms of psychological or social and somatic distress, the active work required in adapting to the altered situation, the sense of helplessness, the occasional expressions of both direct and displaced anger, and tendencies to idealize the lost place" (pp. 359, 360). Interviews undertaken after people had moved found some experiencing a profound sense of sadness and loss while

others were physically or mentally affected in some way. While some may have welcomed the move, after two years 46 per cent of the women interviewed still experienced a reaction of grief. This same grief was often repeated when people were told that their former home had been destroyed.

Fried acknowledges the significance of relocation losses as they affect routines, relationships, expectations and even simple alterations to everyday space (p. 362). He found that the grief associated with loss of place was closely linked to loss of the social network and the physical context of home. This grief was greatest amongst those who liked living in the West End, who were familiar with the greatest area within it, and who had lived there longest. In their grief, many families tried to remain close to the area they knew even though the personal relationships they had formally enjoyed no longer existed. Others strengthened existing family bonds.

The findings of Fried's study have been confirmed and extended by studies of other places, including Hackney, London where the community is said to have lost its sense of identity during redevelopment (Young 1981, 61), and in Covent Garden where people are reported to have lost their sense of belonging (Anson 1981, 236). This sense is captured well by Wesker (1979):

Now those buildings are down and Fishman laments: "...a crime has been committed against the past. In the race for functional conformity, and from the pressing needs for rehousing the people, the little streets and their ancient communities have fallen before the demolishers...one can sense the loss in human terms." And one wonders: what are the new planners scheming?

A more recent evaluation by Wikström (1994, 316, 317) of renewal projects in three Swedish residential areas built in the 1940s and 1950s uncovers similar findings to those of Fried. Residents felt that modernization was a threat to the calm and safe life which they had known and some, who were expected to move permanently, experienced a great sense of loss.

Redevelopment

In Planned to Death, Porteous (1989) describes the slow death of the small village of Howdendyke in East Yorkshire, England. It is a death caused by progress; redevelopment for industrial uses literally replaced the village. In the words of one observer: "Howdendyke is a classic example of planning blight. It is not dying. It is slowly being killed off by piecemeal development..." (Porteous, p. 168). As this is the village in which Porteous spent his youth, and which he has continued to visit in his adult years, the death is even more lingering and painful for him. Now less than half the village remains.

Porteous describes the village as it once was through a combination of illustrations, maps and text which portray the villagers, their life and work. His description provides an extraordinary sense of intimacy with the subject and thus prepares the reader for the enormous sense of loss which the author feels.

Change has come to the village in a number of ways. The move from mixed farming to specialized farming changed the landscape in the 1950s and 1960s. But of greater effect has been a significant growth in industrial sites which have surrounded and engulfed the village. Porteous tells how in October 1968 the fate of the village was decided by the East Riding County Council with the motion:

"RESOLVED-That subject to the concurrence of the Minister, the Committee see no objection to the 24 acres indicated by the County Planning Officer being used for industry making use of water-borne transport" (p.132).

This decision was made without the knowledge of, or opportunity for comment by, the villagers of Howdendyke. Faced with industrial zoning surrounding the village, no new houses were built. Young couples moved to

other villages and older people were found state housing in the nearby town. Many of the remaining houses were allowed to deteriorate and then were torn down.

Porteous (p. 203) identifies five conditions which predetermine the annihilation of such a village:

- 1) Control of land, employment and housing by a corporation with no interest in the village other than as an industrial site.
- 2) A largely working class population with no knowledge of planning or means of effective resistance.
- 3) A predominance of tenants dependent on a paternalistic system.
- 4) A planning department which ignores guidelines and does not engage in public participation exercises.
- 5) Politicians who ignore a local community in favour of "wider interests" such as increased regional employment.

The end result for Howdendyke is seen in previous situations in Britain. Villages disappeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a result of plagues or voluntary abandonment of unproductive land. In the fifteenth century depopulation became more deliberate as Tudor landlords converted tilled land to sheep pasture and extended their grand estates. The Highland Clearances two hundred years ago saw Scottish chiefs trade their estates to English lowlanders and their Cheviot sheep, with little thought for the thousands of families they made homeless. In the eighteenth century villages were removed as aesthetic eyesores during the making of landscape parks and as part of "improvements" generated by the Enclosures of the Agricultural Revolution. In the 1990s, history is repeating itself on the island of Gigha in Scotland where a Swiss creditor bank has foreclosed on the absentee owner. Prospective buyers are not informed of the 140 people for whom they will have feudal responsibility (Hancox 1992, 23). Given this history in Britain, the search for deserted villages has been undertaken with considerable passion, sometimes involving excavation to uncover remains (Allison 1970, Beresford 1955). Will some future search find Howdendyke?

Squatters' Settlements

In Chapter Two the widespread occurrence of squatting was described and it was suggested that shelter for squatters, however substandard, was a desperate attempt to create a home. However, even these homes may be subject to domicide. In 1986 the squatters' communities of Old and New Crossroads in South Africa were destroyed and thousands of their residents were dispersed into smaller squatter settlements in black townships. Another example is provided by Perlman (1982, 22ff.) who comments on the Brazilian form of home for squatters, the *favela*. In the 1970s the *favelas* of Greater Rio de Janeiro held a population of one million people, and contrary to the beliefs of those who would destroy them, provided some distinct advantages: proximity to job markets; a community of friends; a pride in homes and community built by the residents; and no rental fee. Efforts by the government to remove families into public housing projects have met with considerable resistance, particularly given that their new homes were further from job markets, lacked social networks, and destroyed the political connections of the *favelas'* residents' associations. These disbenefits appeared to the residents to outweigh the benefits of water, bathroom and sewage services to be provided by the government in the proposed new homes.

Summary

Urban renewal and redevelopment have occurred most frequently at the scale of neighbourhoods and villages although similar effects, as achieved by the Highland Clearances and the Enclosures, have been seen at larger scales and from earlier times. The motives included socio-economic improvement such as the provision of "improved" housing conditions, or profit as in the case of Howdendyke, where industry displaced the village residents. The proponents were politicians and bureaucrats who made decisions as part of a planning process and/or corporations having little interest in the

communities where their industry would locate. Their decisions were evident only through an official decree such as a council resolution. The affected residents had no real way to participate in the decision regarding their fate. Most were tenants, part of an existing paternalistic system. While some may have been better off as a result of being relocated, many suffered grief, sadness, anger, and even more serious psychological effects. These people lost social networks and a sense of belonging. In the case of the squatters' communities, loss of home occurred more than once, and resistance to removal was encountered given that new social and economic networks had been established.

3.5.2 Siting of Major Public Facilities

As with urban renewal, planned destruction of home also occurs to make way for public utilities such as highways, airports or dams. The loss of home and community which occurs when highways are built or airports constructed is illustrated with reference to case studies of Crest Street, Durham in North Carolina, one family's loss of home in British Columbia, and proposals for the Third London Airport. Several examples of loss of landscape and home caused by the construction of major hydro-electric projects are also explored. National parks have also displaced villages as examples from Canada and Africa will show. Finally, loss of home to a military installation is briefly discussed.

Highways

Loss of home to highway construction has become a common experience. Hence, Berman (1982, 342) eloquently mourns the loss of his home in the Bronx, victim of an expressway and seeks "to generate a dialogue with my own past, my own lost home, my own ghosts." Such experience in the United States in the 1970s lead to a considerable understanding of the

effect of relocation caused by highway construction. Finsterbusch (1980, pp.112 ff.) summarizes this and concludes that although most people will adjust well, there are always some who suffer psychological stress in attempting to come to terms with all the "severely traumatic" changes, and some who will die.

The examples used here show a similarity to Finsterbusch's findings as they demonstrate that some people may adjust well and achieve a better solution through effective protest, but for others the effect of domicile on their lives and their families will be significant. While writing this dissertation I met Alice Hambleton, a musician who divides her time between living in the secluded forest land setting of Keats Island, British Columbia and visits to her family home and recording studios in North Vancouver. When I told her of my work, she wrote me the following letter which illustrates the means, motives and effect of domicile from the perspective of someone who lost their home, not to a highway but to a parking lot at the end of the longest highway in the world, the Trans-Canada Highway (Hambleton 1994). As will be discussed in later chapters, the expropriation process and achieving a fair price for property rights has not always been supported by adequate legislation, policy or process, and the system certainly left much to be desired at the time of this example. There is also no doubt that compensation value was a serious issue for Hambleton's parents. However, of greater importance to this dissertation is to listen to Hambleton as she speaks about the impact on her and on her family, how they perceived the common good rationale which justified the construction of a parking lot, the lack of consultation and the behaviour of government agents.

In 1963, I was five years old. My family was living on Marine Drive, just above Horseshoe Bay, in West Vancouver. My dad was a fairly ambitious and successful young contractor. He built spec houses all across the North Shore, from Deep Cove to Horseshoe Bay. My parents had a mortgage on our Marine Drive house. They also had a mortgage on a large, three-storey duplex

(which my dad had built), on Keith Road, right down in Horseshoe Bay. Also on the same block, there were two other houses beside the duplex (closer to the water), and a few houses across the street from the duplex. My parents had both sides of the duplex rented out to tenants.

Horseshoe Bay was a small picturesque village. The Bay was a fun place to live in those days. I could go swimming in the Bay all summer long, and the Horseshoe Bay community was small and friendly. The old Horseshoe Bay ferry terminal was only about one block from the duplex.

One evening, one of the renters from the duplex came to see my parents on Marine Drive. He was angry because a government agent had knocked on his door and told him that he would have to move soon. The agent said that the government would be buying the duplex for the road. My parents were surprised. This was the first they'd heard about it.

About two weeks later, the government agent came to my parents' house on Marine Drive and offered them a price for the purchase of their duplex. My parents refused the offer. They didn't want to sell the duplex. Besides, they felt the offer was under the market value. My mom said that she could do better selling it on the open market. The government agent said that they couldn't get a better price because the government could give them cash. My mom said "Who wants it." And so the government agent stormed out.

My parents were left in a quandary as to what to do about the situation. The tenants moved out of the duplex and the duplex sat there empty with the next mortgage payment due.

So, my parents decided to move us all (me and my two brothers and sister), into the duplex. They were either going to rent the house on Marine Drive or sell it. They put two ads in the paper: one to rent the house, and the other to sell it. It sold immediately.

So, for the next four-and-a-half years, my family lived in the duplex in Horseshoe Bay. Meanwhile, all the houses around the duplex were sold and destroyed. We were now the last house on the longest highway in the world. And for four-and-a-half years, our house was the only thing that was in the way of W.A.C. Bennett's big Expanded Horseshoe Bay Ferry Terminal dream.

The government agent never came back. But the government hired two watchmen with guard dogs, to patrol the properties that they'd bought around us. They also did their best to intimidate and torment my family, to try to make us move.

I remember being seven years old standing in my back yard. The government watchman, with his big cigar, told his German Sheperd to "kill" me. I was scared as his big dog was frothing and trying to get to me. And the watchman held the leash with all his might, so that his dog wouldn't get me. It was a big game that the watchman was playing on an innocent little girl. Meanwhile, my Siamese cat hissed and tried to protect me for all she was worth. And my mother came running out, and got into hysterics when she saw what the watchman was doing to her child.

Predictably, the watchman would only torment us kids and my mom. He was too "chicken" to do something like that when my dad was around. So this is what the government did to those citizens who wouldn't cave in to its unreasonable demands.

The government watchman constantly patrolled around our house with his dog. He'd stand in our driveway for long periods of time, and just watch us, menacingly. At night, he'd park across the street in his car and watch us through our windows. This went on for more than four years,

until my dad finally called the police and said that he was going to shoot the watchman, if he didn't stop bothering our family. That was the end of the watchman and his big cigar.

A short time later...about two weeks before Christmas 1967...a neighbour came flying up to the house, to tell my parents that the government had expropriated our property! The government had advertised it in an obscure science journal, one that few people read. My parents received their eviction notice. We had to be out by the end of December, just a few weeks away.

My parents went to a lawyer. He said that they couldn't fight the government. As a result, our family was expropriated, in the middle of winter, at Christmas time.

My parents only got 2000 dollars more for their property than they had originally been offered. The government was supposed to only evict property owners for a road, but our house and yard became the Horseshoe Bay pay parking lot, instead. My parents are *still* upset about this...twenty-five years later.

My mom thinks that if the government is going to expropriate property for a road, they should at least offer fair compensation. They should settle it through arbitration, until both parties are satisfied. Also they should give proper notice, and should complete the process within a reasonable time period. The government has no right to torment, or financially handicap families who don't want to sell their property. And something like this should never drag on for five years. After all, when the government finally needed the property, they just took it.

The expropriation of our house resulted in almost five years of tension between my parents and the government. The tension affected our lives and it affected us kids. We all grew up mistrusting the government and feeling a general contempt for "the system" and for "authority." We all became "rebels." After all, to us kids, the government was a big, ugly man with a fat cigar and a mean dog who was trying to hurt our family and take away our home.

As a result of the expropriation, my parents lost some of their momentum...[they] wish they'd never sold the house on Marine Drive. They wished they'd kept it and had just rented it out. It was a short-sighted decision, necessitated by the crisis of the moment, but back then they felt it was important to make a stand and not just give in without a fight.

After the expropriation, my family left Horseshoe Bay. I had to leave all my friends, and go to a new school. I had to leave my favourite swimming place behind, forever. For the next five years, I had to commute fifteen miles, once a week, from our new house in Deep Cove (another spec house that had previously been rented out) back to my piano teacher's house (in Horseshoe Bay) for my lesson.

When I go to Horseshoe Bay now, I still feel Love for the beautiful landscape. I feel nostalgia for what was, and is now just a memory. I wish I could see my house and yard again, and see Horseshoe Bay the way it used to look. I also feel sad because the most beautiful place in the world got turned into a major tourist terminus, where the biggest business in town is parking. And the Bay is so polluted now, that no one can swim there any more. My whole family feels cheated. Our life in and around Horseshoe Bay, was taken away without our consent.

Unlike the previous example, one protest against highway development which did make a difference involved the community of Durham, North Carolina where a Black neighbourhood known as Crest

Street was threatened by an expressway proposal in the 1970s (Rohe and Mouw 1991, 60 ff.). The project was pushed by a politically well-connected city councillor and the local business community, including both Black and White business leaders, as it would open up a route to the suburbs and to a research and manufacturing park. During the first phase of the project, neighbourhoods were razed including a Black, low income area called Hayti. The second area to be razed was Crest Street which, due to its imminent destruction, had been allowed to deteriorate.

The Black community of Crest Street saw that persons uprooted from their homes in Hayti had been placed in housing conditions far worse than their original homes. The community also found ready allies in young White community activists who opposed the expressway because it would come close to their homes. In studying the project area, it was found that the average period of residency in the area was just over thirty-six years, that sixty-five per cent of the community's residents had relatives in the immediate area, and that ninety per cent of the residents believed the community to be a safe place to live. It was this information which proved crucial to the neighbourhood's opposition to the expressway (described in Chapter Four). In the end the community was relocated to an adjoining area which was much improved and, where possible, existing homes were moved to new locations. The domicile which occurred to the community of Hayti was prevented in Crest Street. Resistance proved effective as is the case in the next example relating to airport development.

Airports

The landscape change and destruction of home which is contemplated by airport construction has also been the subject of considerable study. The Report of the Roskill Commission on the Third London Airport (Commission of the Third London Airport 1971) provides a published source

relating to such a proposed domicile. However, this proposal is by no means the only example of concern over airport construction. Protest was also raised against the Third Paris Airport at Roissy-en-France and Mirabel and Pickering Airports in Canada. Resistance to the Second Tokyo International Airport took the form of bloody battles between police and a coalition of peasants and students and went on for many years. These conflicts often arise as airport development is frequently proposed near areas which are already well-developed. Review of the Third London Airport situation shows how sophisticated techniques have been used to create evaluations of such sites and hence justify a selection. In the end, however, what was heard were the voices of the "more homely country": "We chose our home for a lifetime;" "I laid every brick myself."

The proposal for a Third London Airport was subject to the most elaborate of inquiries, which lasted for over two years between 1969 and 1971 and which cost £ 1,120,000. It is given more detailed attention here because I was involved in the inquiry and therefore I believe that I have a greater sense of what the destruction contemplated would have meant. The proposal was a product of its time, a period when an apparent exponential growth in air traffic could easily be coupled with British pride in the importance of having a world-class international airport. To quote Justice Roskill, who led the inquiry: "The hostile jibe during the second world war that this country was no more than an aircraft carrier should in the last thirty years of the present century be a source not only of pride but of economic and political strength" (Commission, p. 5).

To give the Roskill Commission its due, the siting of a Third London Airport was an extremely difficult problem. The Commission knew that they followed in the footsteps of a previous inquiry into the potential of Stansted to serve as the third airport. In that case, the inquiry had been taken up with

discussions of whether issues were within or outside of the terms of reference for the inquiry, and in the end found that the objections on the basis of noise, traffic, regional planning and house values were "formidable and justified." The recommendation against Stansted was overturned by the government and, in a debate on the need for a national airports policy, the seeds were sown for the Roskill Inquiry and consideration of another airport site. The announcement of the latter was made by the President of the Board of Trade in the House of Commons on 23 February 1968.

The Inquiry also placed itself squarely in the middle of a paradox of progress. Air travellers, and those who provide air service, want a facility which is as close to major centres of population as possible. To do this normally means the destruction of homes or, at the very least, causes significant noise pollution. The Inquiry received evidence that by the year 2000, one hundred million passengers would use a new airport. Against this need was placed the destruction of the homes of one hundred thousand people (p. 9). And at the final stages of the hearings, no one argued against the need for a third London airport.

In view of the considerable opposition to the expansion of the airport at Stansted, however, the Commission set out to start afresh on a list of possible sites, to carry out its work in public, and to make use of cost-benefit analysis to aid systematic decision-making. The Commission recognized that cost-benefit analysis could be criticized for avoiding the real issues around the sacrifice of homes and peace and quiet but felt that this method ensured "that decisions are taken on the basis of people's individual values and choices as revealed by their behaviour rather than on the decision-makers' own preferences or standards or those of vociferous and politically powerful groups"(p.12). For example, "If a person is prepared to travel 100 miles in order to visit some feature of archaeological interest, then the value placed on

his visit cannot be less than the expenses he is prepared to incur" (Roskill proceedings in Perman 1973, 111). Such reliance on rationality was seen by one critic as "the culmination of one of the dominant trends of the political sixties; the conviction that the rational and the efficient, rather than the picturesque and the sentimental, must prevail" (McKie 1973, 15).

The first stage of the Inquiry was devoted to public hearings. The first of these heard evidence from the British Airports Authority to determine the issues of regional planning, noise, surface access and air traffic control. At the same time, independent research was undertaken to propose sites which ultimately included Cublington, Nuthampstead, Thurleigh and Foulness. At the second stage, local hearings allowed examination of preliminary evidence and comment on the chosen sites by "the ordinary man and woman." The third stage enabled amplification of matters which had not been examined at the second stage. Finally, in the fourth stage the technical experts were heard. All of the proceedings of the hearings have been published but it is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study to review these in detail.

However, it is of interest to note the dissenting opinion of one member of the Commission, Colin Buchanan, particularly when it is remembered that Buchanan was the architect of much of Britain's modern road transportation system. Responding to the Commission's choice of Cublington, Buchanan stressed the loss of a "more homely country" where necessary earthworks would destroy or impinge upon the gently rolling landform and many historic buildings and views including the Vale of Aylesbury. In particular he cited a picture of the Vale by Whistler on the wall of the Picadilly Hotel which he passed day after day and which in the end helped to form his dissenting view. As I was a representative of Stevenage New Town at the second and fourth stages, albeit through the voice of a Queen's Counsel, I can remember vividly the sense of awe engendered by an inquiry of this magnitude and the

care with which I prepared an accounting of population figures to be affected by the invidious noise contours. Yet the reality was never clear until, during the second stage of the enquiry, we visited an ancient church which would have been destroyed by construction of the airport. My sympathies are with Buchanan.

To study the reaction of persons who would have been affected by the final choice of the Commission, the resistance displayed by the inhabitants of Cublington is exemplary. The choice of Cublington was, in the eyes of David Perman (1972, 13), "an attempted rape of a section of English rural life that was repulsed with the stubborn and inventive resistance that the English have traditionally shown to foreign invaders." The choice was made primarily in the belief that Cublington made the best economic sense as an airport site. Had the project come to fruition it would have destroyed three villages, Cublington, Stewkley and Dunton, and possibly two others, Soulbury and Whitchurch. One thousand seven hundred people would have lost their homes and ten thousand people would have been affected in other ways.

At the local hearings stage, eight hundred and eleven persons sought leave to speak and there were two hundred and three actual witnesses. There were seven hundred and twenty-five letters of protest which were not published by the Roskill Commission and which will be available at the Public Records Office in London and at the Department of Trade and Industry in 1999. These letters would provide a rich source of information about how people felt when faced with the impending destruction of their homes. Excerpts from two letters, as reported by Perman (1972, 100), are a record of the hopes and fears of the people of the area:

I am 82 years of age and I was born in North Bucks and I shall not leave here until I am compelled to do so....To make the most optimistic possibility that we find a suitable home elsewhere, we should undoubtedly suffer (a) an incalculable social loss, (b) a considerable financial loss, (c) considerable

inconvenience...We chose our home for a lifetime. We like it. We like the generous rooms and layout. We like the small enclosed garden which is green and mature, with flowering shrubs and lilac hedges...We are not affluent people. We paid £5,700 for our house and the rest has been achieved by sweat...this is my home and I won't leave here except by force...

Following a highly effective local resistance (described in Chapter Four), Cublington won its reprieve on April 26, 1971 when the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry told the House of Commons that the Third London Airport would be built on reclaimed Maplin Sands off the coast at Foulness Island in Essex. It won its reprieve mainly because of the growing concern about conservation of the environment. This reprieve was interpreted as a victory for the middle-classes of Britain for it was they who led the "environment" lobby, but the protest of others must not be forgotten. The dominant social class represented in the primary protest group (Wing Airport Resistance Group) was lower middle-class, people who could not afford to lose their homes (p.171). One smallholder in North Buckinghamshire summarized it well:

Six years ago I started in the summer. I had the plans, I put the foundations, I laid every brick myself, I finished it when I was seventy years old, this cottage you see, I laid every brick. Now I've lived in it eighteen months, and now they talk about razing it down. I built it to spend my days in. I'm only one man, I'm speaking for myself, but I'd hoped to spend my days on my lovely little holding; it's got a lovely little green valley across there, and when I'm dead, I said, you can take my ashes across that little green valley, so that I can stay there till the stars lose their glory.

There is a postscript to this story. It was eventually discovered that the air traffic increase would not be as great as forecast. Increases have been accommodated through routing international flights into regional airports such as Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow, increased use of Stansted as London's third airport, building of a second terminal at Gatwick and a fourth terminal at Heathrow (as well as a fifth in planning stages, and a new "City Airport" for STOL at the Docklands in London). The British Government has recently announced that Heathrow and Gatwick are favoured sites for a new

runway for the southeast within the next twenty years (Harlow 1993, 9). If Heathrow is chosen, over three thousand houses would have to be demolished as well as fifty-five community and recreation buildings, eleven public buildings and ten hotels. If Gatwick is chosen, one hundred homes around the airport would be bulldozed and the Tudor village of Charlwood would be sandwiched between two runways (Elliott 1993). In Peter Hall's words: "The story of the third London airport is an extraordinary history of policy reversals, last-minute abandonments, contradictions and inconsistencies in forecasts. It has all the ingredients of a great planning disaster" (Hall 1980,15).

Reservoirs

Domicide by drowning, which occurs when a reservoir is created behind a major dam, will be a subject for special review in Chapter Five of this dissertation. This attention is merited because, unlike the focus of Gallaher and Padfield (1980) which stressed a long community-dying process with possibilities of a reversal of fortune, with drowning there is a more irreversible death of the community to contend with. Home is no longer physically there; the dwelling, village, neighbourhood or landscape has been deleted. Recently considerable attention has been paid such occurrences in view of their socio-economic and environmental impact. For example:

In 1992 the World Bank approved a US\$120 million loan for the Shuikou dam in eastern China which is expected to displace 63,000 people. "Forced resettlement has radically changed their lives, resulting in a loss of control and loss of face for the traditional farmers. In despair, some old people have committed suicide" (Probe International 1993a).

The Ertan dam, the largest hydro-electric project in China, will displace 30,000 people while the proposed Xiaolangdi Dam on the Yellow River is expected to displace 190,000 people. "The resettlers are only being offered half the land they originally farmed, at a barren site, and without irrigation. If they want irrigation they must dig their own channels; however, it is highly questionable whether they will be able to afford to do so" (Probe International 1993b).

The Kedung Ombo Dam in Central Java, Indonesia, has flooded the homes and farms of 25,000 peasants. When the floodgates closed in January of this year, many of the families living in the 37 villages to be inundated by the dam's reservoirs refused to move, protesting that they had not been consulted about the destruction of their property at any stage of the development (Probe International, 1989).

In Brazil, the Xengu Dams complex will flood forest communities and villages...the Tucuri Dam encroached on three Indian reserves, forcing the removal of 800 people from 6 tribal groups...(Cummings 1990, 33).

With the coming of India's monsoons, the first waters will start rising behind the Sardar Sarovar dam. Some 150 villages may be flooded eventually and 1.5 million people will be forced off their land. Over 100 such super-dams have been built across India and the developing world, often with grave environmental and social consequences. More are planned for the 21st century (Lewis 1991, 34).

Indeed on the drawing board today are super-dams for Brazil (12), Argentina (10), Nepal (11) and China (12), Africa (3), Asia (11), and other parts of Latin America (12) (Lewis, p.34).

This section reviews seven projects. The Norris Basin of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Volta River Project, the Kariba Gorge Dam and the Aswan Dam all involved comprehensive planning and promised economic renewal, but in each case caused the end of a way of life for those whose homes were drowned. The two British Columbia projects described met the needs of industry and power planning but not the needs of First Nations' peoples who were displaced. Finally, a recent doctoral dissertation (Million 1992) provides particular insight into the feelings of those who lost their homes through construction of the Oldman River Dam in Alberta.

The first example comes from the depression years in the United States which saw the development of many projects by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Discussed here is the storage reservoir and hydroelectric facility in the Norris Basin of upper East Tennessee. This project included the introduction of land-use planning, regional development and multi-purpose stream development but it also involved land purchase, family removal and

relocation, albeit from an area which was isolated and economically disadvantaged. The project had a proponent in a position of ultimate authority. Roosevelt stated in On Our Way:

Before I came to Washington, I decided that for many reasons the Tennessee Valley – in other words, all of the watershed of the Tennessee River and its tributaries – would provide an ideal land use experiment on a regional scale embracing many states (McDonald and Muldowny 1982).

Through a series of oral interviews McDonald and Muldowny (pp. 37-65) have created a picture of the Basin before it was flooded and also a sense of the positive and negative aspects which this development brought to people who lost their homes and their way of life as part of Roosevelt's "ideal land use experiment":

And when they were leaving here it was just like a funeral here at the store every day – they didn't know whether they'd see them any more in their life.

It's very difficult to describe the attachments that they had for their land, their emotional involvement, and the fact that they were going to have to leave all that and come somewhere else. It wasn't just that they had spent all their lives there, you know, but as far back as their grandparents could remember.

Well, I didn't feel too awfully bad about it. One way of looking at it, I just thought that when the government took a notion to do anything they just done it, and I just passed it by, is all I can say.

I don't know how – they *existed*, they didn't *live*. Now, [for] the people like that I guess in the end it was better – turned out that it was better for everybody that they did move.

I know some people up there that resented moving at all. In fact I know two who committed suicide. I knew personally of them. They bought all around [one man], but he wouldn't sell, and he went down to the pond there and put a rope around his neck and hung himself.

The thing that hurt so bad was that we just didn't want to be taken away from the place we loved. Even if we went away, we would like to come back and see the place again. Now its a hundred feet under water. We can never go home again.

I imagine they paid market price for it. But...most people...didn't want to leave, and they thought they should have been...given something for having to move or being driven out of their homes where they'd lived for generations,

their forefathers lived there before them, and I think they should have allowed some consideration for that.

The interviews provide us with a rare opportunity to listen to the feelings of some of the persons who have lost their homes through the creation of a reservoir. In the next three examples, the commentators have provided a critical view of the process by which domicide occurs as well as some insight into people's reactions.

The development of the Volta River Project in Ghana in the 1960s necessitated the flooding of an area of 3,275 square miles. Before the water submerged ancestral lands and homes, some eighty thousand people lived in the area. This was a project for which careful plans were made. The British and Gold Coast Governments announced the establishment of a Preparatory Commission in 1952 to report on technical aspects and economic viability. All aspects of project construction were studied including human issues such as compensation and resettlement but, in retrospect, the Chair of the Commission said: "Those of us who are not Ghanaian... clearly realised how little we understood the minds of the people who would have to leave their ancestral lands and homes"(Chambers 1970, 5). Land had particular significance for the Ghanaians. Traditional beliefs stressed the connection between land and life:

I believe you are no less superstitious than I am, being an African, and in this project our superstition is bound to be shared by even advanced men or nations who executed similar projects. This V.R.P. is a great disturbance to many gods – those of the forest, of the mountains and hills and above all, the water spirits. We are interfering with their peaceful abode and unless we get round about them carefully the nation shall lose very much (Amarteifo 1970, 131).

In carrying out this project, compensation was regarded as a legal obligation and was to have included public infrastructure as well as cash compensation to the private sector for land, crops, buildings and fishing rights. Twenty per cent of the assessed value of private buildings was to be

paid as a "disturbance element." Resettlement was discretionary, however, and the government adopted a policy of self-help and incentives to make it happen. Evacuation was aided when an exceptional flood occurred in 1963, affecting fifteen thousand people, and, in a more positive sense, by the presence of social workers in the area from 1953 onwards who prepared people for the move.

Nevertheless, problems arose due to the long delay in obtaining financing for the dam and internal difficulties with staffing the secretariat for the project from existing government departments. Then dam construction was begun suddenly and there were only three years to remove the residents of the basin. Further tensions arose in trying to implement the self-help policies while still meeting minimum housing standards set by the authorities. This caused costs to rise significantly. Villagers lost enthusiasm for construction of their own dwellings when considerable speed was necessary to accommodate the victims of the coming flood. Eventually the Department of Social Welfare recommended that housing projects should be built and that self-help projects should follow as "an excellent way of rehabilitating [the victims], and giving them a stake in their new environment" (Kalitsi 1970, 40). Reviewing the limitations of planning in this project Huszar (1970, 161) notes that while planners can create the physical manifestation of a new settlement, they cannot create the same social and economic environment. Thus, persons who were resettled lost their traditional house forms and occupations. In addition, problems of sanitation and overcrowding were caused. On the positive side, better services and communications were provided.

Resettlement of the Gwembe Tonga in Zambia in the 1960s was brought about by the construction of another African project, a large hydroelectric dam across the Zambesi River at Kariba Gorge. The social

consequences of this resettlement are described by Colson (1971, 2) and included hostility toward government, loss of legitimacy of local leaders and questioning of existing religious practices, although, on the positive side, Colson reports a new focus on kinship ties. Colson suggests that resistance to technological change was experienced not because the Gwembe Tonga were averse to the proposed change but because: the resettlement program threatened people's basic securities; those resettled did not understand the technical facts; the project resulted from a command from outside their community; and the Gwembe Tonga believed that they were made to suffer for the longer term good of their community.

While new settlements were eventually created, that which was lost is expressed in rather special way for the Gwembe Tonga (p. 50):

The resettled people came from an area of old settlement, where all the features of the landscape were named and people were easily oriented in space. They came from a landscape threaded with paths linking one homestead with others in village and neighbourhood, homesteads with fields, fields with one another, neighbourhoods with other neighbourhoods. In most resettlement areas there were few game tracks, and while newcomers recognized major landmarks if they were lucky enough to move into the uplands, most of their new world was anonymous.

One final example in Africa involves the bid by the Revolutionary Council of Egypt in 1960 to create economic benefit through the addition of arable land and generation of hydroelectric power resulting from construction of the Aswan Dam. Ultimately, this project was responsible for the displacement of one-hundred thousand Nubians in Egypt and the Sudan. Hussein Fahim undertook research in Egypt in 1969, 1973 and 1980 to study the means of coping developed by those who had been displaced. In particular, his account of this situation was prepared to assist persons responsible for future resettlement programs to understand "the instinctive need for mankind to preserve individual cultures" (Fahim 1983, x). Agriculture provided a subsistence economy for the Nubians and the villages

were home primarily to disabled aged men, widows or other women while men were employed in the service industries in the cities.

The construction of the High Aswan Dam displaced all Nubians within Egypt and flooded one-third of the Nubian lands in the Sudan. While the Egyptian Nubians were resettled within the Aswan area, the Sudanese Nubians were located in a unfamiliar area. It has been suggested that a pattern of out-migration has long been set for the Nubian people before construction of the dam. But many Nubians had expected, despite the poverty of the area, to return from the big cities to retire, to enjoy a life of freedom and independence, a country of silence and beauty, and houses and extended compounds which had been in the same tribe for generations (p. 32). With the dam construction, some Nubians became, in their own words, "inflicted people" who suffered from depression and grief, inhabiting "villages dependent on cash remittances [with women] patiently awaiting the return of absent men" (p.31).

This displacement occurred despite the fact that the Egyptian government took the resettlement issue seriously. While the Nubians were not given an active role in the formulation of plans, they were consulted and a compensation policy developed which would be suitable to their needs. At first the Nubians did not really believe that their valley would be drowned but when the time came for resettlement, some saw it as an opportunity for new material and social advantages. Others saw an end to their peaceful and quiet way of life.

Fahim tells of the day of departure for the first village when "the women rose at dawn to sadly and silently visit their dead, spraying the graves with water expressing compassion and sanctification" and many "kissed the land as they left their empty vacated homes, while others filled their pockets with small bags of soil" (p.43). Every effort was made to welcome them to

their new location by government officials and new houses were ready for them. Unfortunately, even with this excellent start, problems surfaced thereafter including delays in scheduled moves and in the provision of new housing.

Many of the efforts to resettle persons displaced by the creation of reservoirs in Africa were missing in two British Columbia projects. The W.A.C. Bennett Dam created Williston Lake in the late 1960s by flooding 632 kilometres of the Rocky Mountain Trench and drowning a valley of historical significance (it was the first point of land west of the Rockies explored by both Alexander MacKenzie and Simon Fraser) and home for the valley's residents, the Sekani. Some of the Sekani refused to leave and on May 25, 1968 the provincial government sent in bulldozers and pulled their houses to higher land. Living in poverty and suffering health problems since then, some of the Ingenika people of the Sekani have been reluctant to leave Ingenika Point which is the only part of their traditional lands to remain. One woman said (Cruikshank 1987, 1): "I'd get heartbroken...to move from a place where we've been so long...when I go away, I want to come back fast...I get real lonely...Its a nice feeling to get back home." Only in 1987, did the British Columbia government recognize the plight of the Sekani and begin to provide aid to their settlements.

Another British Columbia project has severely affected the Cheslatta Indian Band. The treatment of the Cheslatta Carrier Indians has been described by a member of the federal Royal Commission on Aboriginals as "a story of horrors" (Hume 1993, 1). It is a story which spans the past forty-five years and which is best told by Chief Marvin Charlie of the Cheslatta Band. My comments are based on a presentation made by Marvin Charlie and the Band's researcher, Mike Robertson, in Victoria on October 26, 1993 but they are published elsewhere (Robertson 1993, 1; Wagg 1993, 1).

Prior to World War II the aluminum market was just being established and the area around Burns Lake was surveyed for hydroelectric power potential. There was no development activity during the war, but after the war the demand for aluminum increased greatly and a search was initiated for suitable sites to provide electricity for Alcan's proposed smelter at Kitimat.

This site was found on the Nechako River, one of the most important salmon-bearing streams in British Columbia. Project construction was begun and negotiations undertaken with the residents of Ootsa Lake over a two year period but it was not until 1952, when the dam was nearing completion, that concern was raised about the need for fish protection measures during the filling of the dam. The solution was to create a storage reservoir at Cheslatta Lake which could then be used for controlled flow release for fish protection. Alcan built a dam to create the reservoir and used the dam for four years while the larger dam was under construction.

The Cheslatta Indians' story of the loss of their land to permit construction of this storage reservoir is disturbing. Alcan called the Department of Indian Affairs in March of 1952 saying that the Cheslatta Band would need to be evacuated. According to Marvin Charlie, the Cheslatta people were self-sufficient and knew nothing of the government until April 3, 1952. On that day the Department of Indian Affairs told the Band to move from their homes immediately. On April 8th the gates of the dam were closed and the water started to rise, flooding some buildings. The Indian Agent called a meeting for April 16th, and the people gathered, but neither Alcan nor the Department of Indian Affairs arrived. Finally on April 21st, when many people had run out of food, officials arrived and started to negotiate for land. As there was no native Chief, the Indian Agent appointed a government chief and two councillors. Few Indians spoke English but

fortunately one, Able Peters, who had just returned from World War II, was able to act as translator.

People asked for compensation for "life" because they said that the dam would destroy their way of life. Alcan promised that they would replace what was left behind, pay for the land, and move two graveyards. The graveyard at #9 settlement was not to be affected by the floodwaters. Some graveyards were too old to move and so the gravehouses and markers were gathered together and burned. A sign was placed on them which, as Charlie recounts, reads: "Here be mens, womens, children. May they rest in peace." [His description of this sign is somehow more affecting than the reality which is an aluminum plaque reading: "This monument was erected in 1952 to the memory of Indian men, women and children of the Cheslatta Band, laid to rest in the cemetery on Reservation Five, now under water. May they rest in peace."]

It took two days for the negotiations. Some elders refused to move but were told that the law would come and then there would be no compensation. Often surrender was executed by taking each individual out of the meeting separately. The first person would be offered \$5,000, the next \$6,000. Many of the younger people left on saddle horses with only what they could carry. Two weeks after the move, all the houses were burned, barns were torched and everything was ploughed over by machines. The Alcan contractors refused to burn the church and in June the Indian Agent flew in by helicopter and burned it down. Charlie says that despite having to wander around for three years to find land to buy: "All this did not bother us so much...but when #9 graveyard was flooded (including the grave of one of his brothers), that really hurt my people."

The Cheslatta people moved to the Grassy Plains area and lived in tents and cabins. "We were refugees in our own country." Each person

bought their own land and despite promises have never been reimbursed for their lost land or equipment. They lost their livestock, their way of life, their way of hunting and almost their own language. When Charlie was elected Chief in 1990 he noted that in the old grave yards, not one person buried there had died of alcohol or suicide. In the new reserve, there were three huge graveyards and every other death was from drug or alcohol abuse. Ninety-seven per cent of his people were on welfare. This factor simply exacerbated the effects of loss of home, all of which have been redressed in part by Marvin Charlie. He has worked to create job opportunities for the young people on his reserve and now the welfare roll has dropped to thirty-five per cent. They have "found out where their roots were, where their ancestors were...bringing them back to the ground where they come from." All this was threatened by the Kemano Completion Project which, through lowering of water levels on the Nechako River to create more hydroelectric power, would, according to Charlie, ensure that "the lake is going to die and my people will die too." The British Columbia government's announcement on January 23, 1995 that this project is cancelled will come as good news to the Cheslatta.

The disregard for native peoples in the creation of major projects is also evident in the creation of national parks systems. In Dinesen's words:

It is more than their land that you take away from the people, whose native land you take. It is their past as well, their roots, and their identity. If you take away the things that they have been used to see, and will be expecting to see, you may, in a way, as well take their eyes (Dinesen 1972,375).

It is evident that the subject area of domicile affecting native persons would be worthy of much more research than is permitted in the context of this study.

One final example derives from the dissertation "It Was Home" (Million 1992) and provides a special parallel to the discussion of the Libby

Dam in Chapter Five since the flooded area in the South Country of British Columbia was also home to persons whose livelihood depended on ranching. The title is taken from the words of one of the ranchers, words which surely form an epitaph for all such circumstances: "It was home. So thinking of leaving it was painful. But thinking it was to be all gone, all destroyed, that was the hardest part. I mean you'll never be able to see it again, to walk on it again" (p.131).

Million's study is a phenomenological work created from deep reflection on one hundred and eight hours of interviews with eighteen individuals (in five families) two years after the last person was displaced by the construction of the Oldman River Dam. In particular the study subjects were chosen because they did not want to leave their land and homes and because they were capable of telling their stories. The study is concerned with "how place and its forced loss, or involuntary displacement, show themselves in the daily "lifeworld" and is based on the concepts of "insiderness" and "outsiderness" associated with place (p. 1). These concepts are drawn from Relph's description of "existential insiderness" or "people are their place and a place its people" and contrast with "existential outsiderness" which is described as "alienation from place", a "homelessness", or "unreality of the world" (Relph 1976, 43, 64).

Study findings are presented in the form of four major sections: founding of place; belonging; forced journey; and rebuilding place. ¹ There are a number of important concepts which emerge from this framework including:

- 1) the close "fit" which emerges between individuals, their homes and surroundings within the geography of a particular place (p.82);
- 2) the pleasures of working day in and day out on a place, often a place which holds a family's history; the existence of place as a totality of

habits, and the deepening of care for a place which occurs (p.88, 90, 95, 112);

- 3) the movements of "being uneasy" and "seeing to believe" as projects move from the drawing board to reality, followed by the "struggle to stay"(p. 126, 129);
- 4) the belief that confrontation is hopeless, that displacement is a contribution to the "common good"(p.129);
- 5) that being unable to return does not preclude recollection of place by way of memory, but this past may be regarded as make-believe; (p.133); and
- 6) that having to struggle to secure compensation causes an additional violation of place, and that compensation principles overlook the "pragmatic working totality" and the "embodiment of identity" of place (p.149, 153).

Million's dissertation provides an opportunity to learn directly from individuals about the process of being displaced which assists in our understanding of domicile. The following section on national parks brings forward new issues and confirms aspects of interest from this section.

National Parks

This section examines domicile resulting from the world-wide adoption of the national park ideal. This ideal has had serious implications for the subsistence needs of resident populations. Rao and Geisler (1988, 210) provide a number of examples including the San, a group of hunter-gatherers in Botswana who were resettled for the creation of the Gemsbok National Park; the Bushmen of South Africa, forced to settle on a farm near the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park; the Masai, pastoralists who were removed from their lands by the creation of the Nairobi National Park; and finally the Ik, a nomadic tribe from the Kidepo Valley of Uganda.

The basis for the Ik's home was destroyed, their culture was destroyed and their people faced starvation and death. Prior to World War II, the Ik had

been hunters and gatherers, living a nomadic existence throughout Uganda, Sudan and Kenya. Just before World War II, they were encouraged to settle in northern Uganda. These boundaries were hardened following designation of Kidepo National Park. The Ik were restricted to the use of vegetable resources, quite different from their previous existence which had included hunting. As a result, the Ik, when studied by Colin Turnbull in 1972, were "a people without life, without passion, without humanity" (Turnbull 1972, 295).

Protected areas such as national parks and nature reserves have often been created on lands used by aboriginal peoples, and frequently without any input from the peoples affected. Berg (1990) has investigated the relationship between the Nuu-chah-nulth aboriginal people, who have inhabited the Pacific Rim National Park area for four thousand years, and the park managers. The Nuu-chah-nulth people have little say in park planning or in the management of traditional lands, with their only concession being permission to continue subsistence harvesting of seafood.

In the Atlantic provinces of Canada, several national parks were created in the 1960s and 1970s including Kochibouquac in New Brunswick, Kejimikujik and Cape Breton Highlands in Nova Scotia and Gros Morne and Terra Nova in Newfoundland. Felt's (1977) review of this latter development is worth noting in view of the number of themes and questions raised which recur in Chapter Five relating to the development of the Columbia River dams. While most of the residents accepted resettlement, albeit reluctantly, park development inevitably displaced rural homes and a subsistence economy based on the natural resources of the area; namely, hunting, trapping, collecting wood and land ownership.

For Felt, this raised the question of how this loss of resources could be compensated in an equitable manner. Frequently people could not identify

the amount of wood they would need in the future because they had always cut wood as needed throughout the year. Replacing an old house with several acres of land with a new house and one and one-half acres of land may have appeared adequate but resulted in a considerable reduction in potential use. In addition, Felt addresses the issue of who benefits in these circumstances. She concludes that those who benefit are certainly different from those displaced, and to a large degree, benefit is to a public interest not including the rural worker. This often occurs because planners assume that "the marginal rural worker does not particularly value his lifestyle and that he is not being replaced in the next generation" (p. 74).

An example of a community which might have been displaced but which escaped is Mountain Cove, Newfoundland which was to have been resettled due to the creation of the Gros Morne Park in 1970. Here again there is evidence of an attachment to a way of life special to the home area, an area whose history, in terms of international comment relating to its fishery, dated from 1713. One resident suggested that resettlement would be particularly difficult for older people:

"On account people have their own home here, their own land and their own fishing gear. You might say they have their own living here" (Matthews 1976, 76).

When the persuasive government agents came to discuss resettlement, they were met with reproach by one of the community leaders and a response they probably did not expect:

"If we build a house for you in Stephenville like you have here, would you move?" I said, "Not if it was a golden house would I move to Stephenville." (p. 77)

According to Matthews, people did not believe that resettlement would occur because they believed that resettlement did not make sense. However

expressed, their resistance was effective and Mountain Cove was excluded from the park boundaries.

This section has illustrated the impact which occurs when people who depend upon a subsistence existence suddenly find themselves within national park boundaries. Their domicile is even more difficult in that they find themselves "without life," compensation is difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate, yet the creation of the park may be considered to be very much in the interest of a larger external public. Again it is noted that based on protest against such occurrences, compromise can be found such as the redrawing of park boundaries to exclude existing settlements.

Military Installations

The final sub-section in this discussion of the siting of major public facilities relates to domicile created by military installations and activities. Again, native persons are often affected, as project planners seek areas geographically far distant from large areas of population.

The Marshall Islands were testing sites for nuclear weapons in the 1940s and 1950s. The people of Bikini were moved from their atoll to permit the testing of twenty-three atomic bombs between 1946 and 1958. The people of Enewetok were moved from their island to allow the testing of thermo-nuclear bombs and testing continued there until 1958. The snow-flake-like particles from the detonation of the "Bravo" atomic bomb on March 1, 1954 fell unexpectedly on the islands of Rongelip and Utirik when the wind changed. These islands are now a paradise lost to many of their original residents and are poisoned for future generations. Similar complete removals have occurred in other island groups desired for military purposes, most notably in the British Indian Ocean Territory (Diego Garcia).

Summary

This review of domicile caused by highway construction, airport development, dam building, the creation of national parks, and military installations has introduced several new ideas relating to the concept of domicile and confirmed a number of thoughts from the previous section. Domicide in these cases was usually large scale, carried out or planned at a sub-regional level. Large populations were affected, particularly in the case of dam construction. The motive for these developments was related to the pursuit of progress and increased economic development, for example, the creation of a freeway to reach a manufacturing park.

Governments were the proponents of such projects with leadership often coming from individuals who had a particular vision of progress (Bennett, Roosevelt). Significant planning occurred before and during these projects including, in the case of the Roskill Commission, a lengthy and elaborate inquiry. Despite this, the values of those displaced are often not adequately recognized. The African examples show some of the values which are of importance when aboriginal peoples are affected, particularly their relationship to the land. Although detailed consideration of these implications is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is useful to be aware of these situations if only to recognize the kinds of planning processes which occurred and the affect on persons dependent on a subsistence existence. The projects may also cause a planning "blight" as will surely be the case for the village of Charlwood if expansion of Gatwick Airport goes ahead as proposed.

Protest against the prospect of these projects did occur and was very effective where, as in the case of the proposed Third London Airport, there was extensive use of the media. However, in other cases, people believed that confrontation was hopeless. Where the projects did occur, the expropriation process was often inadequate, leaving people to suffer through uncertainty,

bought out of their homes one at a time rather than through an equal and transparent process, and providing inadequate recompense for loss of subsistence lifestyles, land and traditional occupations, and, as expressed by the Cheslatta, "life" itself.

In this section, the voices of those affected by domicide are encountered. They spoke from the perspective of expected or actual loss of home. While it is suggested that some people will adjust well to change, these people spoke about social and financial loss and inconvenience as well as loss of the past, of memories, of homes created with their own hands and a peaceful and quiet way of life. Some experienced grief and a sense of powerlessness. Some committed suicide. Some described themselves as "inflicted people." Others struggled to stay in their homes. In their words, the emotional attachment to home is evident as is the "close fit" between individuals and their homes, particularly where they have worked the land around them. While the experience may have drawn some people closer together, it is also apparent that the process has caused hostility to government and their agents.

3.5.3 Forced Removals for Political/Socio-Economic Reasons

Removal of people from their homes, whether for political motives, or for economic and social reasons, has been documented in a range of material from newspaper articles to academic publications. As Elizabeth Colson has pointed out, some people may welcome change in these circumstances, but she believes that most "probably like variety only so long as it is an embroidery upon the reassuring familiarity of customary routines, well known paths and scenes, and the ease of accustomed relationships" (Colson 1971, 1). Yet the examples of loss of home are numerous as illustrated by the previous section on drowning of home and by this section on forced removals. The examples explored below include circumstances caused by

treaty arrangements made in peace-time (Sinai Region, Negev Bedouin); settlement rationalization (resettlements which occurred in Canada, Greenland, Chile, Japan, and Romania); and ideological resettlement (Mozambique, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, and South Africa).

Treaty Arrangements

Kliot (1983, 173-186) has provided a comprehensive analysis of loss of place associated with the need to resettle Israelis from the Sinai region as part of the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty in the late 1970s. In this case, the Israeli settlement had special meaning because it represented ideological principles: settlements contributed to security of the boundaries of Israel; settling the land was a sacred mission; and the challenge to "make the desert bloom" was a mission of the state. It is therefore not surprising that the need to uproot these settlements was the cause for confusion and dismay. Settlers referred to this action as a "holocaust" and to themselves as "refugees", "uprooted" and "evacuees." People immediately reacted with nostalgia "walking to different spots and examining their feeling of attachment to those spots" (p. 184) or outrage: "Your shock is caused by the fact that your home is totally ruined. One moment you are with your roots deeply in the land and in another you are uprooted" (p. 182).

Another group of people were also affected by the displacement of the Israelis. In order to understand the plight of these people, the Negev Bedouin, it is necessary to understand recent changes in their way of life. Their well known pastoral nomadism has changed from a strategy in which social relations determined spatial relationships to one which is much more territorial. Meir (n.d., 43) has shown how this territorialization was voluntary at first with the shift of their community to farming. However, more recently, territoriality has been significantly increased as a result of government pressure on the land resource as described below.

When the Israelis were removed from Northern Sinai, there was a need to establish new military bases. Land for one of these bases was expropriated from an area inhabited by about eight thousand Negev Bedouin. There was no appeal to the Negev Land Acquisition Bill which became law in July of 1980 and no negotiations were held with the Bedouin who had lived in this area for one hundred and thirty years. They were offered cooperative agricultural villages on leased land but not on freehold land which, after thousands of years of a pastoral existence, they had become used to. According to Maddrell (1990, 11) when "a few [persons with political influence] saw the law as racist in victimizing a powerless minority" an amount of land to be taken for the military base was returned for use by the Bedouin. However, compensation given the Bedouin was only two to fifteen percent of that given the Sinai settlers. For many years there were families who still lingered outside the air bases and others who would accept no compensation.

Settlement Rationalization

Domicide frequently occurs when economic or social problems force the uprooting of people. The closure of mining towns has been the subject of a number of studies (Bray and Thomson (eds.) 1992). Porteous has reported on similar circumstances in British Columbia and Chile (Porteous 1972, 1975). The company town, devoted to the support of a single industry, is a common enough phenomenon in Canada and other resource frontiers. In recent years, changes in natural resource values have frequently affected such communities. Two examples are the town of Elliot Lake, Ontario, closed and then re-opened on the basis of changes in the world uranium market and Cassiar, British Columbia which has recently closed when its asbestos-mining operation was found to be no longer viable. In the latter case, closure came after the mine had survived against the odds of "climate, isolation, recession,

litigation and health concerns" (Bradbury and Sendbuehler (1988, 305). It was probably a combination of these factors which dealt the final blow rather than the quality and type of the ore body which supported the town. The decision may well have taken the form described by Gallaher and Padfield (1980, 93):

The basis for such decisions is not the desire to destroy a community but rather relates more to company production, profits, or changes in technology. Thus decisions made in distant boardrooms, involving variables not addressing human needs per se, have the incidental effect of destroying a human community.

Bradbury and St. Martin (1983) investigated the closing of the community supporting the iron mine at Schefferville, Quebec and, reaching similar conclusions to Gallaher and Padfield, suggest that corporations, particularly conglomerates, close or open plants at will. Little thought is given to the effect on the community itself, where rumour and anxiety abound. Lack of communication on the part of the company simply exacerbates the sense of impotence felt by residents of the community.

For another part of Canada, the vagaries of the economy have caused continual upheaval. In the 1940s, one-half of Newfoundland's rapidly growing population lived in twelve hundred settlements, each of less than five hundred people, scattered along six thousand miles of coastline. As many of these communities were isolated on small islands or rugged coastline, the cost of providing services and roads was prohibitive. Between 1949 and 1953, forty-six of these communities were abandoned. Provincial government attempts to find solutions to the social and economic problems of these communities, and to initiate a move away from primary industries while rationalizing the location of existing industries, date from 1954 with the first "Centralization Program." Assistance (\$150 per household) was given to households who wished to move. This figure had increased to \$600 by 1965. Funding was available, however, only if every household in a given

community would agree, by petition, to move. On this basis one hundred and fifteen communities were evacuated, a total population of over fifteen hundred families and seventy-five hundred persons.

In 1965 the Federal government began to play a major role and a Federal-Provincial program was launched by the *Resettlement Act*. Under this Act, a further one hundred and thirty-seven isolated outports scattered along the coasts of Newfoundland were abandoned by 1972. Resettlers were offered a basic grant of \$1000, plus \$200 on behalf of each family-household member, and reimbursement of costs involved with moving personal belongings. At first ninety per cent of the households in each settlement had to agree to move, but this was subsequently lowered to eighty per cent. Many homes, including their contents, were also moved, simply by easing them on to rafts and floating them to a new site. Like all government programs, this one developed a language of its own in which people were moved from "designated outports" to "Approved Land Assembly Areas" or "Major Fishery Growth Areas." Copes (1972, 128) acknowledges that "many resettlement officials, under the influence of their own commitment to, and enthusiasm for, resettlement, used their powers of persuasion to convince many outporters they ought to move" and then a "moving fever" took over as those who were reluctant to leave did not want to be left behind.

For the residents who were to be relocated, the future was uncertain whether they moved or stayed. Were they to stay, their small communities provided a few months of hard labour at fishing followed by a long period of unemployment and welfare. Yet, should they move to a more centralized community, they would not have the job-skills to compete in the urban environment (Matthews 1976, 2). The National Film Board of Canada has produced a bittersweet memory of life as it was in the short film Children of Fogo Island (1962). Caught forever are the activities of children – a

ramshackle shed as a playhouse, stilts and small wooden boats – all against a harsh backdrop of sea and rocks. Yet somehow it appears an idyllic place for children to call home and in fact, many residents have clung to the Rock (Maclean's 1993, 22).

Gordon Pinsent, an actor from Newfoundland, demonstrated the pain associated with being forced to leave one of these communities in John and the Missus, a film which he directed and in which he also acted (Independent Pictures Productions 1962). Clearly depicted were the slick government agents who encouraged people to leave, buying off some in order that others would follow, threatening the laggards that they would be left behind. To quote the slightly mad postmaster who found acceptance in this community: "They're dancin' with all of us", and the character John who was played by Pinsent:

Pack up the town – home – next t'ing I know they'll say there was no one here at all – no names. How do you resettle? It might be all right for you fellows, but we made up our minds...we're all ready settled...Go back and say you can't find us. We were too small to see with the naked eye. Who am I going to know alongside me when they put me there? Not a blessed one. You're telling me we're going to die.

The grieving process associated with losing a home is portrayed as John and his wife consider the alternatives. Finally they decide to move to another community by placing their home on a barge and taking it across the water to Boot Cove. In the end this plan is abandoned when John looks at the new settlement and says: "Looks like home does – going to be all right," but the missus just shakes her head.

General information on the reaction of persons who either lost their homes or their communities in Newfoundland is available from a survey conducted by Matthews (1970, 311). He found that fifty per cent of those he interviewed wanted to move, while thirty-three per cent felt they had no choice. According to Copes (1972, 123): older people found it difficult to move

but had little choice when the whole settlement was moving; there was significant unemployment among the resettled persons who worked and a loss of self-esteem and deterioration of the home environment; finally, a resettlement welfare ghetto was created.

Matthews (1976) also examined the communities of Small Harbour, Mountain Cove and Grand Terre which people refused to leave. In the case of Small Harbour, the community inadvertently found out that it was destined for resettlement, which enabled community leaders to organize against government. In the case of Mountain Cove, the community ignored the threat as they saw no reason to leave. Grand Terre survived due to the efforts of one woman who challenged rumours that a mass exodus was expected from the community. Their resistance is shown in the following quotations:

The way it is here, they're now putting concrete pillars under their houses. They're going to stay here until they got no other remedy (Matthews 1976, 43).

Right now I'm so far back in age, in education, so I might as well stay with what I got here...I've got a half decent home (p. 102).

There are differing views about the success of these resettlement programs, and distance provides an even crueller judge when seen in the light of the serious problems of Newfoundland's fishing industry today. Copes (1972, 107) suggests that the programs are "too readily seen as a bribe to induce households to move against their better interests and instincts" rather than in the context of massive assistance given to inshore fisheries which made life supportable in the outports. He suggests that simply closing off these services would have been inhumane and impractical and that people would not have been able to move themselves. Further, he believes that a "welfare mentality" existed already; that most fishermen wanted something better for their sons, and better schooling and medical facilities. He quotes

two surveys in which sixty-two per cent of those surveyed indicated a willingness to move (p.126).

Goulding (1982) identifies the Canadian state, acting in the name of corporate capitalism, as responsible for the crisis in Newfoundland. He contends that the state gives huge grants of money and land to major capitalist investors, creates laws that prevent others from using this property, and moves people from fishing communities to supply cheap labour for heavy industry. In the eyes of the then Premier of Newfoundland, Joe Smallwood, this was progress. Speaking about the first twenty-three years since Confederation, he celebrated the number of schools which now had indoor toilets – a ten-fold increase. In the thoughts of Richard Gwyn, who wrote a biography of Smallwood: "In those early days of confederation, the 'pursuit of progress' frequently was measured in terms of those things which other Canadians took for granted. Under such conditions dreams of 'human excellence' frequently had to be put aside"(Matthews 1978, 27).

Similar beliefs that a better subsistence economy could be provided elsewhere caused the uprooting of some native Inuit persons in Northern Canada. In August, 1953 the Canadian federal government forced seven families from Inukjuk, Northern Quebec and three from Pond Inlet on the northern tip of Baffin Island, a total of eighty seven people, to move to Grise Fiord on the southern tip of Ellesmere Island and to Resolute Bay, the site of a military base and Department of Transport weather station, on Cornwallis Island in the Northwest Territories. They arrived in September when the snow was falling and were left with what were thought to be adequate food supplies. This action, described as an "experiment" in one 1953 memo, was justified by the federal government on the basis of poor hunting in northern Quebec and the belief that the Inuit should be assisted to return to their original lifestyles. In sharp contrast, the Inuit believed that the Federal

Government were moving them so that their settlements would assert Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic Archipelago in the face of American pressure to have the region declared international waters. As a result, these people were exposed to horrific conditions in their first year when it was necessary to live in tents and hunt in the dark (Ackerly 1993). These High Arctic Exiles, as they are now called, somehow managed to survive (Williams 1993, 85). In 1989 the government paid for the return of 40 Inuit people to their former homes, often causing a breakup of families along generational lines. For the Inuit, these settlements have become "an icon of pain, endurance and betrayal" but those who stay, stay by choice and are "fiercely committed" to their new home (p.85).

This situation has been the subject of a report to the Human Rights Commission and in April of 1993 was subject of a Royal Commission inquiry. Throughout this controversy there has been conflicting evidence. While the Inuit claim that they were forced to move, the officials have claimed that the Inuit's decisions to move were voluntary and accomplished over a period of several years (Ackerly 1993, pers. comm.).

Tester and Kulchyski (1994, 5) have provided a fascinating analysis of the Inuit's relocation in which they see the state as a totalizing influence and suggest that "much of what is observed ... closely parallels present day attempts to bring indigenous and local cultures around the world into a web of international capitalist reactions." They point to the fact that the Canadian government was entering a period of welfare state reform in 1953 and this converged with the state's concern for territorial integrity (p.103).

In addition to the Inuit resettlement, five hundred Innu people were moved twice by the Newfoundland government before being settled at Davis Inlet in 1965. Their plight, which included unheated houses and contaminated water, as well as family violence and substance abuse, recently

became the subject of international attention when six children were found nearly comatose after sniffing gas. The issue of whether to relocate the community again is to be made in the context of self-government negotiations. Former Indian Affairs Minister Tom Siddon is quoted, in what can only be regarded as a considerable understatement: "Many of our imposed solutions of the past have not been successful, to put it mildly" (Bronskill 1993). The experiences of the Innu and Inuit are confirmed by Dickman (1973) in his examination of relocations of Treaty Indians in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Two preconditions for relocation are suggested: people being relocated must accept it as a desirable move; and, secondly, adequate resources must be available to make a successful change occur (p.169).

Like the Canadian Inuit, the Greenlandic Inuit were subject to Danish social and economic policies in the 1960s which for some time threatened to destroy their homes and their identity. Nuttal (1992, 19) lived with the Inuit and, as a prelude to his discussion of kinship and community, discusses the effects of early colonization and more recent development policies. Development of the fishing industry was encouraged by establishing an infrastructure mainly in the ice-free west coast towns of Greenland. This was accompanied by encouraging people to migrate from rural areas and the withdrawal of investment from "unprofitable" villages. Schools and stores were closed. This caused "fragmentization of kin-based groups that characterized village life. Incomers to the towns suffered from economic isolation, marginality and discrimination" (p.19). The previous subsistence existence based on hunting was no longer possible and ethnic conflict resulted with transient Danish workers. The coming of Home Rule in Greenland in the 1970s encouraged the creation of a national character, but even now the Inuit are still identified with special localities, the "last outposts of real 'Greenlandic' culture" (p.21).

Three further examples from countries other than Canada represent somewhat different motives for resettlement than the previous examples, including: a desire to avoid the appearance of economic dependence on the United States; resettlement to halt migration to urban areas; and finally, a resettlement which, only in its initial phases, was intended to improve social and economic conditions.

In the late 1960s the physical lack of space in company towns in the Andes led to the El Teniente - CORVI plan to move the residents of two company towns and integrate them with the population of a major Chilean city. These actions also represented the efforts of left-wing Chilean governments to erase economic dependence symbolized by the American company town (Porteous 1992, 3). Fifteen per cent of interviewed residents indicated reluctance to move. They expressed concern about the home-purchase plan they were expected to participate in, commuting to the work-site which would be necessary when they left the company town, educational facilities, cost of living, family problems and loss of their own health facilities (Porteous 1972, 468-471). Porteous comments that "even farsighted planning, superb care, and constant surveillance are insufficient to ensure that a transplant is not rejected by the host organism" (p.478).

In what may be described as a singular success story, the Japanese government has been active since 1970 in its efforts to encourage resettlement of severely depopulated communities, thus halting the migration to urban areas. Palmer (1988) examined the community of Kojo, Japan where the depleted population was mainly elderly and where many wished to remain in order to tend the graves of their ancestors and to die there themselves. When the population declined to thirty-five persons, negotiations began to resettle the community and were concluded after two years. A site was selected adjacent to a larger community and people were permitted to retain

their original land for farming and their former homes as workbases in the summer. According to Palmer (p. 33), early indications are that the resettlement has been successful but that it represents a "luxury" policy in that the resettled now have rights in two settlements rather than their original one.

Events in Romania provide examples of settlement rationalization which reached incomparable bounds. While Ceausescu, Romania's former leader, may have begun with a desire to improve the conditions of his country, this desire was supplanted by madness. His madness included the destruction of forty towns, whose historic buildings were levelled. Ceausescu's next plan was to raze one-half of Romania's villages by the year 2000 and eliminate smaller communities as rapidly as possible. The justification for this action was the need to gain more arable land and make modern facilities such as schools available to rural communities. The Hungarian and German ethnic communities were most severely affected before Ceausescu's reign was halted. One example of this destruction is the following:

Vladiceasca, once a thriving little rural community of about 80 houses, vanished in the summer of 1987. It fell victim to Nicolae Ceausescu's manic dream of "systemization", his plan to wipe out thousands of Romanian villages and move the inhabitants to concrete blocks where they would be more controllable...Most peasants were already so intimidated by decades of oppression that they obliged...Mr. Nastase says, "I would have become 100 years old in my own house." He shows a small painting of it. "Now I just want to die." (Elmendorp, 1990).

While this resettlement began with a motive of socio-economic improvement, the real motive behind the destruction of Vladiceasca is seen to be linked to totalitarian ideology and it is resettlement in like circumstances which will be examined next.

Ideological resettlement

Ideologically-motivated resettlement has been common in the 20th century and has occurred at both ends of the political spectrum. Cases include the Volga Germans, the Tatars, the wholesale removals by the Nazis, and the Israelis forcing out the Palestinians. While this type of resettlement occurs most frequently in war, three examples of peacetime resettlement are given here: two short case studies from Mozambique and Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and the better-documented example of South Africa.

In Mozambique, the new social and economic order embracing Marxist-Leninist principles brought in by the Frelimo Party (Frente Libertação de Moçambique) in 1977, was based on the creation of communal villages, state farms and collectives. Much of the rural population, estimated at ten million persons, had lived in individual homesteads or small villages. The communal villages were intended to provide for a better level of services such as health and education as well as providing a nexus for the new social and political order. Much success has been attributed to the formation of these villages both in terms of the population attracted, the new participation by women in political processes, and the ending of certain social practices such as initiation rites, child marriage, polygamy and marriage payments.

However, Harlon (1984, 129) provides an example of villagers who, in 1981, were given just two weeks to move from their homes into the new village of Garuzo. If they did not do so, they were visited by militiamen who told them to move immediately. While the Frelimo Party was said to understand that people do not easily give up their old homes and that in such cases they should be allowed to remain, local administrators frequently forced people to leave their homes. In addition, the process was slow as little assistance was given to the program. Of more than a thousand villages built since independence, only two hundred reached a full stage of development in

the first eight years. Most villages were created where war or natural disasters destroyed homes, or where people were forced to move (p. 128):

When it is said that we are forcing people into communal villages, it is true. Because if we don't, then the enemy will use these people to destroy their own future. These people are being liberated (Job Chambal, National Director of Communal Villages).

In fact the ideal of self-determination for Mozambique has merely signalled new challenges to national liberation more serious than the colonial rule it replaced (Harding 1993, 14). The apathy of the peasant population to the Frelimo reforms played into the hands of the rebel movement, the Renamo, which was initially assisted by Rhodesian officers.

In Rhodesia, the 1931 *Land Apportionment Act*, which ostensibly continued attempts to address problems which white residents were having in the agricultural sector, granted twenty million hectares of land to 50,000 white persons while the black African reserves were reduced to nine million hectares to support one million people. This Act was also to serve as the main vehicle for segregation policies for the next forty-six years (Meredith 1979, 21). As a result, there was massive relocation of black people who had both spiritual and economic ties to their land (Sylvester 1991, 35). In 1981, faced with the results of a major drought, resettlement was again instigated as the new country of Zimbabwe strove to deal with victims of past land appropriation policies by redistributing land and improving rural conditions. By 1987 thirty five thousand people were resettled, perhaps foreshadowing events now occurring in South Africa.

The best known example of resettlement for ideological reasons is South Africa. The National Party's goal of social and political separation between white and non-white persons, while still retaining cheap African labour close at hand to ensure a successful economy, led to the formation of *apartheid* policies including:

- 1) African development in separate states called Bantu "homelands";
- 2) The establishment of White industry on the borders of the Bantustans; and
- 3) The clearance of African residential areas called "black spots" from white areas and relocation of their people to the Bantustans (Desmond 1971, 21).

These policies were enshrined in the *Group Areas Act* which, according to Western (1981, 234), was "an instrument for institutionalizing the disadvantage of those not in power." It has also been described as a fantasy:

Pretoria has set in motion the implementation of its ultimate fantasy – a South Africa in which there are no black South African nationals or citizens; a South Africa that cannot be accused of denying civil political rights to its black nationals for the simple reason that there will be no black South Africans, only millions of migrant workers (or guest workers, as the fantasy sees them) linked by nationality to a collection of unrecognized, economically dependent mini-states on the periphery of South Africa (Dugard (1983) in Platzky and Walker 1985,17).

Apartheid was frequently seen as racial discrimination backed up by a repressive police state, but it also had a strong spatial element with an apparent goal of "divide and rule" (Smith 1987, 9, 36). It could be seen as a blunt instrument to deal with the fact that Whites were increasingly being outnumbered by Non-whites in urban areas of South Africa (Western 1981, 59). It was also used in such a way that the economic prosperity of the White population is ensured, be that population living in South Africa or elsewhere as foreign investors. Justified by the National Party as simply a geographical issue, it was seen otherwise by Black Africans.

Rogerson and Parnell (1989) provide an excellent survey of the contributions of apartheid human geography to any discussion of this political manipulation of space, but for the purposes of this description some

simple statistics suffice. At the end of the process, it was envisaged that three and one-half million white persons would own 86 percent of the land surface while fifteen million Africans would inhabit 14 percent of the land surface. Between 1960 and 1983, three and one-half million persons were resettled (Platzsky and Walker 1985, 9). This figure does not include the close to one million people moved for "betterment planning" (villagization). When the word "apartheid" became unacceptable to describe these activities, the Government replaced it with the less offensive words "separate development" and then with "multinational development" or "plural democracy."

While removals may have occurred in other parts of the world to accommodate the construction of major projects, removals in South Africa were exceptional for two reasons, according to Platzsky and Walker (p. 46): most of the people affected had no vote and therefore could not express an opinion; and secondly, because they could not vote they also could not benefit as other interest groups would from developments such as improved water supply. They had no say in what would happen and no understanding other than the belief that their land was needed by the government.

The pattern of removal in South Africa involved community resistance or submission, took place over time until slowly the community ceased to exist, or was an immediate uprooting. Often the community was allowed to wait in uncertainty so that when the removal trucks arrived, the relief at the end of uncertainty eased the pain. Cooption of certain members of the community was often used as was witnessed in the case study of Newfoundland. And again there was always the bureaucratic justification: "...it sometimes becomes necessary for people to be encouraged to move for their own good" (Platzsky and Walker, p.171).

Desmond (1971, 3), who saw the population of the "black spots" in Dundee, South Africa removed to an area called Limehill, described a pattern which was to become familiar in that country. An official of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (B.A.D.) arrived in 1965 to tell the tenants of the South African Mission that they were to be moved in the summer of 1966. In 1967 another man came and painted numbers on the doors of the African homes in the Mission. Later that year the Bantu Commissioner himself arrived to tell people that they would be moved in May 1968 but people would have the opportunity to build new houses and schools and other facilities would be ready. Finally a letter announced that the Mission was to be cleared on January 20, 1968.

Unsuccessful attempts at resistance were made by white residents, including representatives of many churches, but the Africans were given no say in their future. Their reaction was: "We are suffering;" "We have been thrown away;" "We have nothing;" "But what can we do?" Apparently with little protest, people were removed to Limehill where they found nothing but the bare veld and a pile of folded tents. When questioned in the House of Assembly, the Minister of B.A.D. said that the removals were voluntary and had been effected humanely (Desmond, p. 7).

The city of Cape Town provides another example of home destruction. Here, following the removals, the city centre has been retained as a symbol of white history. A small Malay quarter has been preserved. The square kilometre of District 6 has been obliterated and the Loader area has had all its Coloured, Malay and Indian residents expelled. According to Western (1981, 149), this expulsion was particularly bitter for Coloureds who may not have taken a special pride in being coloured, but certainly took pride in being from Capetown: "Place of origin – home – has become an essential element of self-definition for Coloured people".

Western (1981, 218ff.) interviewed many of the former residents of the Capetown district of Mowbray who lost their homes. One old man, a veteran of two wars, said:

You make a place of your own, you make it comfortable for your old age, then they come and tell you you've got to go. And you can't start again, time's against you – you remember those people who committed suicide in Tramways Road, Sea Point? ... They gave me a month's grace to build on my son-in-law's land...I don't think they gave us a true value for our house.

And another:

A lot of people died after they left Mowbray. It was heartbreaking for the old people. My husband was poorly, and he used to just sit and look out the window. Then before he died he said, "You must dress me and take me to Mowbray. My mum and dad are looking for me, and they can't find me in Mowbray." Yes, a lot of old people died of broken hearts.

For those who lived, the story is often equally grim. One man, whose family and cattle were loaded into trucks and moved 230 miles from their home, has subsequently seen his wife die of heartbreak, his ten children scatter in search of work, and his livestock disappear. His only dream is to return to his home, yet should he return he would find a new white community built there and successful farming with generous support from the government (Olojede 1992a, 12). To date the government has not seen its way clear to address the question of land claims and compensation. It is only certain that the new farmer would place a high value on his land if he were, in turn, to be removed.

Ramifications of the removals continue to present themselves (Beresford 1988, 22). In 1988, British Petroleum unveiled plans for the abandoned District 6 in Capetown by which this area which would once again become a multi-racial community. British Petroleum even launched a search for former residents of District 6. In order to accomplish their plan, they found that they would have to take on the State and the anti-apartheid

movement who viewed the area as a monument to the wrong-doing of the past. A musical by Atholl Fugard called District 6 which played the Cape in 1988 remembered the granite slabs left after the destruction:

It was here you must remember
 Our children played their games
 And the skollie gangs smoked dagga
 Young lovers scratched their names
 These seven stones bear witness
 Can these stone steps forgive
 The people who destroyed our homes
 And told us where to live?
 (Fugard cited in Beresford 1988)

In addition, despite indications that the pre-1993 White South African government was eschewing apartheid, they continued to pursue policies which would see blacks becoming citizens of homelands having few resources, high unemployment and sometimes lacking a contiguous border with their original homeland:

Incorporation is a subtler technique. It is done by the stroke of a pen in Pretoria. The blacks of Braklaagte may stay in their homes if they want to but they are now the residents of another country and must get all sorts of permits; they may retain their South African citizenship but that is a cruel trick, for the rulers of their new country, Bophuthatswana, have openly threatened that if they do not opt for citizenship in the homeland they will be regarded as traitors and face severe discrimination... (Sykes 1990, 53).

In 1991 the *Land Act*, which had reserved 86 per cent of the land for whites, was repealed. In order to provide an orderly change to a new system, communal tenure has been proposed but this system ignores the importance of land to the African people:

Our purpose is the land, that is what we must achieve. The land is our whole lives, we plough it for food, we build our homes from the soil, we live on it and we are buried in it. When the whites took our land away from us, we lost the dignity of our lives, we could no longer feed our children...In everything we do we must remember that there is only one aim and one solution and that is the land, the soil, our world (Mallaby 1992,150).

There is another twist to this story. While 69 per cent of white people supported reform in South Africa, they now fear that political and economic power will be lost without due consideration of their rights. This is particularly true for the Afrikaaners who may now face domicile in their turn, and who also fear loss of their language and their economic well-being gained since 1948. As one commentator puts it: "This is the saga of two fears. Whites fear too much change, blacks fear too little. We have to work out something we can all live with in this country. This is not a colonial situation. The whites can't go 'home'" (Erasmus in Olojede 1992b, 12). The recent (1993) democratization of the Republic of South Africa will inevitably lead to problems as the "homelands" lose their status and people try to return to their former homes.

Summary

In the examples discussed, a number of aspects of domicile are illustrated. Domicide occurred at the community level when towns were closed by corporations ("in distant boardrooms") based on economic rather than human needs; by powerful government leaders whose actions were justified by a government law or bureaucratic decree (*Resettlement Act, Land Apportionment Act, Group Areas Act, Negev Land Acquisition Bill*); or by the military or local administrators who often went beyond the terms of reference of their government authority. At one extreme, totalitarian government policies were seen to act in the name of corporate capitalism – the pursuit of progress. In most cases, justification was expressed in terms of the common good.

Those responsible for domicile did not communicate effectively with persons who were to lose their homes. Victims and officials were found to believe different things, and the sense of powerlessness felt by the victims was enhanced. A special language developed during the process ("Approved

Land Assembly Areas"; "betterment planning"). Those who lost their homes had no good choices; they could keep their homes and have little economic success or become part of a resettlement ghetto having a "welfare mentality." If they chose to go, their family structure was often fragmented as new choices were made.

Compensation to the victims was inadequate and, in some cases, was offered on the basis that everyone must go before compensation would be paid. Compensation did not recognize the importance of land to people, particularly for aboriginal persons but also for those who work the land. In the process of losing their homes, certain members of the community were coopted into going first so that others would follow and there was often a lengthy period of time before relocation occurred so that in the end people were glad to go just to end the uncertainty. As Scudder and Colson (1982) have suggested, forced removal from home appears to cause three kinds of stress: physiological stress which is measured in terms of morbidity and mortality rates; psychological stress measured by trauma, guilt and grieving; and socio-cultural stress associated with the economic, political and other cultural effects of grieving.

There is, however, a growing recognition that the imposed solutions of the past require review, particularly in terms of the involvement of those most affected and the need for adequate resources to assist them.

3.5.4 Colonization

What occurred in South Africa was one end-result of the original colonization of this area over three hundred and forty years ago. Colonization has occurred at the scale of nations, on all parts of the globe, and continues today in a number of countries. Several examples are briefly introduced here, some from the last century and two more recent examples. The story of aboriginal people in the United States and Canada is one of a people who have lost their homes, and more particularly their land. It is a situation which was repeated many times in the United States where aboriginal people were driven off their land for the profit of a few and treated as foreign nations, wards or subjects (Seelye, 1880 in Jackson 1993, 2). The rhetoric to justify this situation was considerably different when the President of the United States addressed the hostile Delaware tribe in 1792:

Brethren: the President of the United States entertains the opinion that the war which exists is an error and mistake on your parts. That you believe the United States wants to deprive you of your lands, and drive you out of the country. *Be assured that this is not so; on the contrary, that we should be greatly gratified of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life; of teaching you to cultivate the earth, and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep, and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses; and to educate your children so as to ever dwell upon the land...Remember that no additional lands will be required of you, or any other tribe, to those that have been ceded by former treaties* (Jackson, p.40, 41).

In 1817 and 1818 the Delawares ceded title to their lands in Ohio and Indiana in return for land at the fork of the Missouri and Kansas rivers, which allowed the Secretary of War in 1833 to announce that the territory had been "cleared of the embarrassments of Indian relations" and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to give "grateful notice" how the Indians' condition was "ameliorated under the policy of removal" (p.49). Similarly, the Cherokee nation was forced, time after time, to cede land. Jackson puts the plight of the Delawares and the Cherokee in perspective when she writes:

It has come to be such an accepted thing in the history and fate of the Indian that he is to be always pushed on, always in advance of what is called the march of civilization, that to the average mind, statement of these repeated removals comes with no startling force, and suggests no vivid picture of details, only a sort of reassertion of an abstract general principle. But pausing to consider for a moment what such statements actually mean and involve; imagining such processes applied to some particular town or village that we happen to be intimately acquainted with, we can soon come to a new realization of ...such uprooting, such perplexity, such loss, such confusion and uncertainty... (p.64).

In 1863, over eight thousand Navajo people were rounded up and led on a five hundred mile walk into what is now New Mexico. Ironically, in 1974 over six thousand Navajos were evicted from their new reservation homelands because of a dispute with the Hopi Indians (Scudder 1982, ix).

In British Columbia, the Nisga'a were expelled from their homeland in the Nass Valley from 1883 onwards to make way for white settlers who came as miners, loggers and commercial fisherman. From an original territory of 24,862 square kilometres, they were allowed a territory of 76 square kilometres. In 1973, a Supreme Court of Canada ruling gave the Federal government impetus to begin formal land negotiations with the Nisga'a Tribal Council. Until the New Democratic Party assumed power in 1991, provincial governments had argued that aboriginal title had been extinguished. Land claims negotiations are now underway but the meaning of land and home to First Nations, and the effect of its loss, is worthy of a study of its own.

The claim to the land was expressed in 1888 by Chief Tat-ca-kaks of Lakalzap (Raunet 1984, 81):

I wish to say that every mountain and every stream has its name in our language, and every piece of country here is known by the name our fathers gave them...When Mr. O'Reilly came we told him how much land we wanted, but he would not do what we asked. God gave this land to our fathers a long time ago,

and they made gardens and made homes, and when they died they gave to us.

In response, the case of the Canadian government was made. Planta, who appears not to have recognized from whence the three Indians came: "The sole object of the government is to protect their persons and property" (p.89). In 1994 the situation for the Nisga'a was improving. In an open letter to the people of B.C., Joseph Gosnell, president of the Nisga'a Tribal Council, said the following:

We have been sitting at the negotiating table for nearly two decades. A generation of Nisga'a men and women has grown old at that table.

And suddenly, at a critical stage in our negotiations, when an agreement in principle is within reach, the backlash has begun. In this campaign we see the hand prints of powerful vested interests. We believe they are trying to sabotage the talks which threaten to interrupt their unfettered plunder of our territories and precious resources.

They have one goal: to intimidate politicians into scuttling Nisga'a and aboriginal negotiations. It would be a mistake to confuse these vested interests with the common good. While they have systematically stripped Nisga'a lands and forests – at handsome profits – the Nisga'a have received little or no compensation.

...First Nations are growing tired of trying to educate and explain – again and again – the history of our brutal treatment at the hands of explorers, colonizers, and now, the faceless number crunchers at big corporations (Gosnell 1994, p. 1).

In these examples, colonization is shown to exhibit many of the same characteristics as genocide: large-scale removals, disempowered victims, loss of identity, little compensation and a common good rhetoric as justification. Raunet (1984, 236) has summarized the Nisga'a's dilemma, and all such dilemmas, as follows:

The Native fight is the fight of all those trying to regain a sense of ownership over their own lives, those who are threatened by the "machine": land-deprived peasants of the Third World, citizens of the industrial heartlands refusing to accept atomic plants or nuclear weapons on their doorsteps, fishermen against pollution and the asphyxiation of the sea, workers victimized by inhuman

production and investment plans – opponents of all the madness of the present age.

Hugh and Karmel McCallum (1975, 2) have also expressed the meaning of loss of the land which is home to Native peoples:

The closest definition we can come to is that, for Natives, land is for use; it is like a Mother. It is a breadbasket, protector and friend. It is something you live with easily, you don't fight. It is something you cherish and return to when you are sick, frightened or lonely. It has always been there and it always will be there. And out of it comes your being, the reason for your existence, the only power you have in a white man's world. If you lose it or sell it or have it taken away from you, then you are dead, or at best, a second class white man.

Loss of identity associated with land and political jurisdiction may also occur by the stroke of the bureaucratic pen as discussed in the next section.

3.5.5 Reorganization of Political Space

To many people, home also means country or region of origin or residence. When such areas are modified, dismembered or renamed (i.e. destroyed conceptually but not physically), this may cause economic losses, confusion, or loss of personal attachments, and may result in violence when displaced persons reject their new home or when, in the receiving community, people reject the outsiders foisted upon them. Examples of these situations include the general reorganization of political space which has recently occurred in the former USSR, in Germany, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Reorganization of the county system of government in Great Britain illustrates this scale of domicile and reaction to this destruction is well expressed in The Old Devils (Amis 1987,129):

'Fuck the lot of them,' said Charlie in a considered way.

'Who? Fuck who?'

'The London bastards who changed all the Welsh counties about. Even my kind of Welshman resents that. And then gave them all those crappy ancient names.'

'It was done in the interest of efficiency.' Malcolm was nothing if not fair-minded.

In Britain the 1972 *Local Government Act* dramatically changed English and Welsh places and names which had existed for over a thousand years. The new Act was a government initiative to rationalize and reorganize local government by County Councils. On April 1, 1974 thirty thousand people went to bed in the county of Rutland and woke up in Leicestershire. Yorkshire would no longer suffice as a postal address. It was to be "North" or "West" or "South," and the East Riding existed no longer, for it became North Humberside.

"The new plan will leave us stateless. Yorkshiremen will have their nationality violated" was the reaction of a town councillor reported by Michael Bradford in *The Fight for Yorkshire* (1988). Bradford's book speaks of the meaning of place to Yorkshire people: belonging, motherhood, roots, possession, feelings of pain on separation, gathering Yorkshire people around them in exile. He suggests that the names of places are crucial to this identification, that "Yorkshire was a place, not a political unit, and that was how people would go on regarding it" (p. 42) and goes on to describe the spirited protest designed to achieve recognition for Yorkshire as a distinct geographical entity, a distinct people with their own culture, and a people who were bonded to their boundaries (p. 53). Bradford concludes that time will inevitably lessen the protest but also recognizes that when a nation is threatened by war, this "quibbling with names" is called patriotism. He questions why what is valid in war is not also valid in peace.

Twenty years later this matter is unresolved. In 1993 new counties such as Humberside, Avon, and Hereford and Gloucester had commissioners reviewing the new county system. In addition, a similar review is being undertaken in local government areas. But, for one area, part of the fight may be over. A report of the Local Government Commission (Hull Daily Mail, 27 June 1993) has recommended that Humberside cease to exist and that the old East Riding of Yorkshire be reconstituted. In the words of one commentator: "The men and women of the East Riding were not going to tolerate being deracinated by remote bureaucrats, and fought back, vandalising road signs. Hurrah for Yorkshire!" (Stamp 1993).

The Local Government Commission's Report entitled The Future of Local Government for the Area North of the Humber is the result of recommendations from over two thousand local people, including over one hundred and thirty parish and town councils who wrote to the Commission (The Local Government Commission for England 1993). Given the irritation that this form of domicide has caused the people of Yorkshire already, it would be interesting to know the cost of the next stage in the Commission's work, which will determine whether both county and district councils are necessary or whether some services such as planning, transport, recreation and economic development could be better delivered by one unitary authority. This exercise has been initiated by a glossy 116 page report of their findings to date and the equally glossy brochures titled "Your Chance to Have Your Say." Commission chairman Sir John Banham is reported as commenting:

We believe that our preferred result is effective and convenient local Government for the people and we now need to find out what they think...Local government exists solely for the benefit of the local people who look to their councils for cost-effective and convenient services, and to pay for them in one way or another.... In the Commission's view, it is imperative that the structure of local councils reflect the wishes of local people. They are, in a sense, the jury to whom we are determined to listen (Hull Daily Mail 1993).

Even as the review starts, not everyone is happy. The Humberside County Council has published its own brochure in which it suggests that the Commission has included some of the results, but not all of them, in their Report and has been selective in the opinions they chose to hear (Humberside County Council, 1993). That so much has been made of this issue is testament to the importance of the political entity as home.

Even in these examples where domicide is only conceptual, many of the salient aspects of domicide occur: a sense of loss of home at a much larger scale, either region or country; anger that such reorganizations occur at a stroke of the bureaucratic pen; and endless enquiries into the feasibility of changes.

3.6 The Nature of Domicide

Following a brief review of non-deliberate destruction of home, this chapter has established the widespread nature and frequency of domicide through an examination of many disparate sources. In so doing, all of the key factors describing the nature of domicide suggested in Chapter Two are encountered. In addition, new parameters defining the process by which domicide occurs, the reasons why it occurs and the reaction of people to it are defined. One of the primary goals of this chapter was to establish a typology for the study of domicide. Accordingly, five related frameworks or approaches are suggested in this section. These frameworks comprise spatial scale and time, motive for domicide, proponent of domicide, type of victim, and degree of protest and remediation.

Spatial Scale and Time

Domicide occurs at various spatial scales. Destruction of a single home is the most intimate scale of domicide. At the village or neighbourhood level, the number of people involved is small and by the same token, it is

easier for those responsible for home destruction to divide and conquer. What is lost is not only the physical manifestation of home but the sense of place and the meaning and social fabric of community. When the destruction of large urban areas or landscapes occurs, large numbers of people are affected and a more complex set of land uses or landscapes is involved. Destruction of home often occurs to make way for large projects such as highways, reservoirs, airports and national parks or, in the case of home and landscape lost by aboriginal peoples, when original inhabitants are replaced by others. There is a loss of meaning, of belonging in a landscape, and of livelihood closely associated with home.

At the level of region, or state, destruction occurs during war or peace and by government decree, and may be conceptual, as in reorganization of political space, rather than physical. Nevertheless, there is loss of a wider identity, a greater sense of belonging. Domicide is also ubiquitous in space as it occurs in all continents and most regions of the globe. The number of people uprooted is significant – perhaps at least as many as the 23 million officially designated by the United Nations as “refugees” from war/political or environmental/famine causes. Yet little consideration is given to domicile as an issue in the academic literature or at the governmental level.

Finally, domicile has occurred throughout history. Lidice is only one of the more recent examples of a common punishment meted out to the vanquished. Carthage provides a much earlier example. However, the technological capacity to cause domicile has vastly improved since the early 19th century, so that domicile may be considered a major scourge of the 20th century.

Motive

In terms of the motives for domicide, two main categories predominate. In war-time, the motive is most frequently revenge or leverage against another government and the destruction of the identity of a hated foe. As a result, people lose their homes when they are removed to a safer place or away from a certain political influence.

In peace-time, there are various motives for domicide: socio-economic improvement; protection of the environment; racist/ideological reasons; jurisdictional reorganization; assertion of sovereignty; and acquisition of space for settlement. Each of these motives has a goal as shown in Figures 3.1 and 3.2, be that goal urban renewal, siting of major public facilities, forced removals, colonization, or reorganization of political space. These goals are usually justified by a common good rationale which may vary from improvement of living conditions (urban renewal) to improvements in lifestyle for a much larger population (more electrical power through the construction of dams). Such a rationale may be seen as of a different order than those of private corporations whose primary motive is profit (closing of mining towns; expansion of industry displacing a community). At present the goals of domicide appear to be the most useful way to categorize this phenomenon.

Proponents

Considering domicide in the context of its proponents, it is found that domicide is generally instigated and carried through by powerful elites; elites who, it is suggested, may become major beneficiaries in terms of consolidation of position, achievement of an ideological goal, or financial gain. These elites may be within a country at war, may be religious fanatics, may be a government entity, or may be part of a local business interest group

or a multinational corporation. These elites are sometimes led by one individual having extraordinary power: the mission of Roosevelt contrasts with the madness of Ceausescu. Their will is frequently carried out through the creation of a special authority (e.g. Tennessee Valley Authority) and frequently succeeds through the good services of the "evangelistic bureaucrat" who "legitimizes his schemes not by reference to the *actual* consumer, but either in terms of his own self-proclaimed and self-induced charisma or by reference to a range of putative consumers whose wishes and wants he himself can, in impunity, define" (Davies 1972, 3).

There is usually a law, decree or bureaucratic regulation which justifies the actions taken (*Group Areas Act, Resettlement Act*) and frequently a "common good" rhetoric used to appease the victims: "These people are being liberated," or "It is sometimes necessary for people to be moved for their own good."

Communication between victims and officials is often not clear, enhancing the sense of powerlessness of the victims. Special euphemisms develop around the project which causes home destruction: "drowning squads", "PAPs", "Minister of B.A.D.", "Centralization Program", "designated outports", "homelands" or "Approved Land Assembly Areas." Deportation and murder of people in Bosnia and confiscation of their property is referred to as "ethnic cleansing."

Victims

The fourth suggested framework is based on type of victim. The victims of domicide are frequently poor and/or disempowered persons who are not consulted in any meaningful way and who suffer through loss of their home. Often they are tenants of property who are part of a paternalistic system based on an industry or resource extraction. When the victims are

rural or aboriginal people, it is often assumed that their lifestyle has no value and that the next generation would not wish to continue to live in such a way in such a place. In the case of the victims of military planning, the creation of airports which often occur near urban areas, or political reorganization, the definition of the victims is not as clear. Nevertheless, there are a number of variables relating to the victims which are of note:

- 1) People interpret what is happening to them in different ways – what people say might not appear valid to the reader who has had a different set of life experiences – but what they say has validity to the speaker (examples in this chapter include Hambleton and Marvin Charlie). These examples should be read for the purpose of understanding what the victims of domicile believe.
- 2) The way in which people are affected also varies. Some, who are able to deal with change easily, and who see a socio-economic advantage, may benefit. This chapter has shown that there can be a positive result of domicile: Crest Street residents achieved better living conditions; the Volta River project brought better services and communications; Finsterbusch (1980) felt that most people adjusted well to the projects he described, and in the end, of course, people's will to survive is very strong (Hiroshima). Nevertheless, for others who lose their homes, there may be grief and sadness. Many mourn the loss of ancestors, family and friends, social networks and lost land. Some people may suffer psychological and social distress, a sense of helplessness and anger. Some will accommodate their grief by focussing on kith and kin while others will idealize their lost home. Some, particularly old people, may die or commit suicide. For those

who survive, there may be resentment at having to suffer for the greater good of the community and against the officials who are responsible for their fate. This resentment may be translated into a long term mistrust of government. Squatters, however inadequate their homes may be, are often required to lose their home more than once.

Home is destroyed and a place lost; the inhabitants must relocate to a strange new home. What is lost may range from a mud hut to a civic treasure. It can include the whole landscape (Lidice, Cublington, Nisga'a territory in British Columbia). Most important, however, are matters of human significance, the centre of a previous existence. Reaction to domicile falls within the special arena of personal reflection and invokes the intimacy of nostalgia and memory. Both the physical structure of the home and the things which are placed in it are of significance. Memories are lost in the form of past history ("shadows of forgotten ancestors") and so are future dreams. There is a loss of identity (Hackney, Cape Town Coloureds); financial loss; inconvenience; loss of security and property rights; loss of social network and sense of attachment and refuge. To paraphrase McVie (1973, 15), there is a triumph of the rational and the efficient over the picturesque and the sentimental. It appears that the loss may be greatest to those who have worked the land or for those, as exemplified by the aboriginal people, who have a special relationship with the land.

The victims often suffer through years of uncertainty before they lose their homes, have to stand by helplessly while a sort of "planning blight" sets in, destroying the value of their homes (Howdendyke), and then must adapt to their new homes through a significant process of change. Some, particularly old people, may simply return to the area if it still exists (Chernobyl) while others may cluster around the edges of the area which has

been destroyed (Nisga'a and Bedouin people). For some, going back would mean displacing people who have been subsidized to permit their usurpation (South Africa). Others must weather rejection by the community to which they have been transplanted.

Protest and Remediation

The types of protest which occur against the threat of domicide and the efforts at remediation are the subject of Chapter Four. In this chapter it has been shown that resistance occurs, but is often ineffectual, particularly when people do not take the threat of home destruction seriously or simply accept it, especially if they are used to a paternalistic society. Resistance is also limited because destruction of the village or neighbourhood is somehow unthinkable, particularly for elderly residents who have viewed their homes as "a place to live and a place to die." It is suggested that persons who have a subsistence lifestyle have learned to cope in a way which does not accommodate the change and the uprooting of domicide. In the case of resettlement, the uncertainty of waiting to know what is going to happen and the final decision to move are often been delayed to the point that it is almost a relief for residents to be told to leave, and thus no resistance occurs. Resistance is often led by one person and may take the form of civil disobedience. The resistance of people who wish to keep District 6 in Cape Town in its present form as a memorial to what has been lost provides an example of a new kind of resistance.

The victim may get some compensation for loss of private property but this is not always the case. At its best, mitigation and compensation may take the form of new public infrastructure, cash for land, crops, buildings and subsistence rights, as well as for a "disturbance element." However, in reality such situations are open only to countries who can afford such "luxury." In some cases compensation is given only where a major portion of the

community has been willing to leave (Newfoundland) and in others different amounts of compensation are given for the same property or compensation is still being sought many years after the event. Among the issues associated with compensation and mitigation are the loss in value caused during years of uncertainty as to whether a project will be constructed and the difficulty in estimating future earnings for people in near subsistence circumstances.

It is evident from all of the above that "when 'death' [of places] is a consequence of public policy...the implications have to be addressed as a matter of social responsibility" (Smith 1992). The next chapter will explore resistance to the threat of domicide in more detail, as well as the various means by which the victims of domicide have been compensated and/or assisted by planners and others who have the responsibility for ameliorating its effects.

Endnotes to Chapter Three:

1. Founding of place includes "work-in, pleasure-in, name-in and living-within-place"; belonging includes "everything-in-place, habit-in-place, reach-in-place, and time-in-place"; forced journey includes "becoming uneasy, struggling to stay, having to accept, securing a settlement and searching for the new"; and finally, rebuilding place includes "starting over, unsettling reminders, and wanting to settle".

Chapter Four: Reaction and Response

When those who have power to manipulate changes act as if they have only to explain, and when their explanations are not at once accepted, shrug off opposition as ignorance or prejudice, they express a profound contempt for the meaning of lives other than their own. For the reformers have already assimilated these changes to their purposes, and worked out a reformulation which makes sense to them, perhaps through months or years of analysis and debate. If they deny others the chance to do the same, they treat them as puppets dangling by the threads of their own conceptions (Marris 1975, 166).

We must...mobilize ourselves and struggle to preserve the remembered sense of community and integrate it into future attempts at change (Gallaher and Padfield 1980, 22).

For it is in the choosing that enduring societies preserve or destroy those values that suffering and necessity expose. In this way societies are defined, for it is by the values that are foregone no less than by those that are preserved at tremendous cost that we know a society's character (Calabresi and Bobbitt 1978, 1).

4.1 Introduction

All that has been written in previous chapters begs one question: why is destruction of home not prevented? This question leads to others. Why is someone not responsible for ensuring that the important personal values attributed to home are reflected in decision-making processes? Why is it possible to find the convincing argument, to gather the necessary public protest, which would establish that the public interest lies in the preservation of home rather than its destruction? And, of greatest importance to this dissertation, if destruction has to occur, why aren't the victims involved in a more participatory way so that they understand what is going on and more easily to acceptance?

In Chapter Three it was demonstrated that there are "common good" grounds which override individual interests and feelings about "home," thereby leading to the suggestion that domicide will remain a significant phenomenon world-wide. Domicide will continue to occur in developed countries where new transportation corridors, major projects or redevelopment occur. Domicide will also continue in developing countries based on the schemes of authoritarian governments and where mega-projects are seen as the panacea for economic ills. This chapter therefore augments Chapter Three by examining first, the response of persons faced with the threat or prospect of domicide and then, the planning and other processes which are used to judge whether projects should occur and to assist those affected both before and following the decision that homes will be destroyed.

4.2 The Range of Response to Domicide

The study of citizen participation provides a natural starting point for this review, given its goals of strengthening the influence of planners and citizens in public policy decision-making as well as reducing power

differences (Fagence 1977, 46). Fagence (p. 125ff.) has summarized typologies relating to citizen participation of which the most relevant appear to be Arnstein (1969) (see below); Milbraith(1965) who divided behaviour patterns of political activity into gladiatorial (holding public office), transitional (attending a public meeting), spectator (voting) and apathetic activity; and Spiegel and Mittenhal (1968) who suggested seven elements including information, consultation, negotiation, shared policy and decision-making, joint planning, delegation of planning responsibility and neighbourhood control. To this list must be added Lipsky (1970), as discussed below.

Arnstein (1969) studied the euphemisms associated with "citizen participation" in three United States' Federal social programs: urban renewal, anti-poverty, and Model Cities. For Arnstein, citizen participation is another term for power. She suggests a framework (Figure 4.1) which, although simplified in such a way as to be provocative (obviously the range from power-holder to those without power is not a clear cut, involving various viewpoints, splinter interests, etc.), arranges citizen participation efforts on a ladder with each rung corresponding to the extent of a citizen's power in determining a plan or program. The first two rungs, manipulation and therapy, are basically non-participation where persons in power "educate" or "cure" the participants. At rungs three, four and five, citizens hear or are heard but cannot ensure that their views will make a difference. At the upper rungs, people are able to negotiate with persons in power and may, at the highest level, hold decision-making seats or managerial power.

Arnstein's ladder is frequently referenced (Fagence 1977, 22; Porteous 1977, 365 to name only two) and is interpreted by Fagence to mean that there are varying degrees of participation tolerated by plan-making agencies or varying degrees of involvement accepted by participants. However, there is another way of seeing this framework in relation to prospective victims of

domicide. In reviewing the case studies of Chapter Three, there appears to be a correlation between levels of resistance and the degree of power achieved by persons who resist the threat of domicile. This suggestion is corroborated by Lipsky (1970, 185-253) who studied rent strikes in New York City (led by a dynamic leader with an ability to manipulate the press) which caused officials to distribute relief directly to needy tenants, expand legislation relating to the rights of tenants, and reform building code enforcement (both symbolic and material rewards), but did not result in increased access to policy-making by those affected. As will be discussed in more detail in sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.3, there are three broad categories which describe resistance (see the right hand side of Figure 4.1): little or no resistance, limited resistance and major resistance. Each of these in turn appears to relate to the relevant rungs on Arnstein's ladder. For example, where there was major resistance a degree of citizen control was achieved (airport construction stopped or a more acceptable project built). Where there was virtually no participation in decisions, affected persons were manipulated successfully by power holders. Having recognized this correlation, it must nevertheless be noted that it is possible that the choice of citizen participation measures could have some effect on the amount of resistance encountered. Arnstein's typology and her subsequent comments on participation can also be viewed as a helpful guide to anticipate ways to assist the victims of domicile and hence lead to a discussion of the tools of citizen involvement.

Figure 4.2 therefore focuses on levels of resistance and looks at the various consultation tools used, extending Arnstein's discussion through reference to a number of other sources (Breitbart and Peet 1973, Burke 1968; Fagence 1977; Sewell 1977; Sewell and Coppock 1977) as well as to Chapter Three. To illustrate this discussion further, a more detailed review of the most relevant of these tools follows the discussion about how resistance occurs or is accommodated.

FIGURE 4.1
THE RANGE OF RESPONSE TO DOMICIDE (ADAPTED FROM ARNSTEIN (1969))

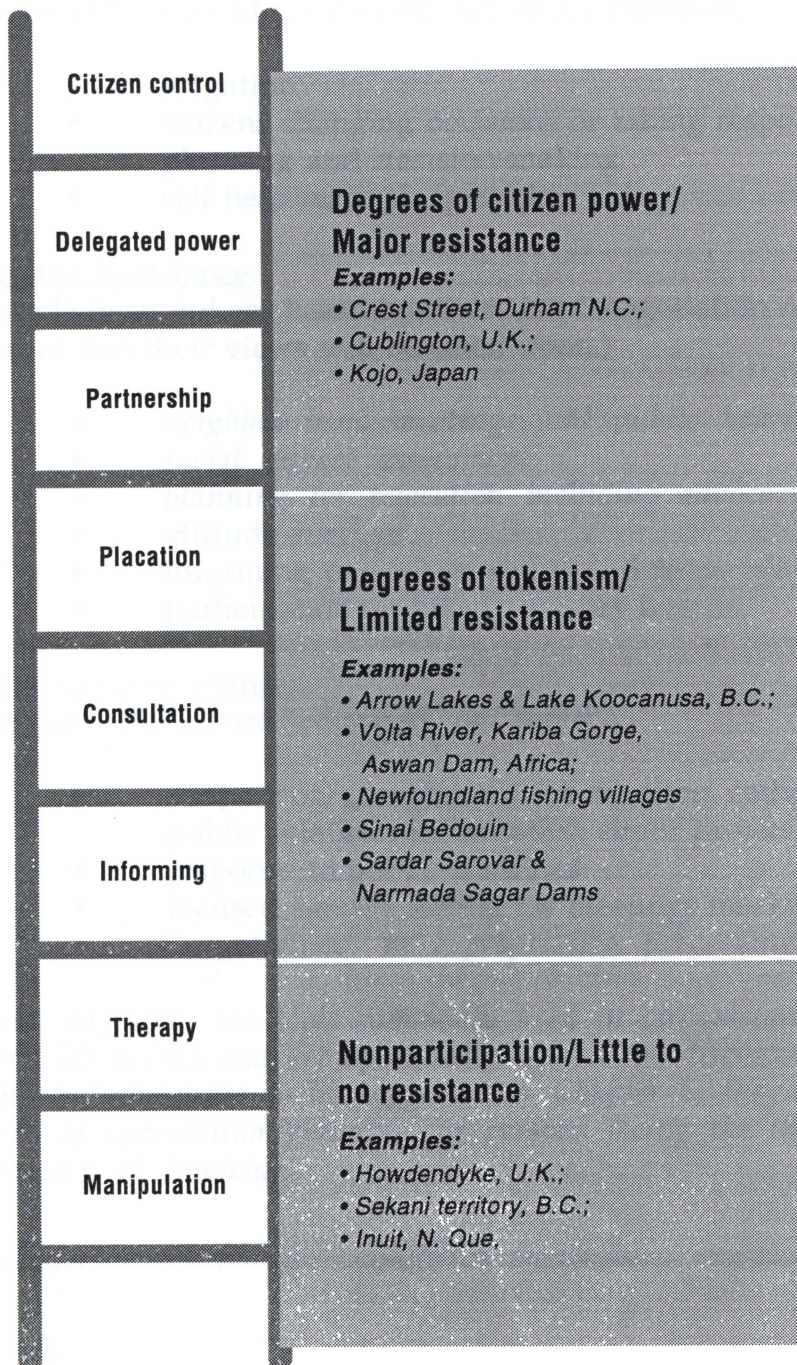


Figure 4.2: Consultation/Planning for Persons Facing the Threat or Prospect of Domicide

Major Resistance:

(Shared Decision-Making or Management Function)

- litigation
- citizens changing decisions or taking responsibility for planning and decision-making
- self help manuals/planning aid

Limited Resistance:

(People hear and are heard but there is no negotiation nor can they ensure that their views will be acted upon.)

- *neighbourhood meetings and public hearings*
- *social impact assessment*
- *planning for relocation including advocacy planning*
- *attitude surveys*
- *informing persons of rights and responsibilities*
- *participation on token advisory boards*

Little to no resistance:

(Persons affected are "educated" or "cured")

- *proponent/government information gathering and public relations information about project*
- *response to public enquiries*
- *focused agenda setting for meetings masking real issues*
- *"negotiation" in expropriation proceedings*

Items in italics are tools commonly used in circumstances where domicile occurs and are specifically chosen for discussion here as, with improvements to be suggested in Chapter 6, they would form the basis of consultation/planning for persons facing the threat or prospect of domicile.

4.2.1 Little or No Resistance

At the bottom rung of Arnstein's ladder, project developers do not inform people that they are to lose their homes until it is too late to take action and in response citizens adapt to the fact that their community is dying or simply are unable to make any decision. The villagers of Howdendyke illustrate this circumstance as does the more general example which follows.

Although the agenda to expand industrial holdings had been clear to industry and planning authorities since 1968, it was not until eleven years later that the residents of Howdendyke, East Yorkshire learned of their fate when permission for improvement to a cottage in the village was denied (Porteous 1989, 160). Their reaction to the planned death of their village was mixed. Some were indifferent while others believed that such a thing could not happen. Some attempted to sell their houses. A few attempted to change the situation through letters to the planner, politicians and the editor of the local newspaper, but few had the knowledge of planning procedures or the ability to organize a resistance that would make any difference. A survey in June of 1981 found that most Howdendykens, of whom two-thirds were tenants, wanted to stay. All the same, many of the villagers moved away. For the one-third who are left (1994), there has been a recent change worthy of note. Some of the remaining houses have had small improvements made to them by the industry which owns them (Porteous 1994, pers. comm.). It is possible that the industry has developed a conscience based on Porteous' work although this conscience has certainly come too late for most people.

Some persons may choose simply to adapt when they learn that their home is to be destroyed. In general terms, this scenario appears more likely in situations described by Clawson (1980, 80) where a gradual decline of community is predicted:

If a community based on resource extraction is gradually exhausting the deposits that made the community possible, or if a community based on a transportation node is faced with a complete obsolescence of that node, or if an ancient shrine no longer commands respect and admiration of visitors, or if...the old resource has lost its economic relevance, there may be very little a community can do about it. Like old persons approaching the end of life, such communities may best simply enjoy such life as they have, relaxing in the pleasure of their existence while it lasts, and accepting the future as inevitable. In my view, a frank recognition of this situation and a deliberate choice for it is a rather different course of action than the drift that arises from sheer inability to choose. Both individual and community can find many ways to enrich life under these circumstances.

4.2.2 Limited Resistance

Limited resistance to the threat or prospect of domicile is expressed in a number of ways and frequently occurs where there is some degree of involvement of the victims in their ultimate fate. This involvement is often pure tokenism but may result from situations where planning for resettlement is undertaken. In the Volta River project (Chapter Three), despite significant pre-planning, some resistance was encountered when people did not buy into the "self-help" programs designed to help them create new homes. Similarly, with the construction of the Kariba Gorge Dam, pre-planning occurred but the Gwembe Tonga resisted settlement because: the program threatened people's basic securities; they did not understand the technical facts; the project resulted from a command from outside their community; and they were made to suffer for the longer term good of their community.

However, there are circumstances in which reaction to domicile takes a more devastating form even though it would not be regarded as major resistance. As discussed in Chapter Three, the need to resettle Israelis from the Sinai region arose as part of the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty in the late 1970s. Here, homes had embodied an ideological settling of the land as a sacred mission, and the challenge to "make the desert bloom." Faced with domicile, some people attempted to kill all the greenery while others uprooted trees

and transported them to their new homes (Kliot 1983, 179).

4.2.3 Major Resistance

Where major resistance occurs, a project may be cancelled or redesigned and in the latter case, there will be significant involvement of affected persons. This resistance is suggested to be successful because social networks are well-developed or develop quickly, based on strong horizontal (relationship between a community's social units) and vertical (relationship between community's social units and outside political, social or economic institutions) integration (Rohe and Mouw 1991, 58, 59). Two examples of major resistance which resulted in quite different end-points include the resistance of the people of Cublington in England against the Third London Airport and resistance on behalf of the residents of Crest Street, Durham against construction of an expressway. Three further examples relating to dam construction illustrate the effect of major resistance.

At the height of the protest against the airport development in Cublington, the residents of the area lobbied the authorities at all levels and engaged the attention of the British and international press. Despite criticisms that the protest was the product of a slick American public relations team, it did attract sixty-five thousand supporters and raise £ 57,000 in 1970 and was successful in combining old-fashioned resistance with the tools of the more powerful media companies.

When the Roskill Commission announced that Cublington was to be chosen as the site of the airport, the protests increased, with the media reporting Stewkley schoolchildren at the annual carol service praying "God save our village"; sixty bonfire beacons on hills throughout the county blazing a message of "we shall never surrender"; and a very successful "open

home" day to show the lifestyle of the villagers to the outside world. One person's comment reveals the strength of the resistance: "I will match bulldozer with bulldozer in my three drives any time if they try to get me out. My father used to say a little dog at home can keep a big one away...When you are fighting for your home it's a different thing" (BBC 1971, 8). His resistance was not ill-placed for, as described by a BBC reporter there was "no comparable example of destruction of villages in peacetime since the Highland clearances of the early nineteenth century" (p. 8). On the night of the debate in the House of Commons, which heard overwhelming opposition to the choice of Cublington, candles were lit in vigil in the homes of Cublington (Perman, pp.132-144). As described in Chapter Three, their vigil was successful.

In contrast, in the Crest Street community, relocation did occur but long-standing social networks were maintained and quality of living arrangements enhanced (Rohe and Mouw 1991, 57ff). The initial opposition to the expressway development came from a number of sources and various means: a group of Duke University law students acquired an injunction against highway construction until an environmental impact statement was completed; a local pastor and his parishioners formed a Save Our Church and Community Committee; a Crest Street Community Council was formed; two legal aid lawyers were provided; a study of the social stability of the community was completed (see Chapter Three); and a political organization known as the People's Alliance campaigned against the highway. In addition an umbrella group which cared for the interests of the black population of Durham provided a unifying force for the various concerns of all the groups.

The Crest Street Community Council also charged the transportation authority with violating the *Civil Rights Act*. As a result, it was ruled that the highway alignment would mean "extremely adverse and

disproportionate impacts on Blacks as compared with Whites in the surrounding area" (Rohe and Mouw, p.61). A new Crest Street Community finally came into being after several years of negotiations by a steering committee. This committee was initially comprised of all the parties in the fight against the highway, but in the end a workable solution was found only when some of the more political players were excluded from the negotiations. Again resistance was successful based on assistance from outside the community, not from the media in this case, but from well-placed Duke University law students.

Turning to a discussion of resistance against major dam projects, three examples follow: Three Gorges Dam in China, Sardar Sarovar in India and the James Bay Project in Canada. Throughout the 1993 Energy Forum sponsored by the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority in Victoria, speakers were questioned about the involvement of Hydro's subsidiary Powerex in the proposed Three Gorges Dam project. The Three Gorges project is subject to mounting opposition, witness the publication of two recent books under the auspices of Probe International (Barber 1990, Qing 1994). These books suggest that despite rejection by one-third of China's National Peoples' Congress in 1992, the project was approved as part of China's ten year plan. The project's implementation is promoted as protection from serious flooding for ten million people, providing generation for fifteen-thousand to twenty-thousand megawatts of electricity, and improvement of navigation on the Yangtze River. Recent (July 1995) flooding events in Hunan province would seem to ratify these benefits.

However, beyond the investment required (\$21 billion) and the environmental impacts, questions have been raised regarding the degree of flooding which would be prevented, the possibility of sediment build-up, and the possibility that navigation improvements would not occur. Critics of the

dam have also expressed serious concern about a project which would submerge one hundred and four towns and displace an estimated five hundred thousand to 1.6 million people with little legitimate input from them. Their relocation is touted as "population relocation development" (Qing 1994, 226), a concept which has yet to meet with much success in China. In fact, experience from the creation of the Liujiaxia Gorge Reservoir has suggested that people's lives became worse as they came to rely on the government in a "culture of poverty" (Jun 1994, 259-60).

Pressure against the Three Gorges Dam is similar to that which occurred at an extraordinary meeting held on October 23, 1992 when the World Bank was requested by Canada, the United States, Japan, Germany, Australia and Norway to suspend loans to the Sardar Sarovar and Narmada Sagar projects in India. This protest ultimately met with some success for, after lending \$280 million, the World Bank pulled out of this project following the launch of an international campaign to cut off the bank's source of funding (Probe International, November 26, 1993). The World Bank made this decision on the twenty-second day of a hunger strike by a number of people including a young woman doctoral student, Medha Patkar, who led a march of three thousand people from the Narmada Valley to the damsite hoping to stop dam construction. These are some of the same people who had officially, and impersonally, been referred to throughout the project construction as "project affected persons (PAPs)" and whom Ekins better identifies as "oustees" (Ekins 1992, 91). Even with the World Bank's departure, the effects of this project continued as India has pressed on with construction. The villagers continued their peaceful resistance and at the moment construction has stopped (1994). Probe International (1994) has reported deaths in the resettlement sites which were developed. Appalling living conditions have caused fifty of the eighty families sent to one site to return to their original home.

For yet another project, negative pressure from the Cree Indians against the Quebec government in an international public forum has been successful. On November 17, 1994 the Great Whale River Project in Northern Quebec was cancelled (Séguin et al. 1994, 1,2). Although negative pressure is building against other megaprojects, domicide caused by the creation of reservoirs will likely continue at a smaller scale, even if less frequently as a North American phenomenon.

The examples in Section 4.2 illustrate the range of response from helplessness to outrage experienced by the victims of domicide. Taken together, they underline the need for better practice in dealing with the victims of such occurrences at all stages of project construction or in other circumstances where domicide will occur, as well as the need for a middle road between useless conflict and passive acceptance. Thus the following section examines some of the major current participation and planning processes, identified in Figure 4.2, which are most relevant to domicide.

4.3 Assisting the Victims of Domicide

While there are circumstances where citizen involvement has changed the course of decision-making, Chapter Three provided a description of many situations where this did not occur. In these circumstances a number of measures have been used to involve and provide mitigation and/or compensation for the victims of domicide, ranging from the pro-active (public meetings, hearings and social impact assessment) to active intervention (planning), and finally, to measures to be used as a last resort such as expropriation.

4.3.1 Public Meetings and Hearings

Public meetings and hearings were widely used in the 1960s to gather public input on the effect of major projects and, in the process, the need for assistance to the victims of domicile was identified. This practice continues today as it provides a number of benefits to project proponents including: legitimacy due to frequency of use; the appearance of an open process; an inexpensive format (at least before the advent of intervenor funding); and finally, the opportunity to provide information about a project and in turn gauge public attitude and receive public comment.

However, the process was and is frequently dominated by submissions from organized groups and agencies who neglect the broader social agenda, is often an arena for confrontation and/or intimidation, is used as a ritual or to co-opt participants, and is frequently limited in terms of time and scope of the discussion (effects of the development rather than whether the development should occur or not (Reed 1984, 13-18)). For the individual there are significant drawbacks; the process can be mystifying and costly both in terms of the time necessary to participate and in the emotional toll of such participation.

Reed (pp.18-19, 51-52) identified seven criteria for a fair hearing on environmental issues. These criteria are generally applicable to the situations reviewed in this dissertation:

- 1) all members of the public should have the right to appear;
- 2) participation should be enabled early on in the project before irrevocable decisions are made;
- 3) sufficient notice of hearings and other procedures must be given;
- 4) an impartial board should preside over hearings;

- 5) participants should have easy access to all relevant information and government expertise;
- 6) participants should be provided with research time and financial aid according to predetermined criteria; and
- 7) complementary techniques for public education and comment should be provided.

Meetings and hearings are now frequently augmented by the use of social and environmental impact assessment and planning processes. These processes are the subject of the following sections.

4.3.2 Social Impact Assessment

Social impact assessment has emerged as an essential component of environmental impact assessment. The primary focus is on estimating and evaluating the social change which would be brought about by specified project alternatives. Based on this assessment, the project can be altered or mitigation or compensation prescribed.

The primary focus of these assessments is at the level of community (Hindmarsh et al. 1988) and on the economic effect on the community (Bowles 1981). Methods have been gleaned from the social sciences and have included the Delphi technique, systems approaches, trend extrapolation, and quantitative modelling (Soderstrom 1981, vi). In addition, social indicators are frequently used to permit quantitative measures of the condition of a group of individuals over time. Such measures include population density, mobility, housing, crowding, transportation, desirable community growth, and community cohesion (p. 76). They may be augmented by a consideration of the perceived need for property acquisition, cultural heritage designation (Weiler 1980) or landscape evaluation. Gathering of these indicators is enhanced by the use of public participation during the assessment process.

Hyman and Stiftel (1988, 41ff.) suggest that public participation allows a more direct and actual role through advisory committees, public meetings or group process techniques. In addition, they suggest that participation should permit better design of mitigative measures, should gain support from diverse groups, and should act to gain people's confidence. Finally, they acknowledge the need for public participation to be combined with an extensive media and outreach program.

A review of a number of sources on social impact assessment (Bowles 1981, Clark and Herington 1988, Finsterbusch 1980, 1983, Hyman and Stiftel 1988, Krawetz 1991, Lang and Armour 1981, Lattey 1980, Soderstrom 1981, Weiler 1980, and Wolf 1981) demonstrates that, with the exception of Finsterbusch (1980), there is no particular focus on the individual and home. Undoubtedly this results from two factors: the apparent need to provide quantitative analysis and the fact that most social impact assessment is undertaken on behalf of the project proponent. Only Finsterbusch (p.103-5) recognizes the significance of attachment to home, particularly the significance of home ownership as part of the "American dream," and the relationship between home value and neighbourhood satisfaction. While he suggests that the main function of housing is the provision of living space, he also acknowledges the significance of home in terms of attachment, security, and concept of self. However, no guidance is given as to how to take these values into account.

Lang and Armour (1981, 47ff.) identify a number of other problems with social impact assessment beyond the lack of focus on the individual. These are:

- 1) social indicators are determined mainly by the project proponent;
- 2) assessment panels and the public are often unable to assess the

- significance of projected changes;
- 3) public input is often limited and no opportunity is given to comment on indicators to be collected or the process to be undertaken;
 - 4) not enough consideration is given to "way of life";
 - 5) too little information is given to those most affected by the project; and, finally,
 - 6) there is uncertain follow-up on social impacts; just requesting "careful planning" in dealing with a community does not mean it is going to happen.

Despite considerable discussion within the literature of environmental impact assessment, the importance of social impact assessment has not been recognized in British Columbia's new *Environmental Assessment Act* (1994). In the development of this legislation, the public discussion paper provided three suggestions in what may be interpreted as seeking comment on social impact assessment:

Recommendation 7

Indirect and cumulative impacts should be included in the environmental assessment process where they are considered significant by the management committee, the Environmental Assessment Board or the minister(s).

Recommendation 8

The project approval certificate should specify impact management requirements and conditions. There should be clear authority and mechanisms in government regulatory bodies to ensure that these conditions are met. Where appropriate, the public should be involved in monitoring and follow-up activities.

Recommendation 9

The government is reviewing policy on mitigation and compensation and their role in environmental assessment. Advice on how to deal with important policy issues, such as indirect impacts, socio-economic impacts, residual impacts and full cost accounting, would be appreciated (Province of British Columbia 1992, 20-21).

Response to the public consultation paper was summarized as follows:

It was generally observed, however, that the identification and management of indirect and cumulative impacts is at the leading edge of environmental assessment methodology and, therefore, must be handled in the legislation with great care. Some participants suggested that indirect and cumulative impacts should be considered by the proponent as part of all environmental assessments. Others suggested that identifying indirect impacts can reasonably be assigned to the proponent, but their management should be shared by government and the proponent (Lovick 1992, 14-15).

These recommendations and the response would suggest that the issue of social impact assessment is being given insufficient emphasis and that responsibility for this assessment is being left to the project proponent without adequate guidelines from government authorities.

In summary, social impact assessment continues to strive to provide a means by which social and economic consequences arising from project development can be mitigated. Despite practical and academic attention, it has failed to gain the acceptance enjoyed by environmental impact assessment which has had more success in describing impacts. While much energy has been put into the development of precise descriptors in the form of social indicators, these do not appear to be easily interpreted by assessment panels.

4.3.3 Planning Processes

As discussed by Lawrence (1992, 23), there are significant similarities between the planner and someone who undertakes environmental and social impact assessment. They share a focus on something which will eventually be built, although the planner's range of concerns is greater, touching on social, economic and cultural factors. They share a reliance on the rational planning model and have both struggled with the role of public participation. They both rely on the production of a plan or impact statement and in both cases the planners and assessors are seen as advisors and facilitators.

However, planners manage change, whereas assessors simply evaluate proposed changes. Further, planning has for many years concerned itself with broader notions of public interest and an emphasis on realizing a positive end, while environmental impact assessment (in theory undertaken to assess whether a project should be built) tends to start from the perception that there is an imbalance (proposed destruction of the environment) to be righted (Lawrence, p.23).

In the context of projects described in this dissertation, planners are seen primarily as managers of change on behalf of a commission or government agency which is carrying out a large project. In this context also, planners are inevitably subject to the approval of politicians or corporate elites, who have a particular definition of the public interest (Porteous 1977, 316-317). Nevertheless there are examples where attempts have been made to accommodate the needs of the planned-for. Three are explored here.

Finsterbusch (1980, 129-135) studied the relocation of Hill, New Hampshire by the American Army Corps of Engineers in 1940. The town's residents, under the leadership of their state planning director, relocated to a new, carefully planned town which kept most of the community together. According to Finsterbusch, the success of this project relied on: leadership, consensus, cooperation, and community solidarity; the existence of industries which were willing to relocate; the existence of an attractive and affordable site for the community; and finally, the presence of financial assistance to the home owners and the community. Overall, "community cohesion, identity and pride were also enhanced" during the relocation process (p.133).

The second example is the Volta River Project resettlement undertaken in Ghana in the 1960s and planned by a Preparatory Commission sponsored by the British and Ghanaian governments. While this project was undertaken nearly twenty-five years ago, it serves as an example here as it

was constructed at approximately the same time as the Columbia River projects and as it is the subject of a detailed critical review (Chambers 1970). Although not as large as dams currently in planning stages in India and China, eighty thousand people from seven hundred and forty mainly small communities were displaced. Most of these people were living traditional agrarian lives.

The project goal, to leave no one worse off than before the creation of the reservoir, was to be achieved through a combination of compensation and resettlement through self-help and incentives. Information to support the project goal was collected through an extensive social survey. Self-help was seen as "an excellent way of rehabilitating" the victims of domicile (Kalitisi 1970, 40). In addition, all public sector infrastructure was to be replaced and private interests were to be compensated at market-value plus a "disturbance element" of twenty percent of the assessed value of private buildings.

Villagers were given an opportunity to choose the location of their future home. Difficulties arose only where people did not understand the reason for one choice of location or another or where people were unwilling to leave the traditional lands of their ancestors. Kalitisi's (1970, 54) description of the evacuation of these areas gives some insight into the efforts which were made to provide assistance to the evacuees:

On the day of the evacuation, a despatch team went with the transport, encouraged the people in packing up and loading and issued each family head with a householder's identification card. Social workers travelled with the evacuees on the boats and lorries. In some cases, the journeys took as long as three days and there were difficulties created by inclement weather...On arrival, a reception team of social workers with predetermined house allocation plans conducted the people to their houses, issued them with rations from food donated by the World Food Program, and stayed with them to assist them to find their feet.

That the evacuation went as smoothly as it did was attributed to the presence

of social workers (at first designated as Mass Education Assistants, later as Community Development Assistants) in the field for a number of years before the final move, participation by villagers in the choice of future location, and the involvement of community leaders. Payment in the form of housing materials assisted resettlement as did the provision of simple village layouts, house plans, necessary machinery and the construction of public amenities. While the development of small communities, different types of housing sensitive to the regions, and the use of communal labour were intended, the short timeframe which was eventually faced by the project forced the use of imported labour, uniform housing design, and the creation of small towns.

In his review, Chambers (p.226-269) suggests that the Volta River Project caused the people affected to develop a dependence on government even to the extent that their traditional housing forms are now less frequently used due to the need for formal approval to be given to house plans. However, he submits that this problem should be balanced against the positive elements of the resettlement process including the detailed social survey and the humane approach to removals.

As a final example, when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers planned the construction of a powerhouse on the site of North Bonneville, Washington, the students from Evergreen State College in Olympia helped the residents to relocate their community rather than being scattered to various other communities. By so doing, the residents were able to maintain social bonds and remain close to the Columbia Gorge, a powerful geographic feature. The students helped the residents to define their community "as a complex of social, natural and spiritual relationships" rather than by the government definition as "abstract individuals and a quantifiable number of physical artifacts, such as a fire truck and so many lamp posts" (Comstock and

Fox 1982, 23). Their work culminated in a planning study which most of the residents of the town already knew and understood prior to publication, and during a second phase of the development in a conceptual design and layout for a new town. Even when the relocation contract was let, community-wide workshops continued to involve the citizens of North Bonneville in planning decisions (p.25-28).

The above example illustrates the use of a sort of advocacy planning. While advocacy planning's use is not specifically raised in the examples in Chapter Three, this is a tool which was much favoured in the 1960s and from which some lessons may be learned relating to this dissertation. The citizen advocate is "an expert [used] to confront an expert, to enlist on behalf of citizens the services and resources which help to equalize the struggle against "the system" (Stinson 1973, 39). In order to do this, the notion of value-free planning is rejected, and planners were to become advocates for "what they deemed proper" (Davidoff 1965, 331-32). Planners were to rely on a person's life experience in the area, and on their ability to measure and observe, rather than on technical evaluations. Everyone was to be given an opportunity to provide his or her opinion (Breitbart and Peet 1973, 97).

Two types of advocacy evolved from this position:

- 1) direct representation of a specific client group on a planning issue; and
- 2) indirect pressure on behalf of a community without being tied to any particular interest (p.99).

While the use of advocacy planning was initially hailed, there were also a number of problems, described by Breitbart and Peet (p.101) to include: the impact of an advocate's personal values and biases on a community group (sometimes taking the form of manipulation); the exclusion of citizens from the planning process; and data manipulation. Advocacy planning was also

considered a reaction to crisis. Despite these problems, this discussion is included here to serve as a basis for further thoughts on the use of advocacy planning and participatory research in Chapter Six.

4.3.4 Expropriation/Compensation

In order to understand the place of expropriation within the range of tools used to mitigate domicile, it is useful to examine both the concept of expropriation and its legislative basis in British Columbia. In his comprehensive text on the law of expropriation and compensation in Canada, Todd (1992, 1) both defines expropriation and recognizes its deficiency:

In general terms "expropriation" is the compulsory (i.e. against the wishes of the owner) acquisition of property, usually real property, by the Crown or by one of its authorized agencies. The power of expropriation is generally recognized as a necessary adjunct of modern government, but its exercise nearly always results in a traumatic experience for the affected property owner.

The development of legislation relating to expropriation in British Columbia has taken considerable time and enshrines the legal concept that the needs of the community may prevail over the individual owner. Initially, expropriation provisions were derived from the English *Land Clauses Act* of 1858 and were modified by a variety of statutes based on procedural changes. In 1961 a Bill was introduced which would have limited the amount of compensation to be paid to an owner for land expropriated in 1956. That such a Bill could be introduced is some indication of the climate of thought on this subject at that time. Fortunately, this Bill was dropped and the Honourable J.V. Klyne was appointed as a sole commissioner to examine the law of expropriation. Klyne's report recommended comprehensive provisions following the model of English legislation. In 1971 the Law Reform Commission of British Columbia published its report on expropriation. These recommendations formed the basis for the current *Expropriation Act*,

1987 which is founded on the notion that besides having the right to life, liberty, and security of person, there should also be a right to enjoyment of property.

There are a number of features of this legislation which are of interest (Todd, pp.84-95):

- 1) an Expropriation and Compensation Board is created which has general jurisdiction in determining the compensation to be paid;
- 2) an owner has authority to enter into agreement for transferral or dedication of land without expropriation, with compensation determined as if an expropriation had taken place;
- 3) where cost of equivalent reinstatement is to be determined, this will be established as of the date which the owner obtains, through construction or purchase, equivalent lands or improvements, but in any case no later than one year after the date of expropriation; and
- 4) a "home for a home" provision exists which ensures compensation at the market value of the residence plus additional amounts necessary for relocation.

It would appear that the use of expropriation can be viewed only as a "last-resort" tool dependent on the use of market valuation. In British Columbia, the 1987 legislation has attempted to establish a better and more fair process than was available at the time of the case study involving highway construction described in Chapter Four. However, the fact remains that "the general theory underlying the principles of compensation...is 'that the expropriated owner is entitled to economic reinstatement'" (Todd, pp.109-10). Non-market values have no place in these calculations.

In commenting on the subject of expropriation and compensation, Knetsch (1983, iv) highlights the dilemma of "why some interests might be favoured over others." In particular, he recognizes that there are values which do not have a direct expression through market exchanges and thus receive less recognition. However, he suggests that market value has been chosen because values like emotional attachment or sentiment are not measurable, that attempting to reach such values could lead to varying compensation to like properties, that such values might lead to "excessive" claims, and finally, that there is a longstanding legal principle that an owner must give up land required by "the community" (p.38). He further suggests that as an alternative to compensation every effort should be made to obtain property by free exchange or to make offers in excess of the market price (p.47).

Knetsch's views are supported by a study of the perception of property settlement payments undertaken by Korsching et al. (1980). In general, they found that most property owners felt that they were not paid enough despite the fact that they received greater than the appraised value. Their antagonism was directed towards the project developer and their representatives and the method by which the latter undertook appraisals. The tools of expropriation and compensation, even when used where all else fails, leave much to be desired from the viewpoint of the victim. If anything, they highlight the importance of pro-active measures to compensate the victims of domicile.

4.4 Conclusions

The three quotations placed as a frontispiece to this chapter summarize the major themes to be learned from the chapter; namely, that the key to successfully assisting the victims of domicile lies in the respect which is paid to the meaning of their lives and their "remembered sense of community" and that processes designed to help them need to come to terms with the

importance of intangible values, values which to date have defied measurement.

The chapter opened with the suggestion that domicide will continue to be a world-wide phenomenon and that few attempts at resistance have been successful. When the response to domicide is examined, it is found to range from major resistance and confrontation to an almost complete and silent acceptance. Major resistance may result in some degree of citizen power being achieved. Limited resistance may at least result in the victims being informed, placated or consulted. In each of these, some form of partnership with the victims may occur. There are, however, many circumstances where there is non-participation by the victims and so they are merely manipulated to achieve the ends of those in power.

The range of response suggests that processes are needed to ensure that useless confrontation, passive acceptance or tokenism do not occur. The chapter therefore reviews four techniques which have been used: public meetings and hearings; social impact assessment; planning including participatory research and advocacy planning; and expropriation and compensation. Public meetings and hearings have been frequently used in the past and continue to be used today, witness the recent hearings into the Alcan project in northern British Columbia in 1994. For the project proponent they provide an efficient tool in terms of time and cost. For those affected, the public hearing is the least sympathetic means by which their loss can be measured and hence compensated. Social impact assessment is the most well known anticipatory means used to measure the value of what is to be lost but this measure has failed to develop the same utility as environmental assessment. Planning approaches have been used to provide mitigation, particularly through the creation of physical infrastructure to replace what is lost when domicide occurs. A brief review of three case

examples showed how success in such planning projects most often relies on leadership, consensus and community solidarity. Advocacy planning and participatory research are also discussed. These tools are not frequently used at present but are suggested to deserve greater attention in the context of domicile. The least successful means of determining compensation reviewed was expropriation. While many changes have been made to the legislation which governs expropriation in recent years, it must be recognized as a mechanism of last resort. To criticize expropriation for not accommodating intrinsic values, is, I believe, to misunderstand its intent. There will always be times when a monetary value of loss is required and this need points again to the developing field of full-cost accounting.

Each of the traditional measures described above could be improved through greater acknowledgment and respect for the lives of others. In view of the close link between home and identity which was established in Chapter Two, more sympathetic means of assisting those about to lose their homes are explored in Chapter Six. However, before that, the next chapter will explore domicile in more detail through examination of the effect of the Columbia River projects in British Columbia. By this means, the conclusions of Chapters Two through Four will be re-examined. In addition, this study will provide an opportunity to explore the continuing significance of an area which was drowned.

Chapter Five: Drowning of Home – The Columbia Basin

From the "Letters to the Editor" of the *PARADISE VALLEY Daily Transcript*:

February 12, 1922

Dear Sirs:

The report of the Metropolitan Water Commission is deeply disturbing, recommending as it does "the construction of a great reservoir in the Paradise River valley, and of tunnels sufficient to transport water to the Metropolitan area."

At the town meetings of Pomeroy, Winsor, Stillwater, and Nipmuck, funds have been approved to hire legal counsel to represent our interests in Boston. These men, as well as our selected representatives, have spoken strongly at the hearings held both in Boston and here. But I note with some distress that many of their comments have addressed practical details of the plan. Selectman C.J. Wheeler presented a request that any land required for the proposed reservoir be taken by purchase, rather than eminent domain. Representative Hallman argues that land assessment procedures are poorly described in the proposed bill. X.J. Swainson, counsel representing the business of Pomeroy, expressed his concerns that delay over a final decision has been detrimental to commerce in the valley. All excellent points – but are these well-meaning men, in their efforts to safeguard our economic interests, truly expressing our desires?

Is not our deepest desire that there should be no reservoir? Does it matter how our property is assessed, how we are paid for it, or when we are told we must leave – when we do not want to leave? Has not the grinding pressure imposed on us by the Commission worn down our resolute opposition and caused us to think only how we might best profit from this situation, when it is the situation itself that we must resist?

We must keep in mind that this group of engineers and politicians from Boston have one ambition only: to invade our valley, to destroy our towns, to trample our rights as citizens. Compromise with such blind aggression is untenable.

Frank B. Auberon, Sr.

Pomeroy

(Barrett 1992, 41,42).

Excerpt from "LETTERS TO THE EDITOR" OF THE PARADISE
VALLEY Daily Transcript:

July 6, 1927

Dear Sirs:

...Can we not maintain at least some semblance of dignity, some shadow of our former selves? ..By leaving now, by collapsing and admitting defeat, we only aid and abet the destructive plans of our occupiers. Should we not stay here as long as we can, and live what remains of our cherished lives here as fully and richly as we can? Each family that leaves now tears a permanent hole in the web of our community life. No new neighbours will come to replace those we lost: we are the last people who will live here, and we must band together. Let us leave only when we must. Let us leave together, at the end – not piecemeal, in panic and terror, at the beginning.

*Frank B. Auberon, Sr.
Pomeroy
(Barrett 1992, 123).*

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to deepen our understanding of the concept of domicile, testing the validity of all that has been discussed in previous chapters, by exploring two British Columbia situations where the creation of reservoirs caused homes to be destroyed. In previous chapters the nature of home and the meaning of loss of home, the parameters of domicile, and reaction and response to domicile were discussed. This chapter will, therefore, briefly review the findings of these chapters in order to provide a basis for comparison and then turn to a detailed description of two examples of domicile caused by major project construction: the drowning of home which occurred as a result of the construction of reservoirs for the Keenleyside (High Arrow) Dam and the Libby Dam in the 1960s. The construction of large hydro-electric projects provides a particularly significant example of home destruction. In this circumstance there is a finality of destruction; it is not possible to rebuild nor even view the landscape where homes were once placed. I also chose to explore these case examples, as explained in Chapter One, because of my interest in this area as part of my job responsibilities and because this review allowed focus on the continuing significance of the past to the Columbia Basin and its future.

5.1.1 Findings of Previous Chapters

In Chapter Two, home is defined as including multiple, complex meanings. These meanings are found to coexist, without contradiction, within the individual. Home is the centre: the shelter and place of refuge, security and freedom; as well as an object of possession (and sometimes therefore a marketable commodity). Home is also found to be fundamental in the creation of self-identity: the focus for attachment, family life, a sense of rootedness and of having a history. Home is identified with friends and community and is an object of memory and nostalgia: home is ultimately

where the heart is. These are the senses of home from which feelings about the loss of home arise.

In Chapter Three, the widespread nature and frequency of domicide was established and salient characteristics derived. Almost all of these could be expected to apply to the case studies examined in this chapter and thus are summarized here. In particular, they relate to the motives of and benefits to those who hold the reins of power. They also relate to the circumstances experienced by those who are displaced.

Domicide is carried out by human agencies (governments, corporations) whose motives for domicide in peace-time frequently include a public interest rationale such as the perceived need to uplift economic and social standards or prevent flooding, or by a profit motive such as the creation of electricity. Among the major instigators and beneficiaries may be certain elite groups. The victims are often found to be poor and/or disempowered and are not consulted in any manner which could make a difference; they are "victims of the common good." There is usually a law, decree or bureaucratic regulation which justifies the actions taken and frequently a "common good" rhetoric used to appease the victims who often must survive through years of uncertainty before anything happens.

The victim may get some mitigation but this is not always the case. Mitigation and compensation may take the form of new public infrastructure, cash for land, crops, buildings and subsistence rights, as well as for a "disturbance element." Among the issues associated with compensation and mitigation is the difficulty in estimating future earnings for people in near-subsistence circumstances.

For those who are displaced, both the physical structure of home and the things which are placed in it are of significance, as is the community in

which home is located. Memories are lost in the form of past history and so are dreams of the future. People suffer loss of identity; financial loss; loss of property rights; inconvenience; loss of security; and loss of social networks and of a sense of belonging. For those who lose their homes, there is significant grief and sadness. Some people may be physically and mentally affected. Despite all this, the victims are often expected to adapt through a significant process of change with little assistance.

Chapter Four demonstrates how resistance to domicile occurs, resistance which is often ineffectual. Where resistance is ineffectual, people may not take the threat of home destruction seriously or may simply accept it, especially if they are used to a paternalistic society. Resistance is also limited because domicile is somehow unthinkable, particularly for elderly residents. Clearly there is a need to effectively involve people who will lose their homes in the process of change and Chapter Four explored some of these means.

There are a number of questions which this chapter will address given the findings of the previous chapters:

- 1) What does home mean to the case study residents?
- 2) What did the residents of this area believe they would lose when they lost their homes?
- 3) What was the process by which they lost their homes?
- 4) What were the motives behind dam construction and who was responsible for these motives?
- 5) Who benefitted from dam construction?
- 6) What was the reaction of persons to losing their homes and what effect did it have on them?
- 7) What plans were made to assist persons who were to lose their homes?

5.1.2 Domicide through Dam Construction

As discussed in Chapter Three, domicile as a result of dam construction involves the irreversible death of a community and the deletion of home, village, neighbourhood and landscape. This form of domicile is worthy of particular attention given the many examples of dam construction which are now underway and which will displace thousands of people. For example, the Three Gorges dam in China will require the resettlement of 750,000 to 1.2 million people, the Shuikou dam in eastern China is expected to displace 63,000 people; the Ertan dam, the largest hydro-electric project in China, will displace 30,000 people; the Sardar Sarovar dam in India will eventually flood some 150 villages and force 1.5 million people off their land; and the Kedung Ombo Dam in Central Java, Indonesia, has already flooded the homes and farms of 25,000 peasants.

These current hydro-electric projects, and those of the recent past, such as the Columbia River Treaty projects, have many examples to learn from including the Tennessee Valley Authority in the 1930s, the W.A.C. Bennett Dam which created Williston Lake in the late 1960s, the Volta River Project in Ghana in the 1960s, the hydro-electric dam across the Zambezi River at Kariba Gorge, and the creation of the Aswan Dam in Egypt in the 1960s.

Review of these circumstances reveals:

- 1) the difficulties which people face when they must leave their land, especially land which they had farmed or used for subsistence purposes
- 2) the hostility toward government which subsequently develops
- 3) the need for clear explanation of the technical facts about a project
- 4) the grieving for loss of home which occurs, and
- 5) the sense of helplessness which is felt when the reason for relocation comes from outside the community and is justified as for "the common good."

Reassessment also shows the need for land use planning and regional

development, the need to involve people who will be displaced in such planning, and the need for an adequate and well-enunciated compensation policy.

5.2 Data Sources: Opportunities and Constraints

Information for the creation of this chapter has been gathered from a review of published and unpublished materials dating from the time of project construction, and more recently, through participation in a "revisiting" of these events. In gathering material for this chapter, I have encountered both good fortune and disappointment. I have reviewed three major published sources on one project (Waterfield 1970, Wilson 1973, Swainson 1979), held discussions with two of the authors (Wilson, Swainson), have viewed a film produced at the time (Halloran, 1972), and have had access to previously unpublished file material on the other project (B.C. Water Resources Service). In addition, investigation of British Columbia government archival information, including reports of the International Joint Commission hearings (1951) and the hearings of the Comptroller of Water Rights (1961), the files of Leo Nimsick, an M.L.A. at the time of project construction, and the extensive papers of Guy Constable, a long-time resident of the Columbia Valley whose particular interest was water management, has provided a perspective not explored in currently published sources. This was augmented by information contained in the University of Victoria Special Collections including: a 1957 to 1967 collection of papers of James Ripley, the Editor of the Engineering Contract and Record, which was acquired by the University in December 1993; manuscript material from Professor Neil Swainson, collected during the preparation of his book Conflict over the Columbia and donated to the University in December 1993; and papers in the Derek Sewell collection, particularly his geography lecture notes on the Columbia River project. The University's collection from the

files of the Honourable Ray Williston, the Minister of Lands, Forests and Water Resources at the time of project construction, were also examined but did not provide useful material. As well, other published material relating to hearings on these projects and newspaper articles were reviewed.

I have been greatly disappointed in not being able to find more correspondence or public hearings statements from victims of the projects. However, transcripts from the International Joint Commission hearings (International Joint Commission 1951) proved useful, as did the Comptroller of Water Rights' hearings of 1961 to which there were submissions or evidence-in-chief given by at least fifty persons, at least three of whom presented evidence on behalf of groups ranging in size from twenty to one hundred persons, and from which testimony a sense of the meaning of home can be gained (Comptroller of Water Rights 1961). Investigation of B.C. Water Resources Services files uncovered about twenty-five letters which were of interest.

I had hoped to rectify this problem through personal interviews with persons who had been resettled but still lived in the area after their original homes or homesites were drowned. It was in this respect that my plans were dramatically changed. Just as I was preparing to undertake these interviews, past events in the Columbia Basin became a focus of government and press attention in view of the discussion over what would happen to the downstream benefits (see Section 5.7). As a long term employee in a department of the British Columbia government (Water Management Program) which had in the past borne, and still bears, some considerable responsibility in relation to hydroelectric development, and having some job responsibilities in this area, I recognized that the interviews I had planned would be seen as a conflict of interest and confirmed this conflict through discussions with Assistant Deputy Ministers in two ministries. While I

considered taking a leave of absence from government, this was impossible in my personal circumstances and I felt that, with documentation from the period of dam construction and through review of a dissertation which focussed on in-depth interviews of eighteen people following their relocation to make way for the reservoir created behind the Oldman River Dam in Alberta (Million 1992; see Chapter 3), there was sufficient information to enable a more detailed study of situations where people had lost their homes through the creation of a reservoir. There was also considerable advantage in continuing to work and retain credibility within the government system. By so doing, I retained access both to government thinking and to planned events which would encourage residents of the Columbia Basin to reflect on events of the past. Fortunately, I was permitted to play a role in the development and implementation of the Kootenay Symposium, which is described in a later section in this chapter. While the immediacy of knowledge gained through personal interviews was lost, I was able to reap the benefits which accrue to being a participant-observer (previously described in Chapter One).

One other factor has caused a change in the way in which I intended to provide the information gathered for this chapter. In the Fall of 1993 British Columbia's *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* came into force. This Act has imposed a greater onus on researchers using government files to respect the privacy of their subjects. Rather than attempting the long process of contacting individuals for permission to use their names, I have chosen to interpret unpublished file material, interweaving the discussion with quotations from file letters without identifying individuals.

Analysis of both published and unpublished materials and information gathered during the Kootenay Symposium, which is described later in this chapter, therefore provides the main source of information for

this chapter which will describe the areas affected, the projects, and the reaction of victims, as well as the motives and gains of those who benefitted. However, prior to this, the next section will briefly review the three major published works on the subject of the Columbia Basin projects in order to emphasize the varied perspectives of each of these sources and the differences between them, as a whole, and my own work.

5.3 Review of Major Published Sources

As mentioned in the previous section, I have benefitted from the existence of three major published sources in the preparation of this chapter. The first, Waterfield's Continental Waterboy (1970), is an entertaining "tale of what happens to people, to their homes and to their habitable valley when they get in the way of the apostles of progress and of hydroelectric engineering." In particular, Waterfield provides his personal insight into the development of the project engineering specifications from the perspective of someone who lived in the valley at the time and who opposed the project.

The most significant source of information on the measures taken to assist people who were displaced by the Arrow Lakes project is People in the Way (1973) by J.W. Wilson. Wilson was responsible for the resettlement program, on behalf of the project developer, B.C. Hydro and Power Authority. He tells "the story of the attempt to deal with the problems of human settlement and displacement resulting from the Columbia River project" and how frequently "the best laid plans...gang aft agley" (Wilson 1973, xiii).

Wilson's book provides a sensitive depiction of the area, its history, people and the situation immediately after project completion. The role of B.C. Hydro is examined as well as the role of compensation in these circumstances. Recommendations are made regarding how such projects should be dealt with in the future. Wilson also reports survey findings

regarding the reaction of forty-nine displaced residents. A similar survey was undertaken of twenty residents in 1981 (Wilson and Conn 1983) and findings of both these surveys are referenced in subsequent sections of this chapter. However, the primary focus of these surveys was upon residents' feelings towards B.C. Hydro. My emphasis differs from Wilson's and Waterfield's work in its specific focus on those who lost their homes and the perspective of people from the affected valleys on the process prior to and at thirty years distance from this loss. Further, this evidence is used to ratify ideas relating to the concept of domicide which have been developed in previous chapters.

Neil Swainson's publication, Conflict over the Columbia (1979) was prepared from a political science perspective in order to contribute to an understanding of policy-making in Canada. In particular, it sought to clarify the background to and considerations involved in negotiations of the Columbia River Treaty. As such it provides an excellent background to the legal, constitutional and political setting for the Columbia River projects as well as to their physical development. Beginning in 1944, it traces the development of the Columbia projects to 1965. The focus throughout is on the political leaders and the bureaucracy who were involved in Treaty negotiations and, thus, valuable insight is provided into government motives in development of the Columbia projects. In view of this valued source of information and my desire to focus on those who lost their homes, I have avoided extended discussion in this subject area, providing comment, however, on the issue of who benefits from project construction and augmenting previous discussions with review of the Constable files.

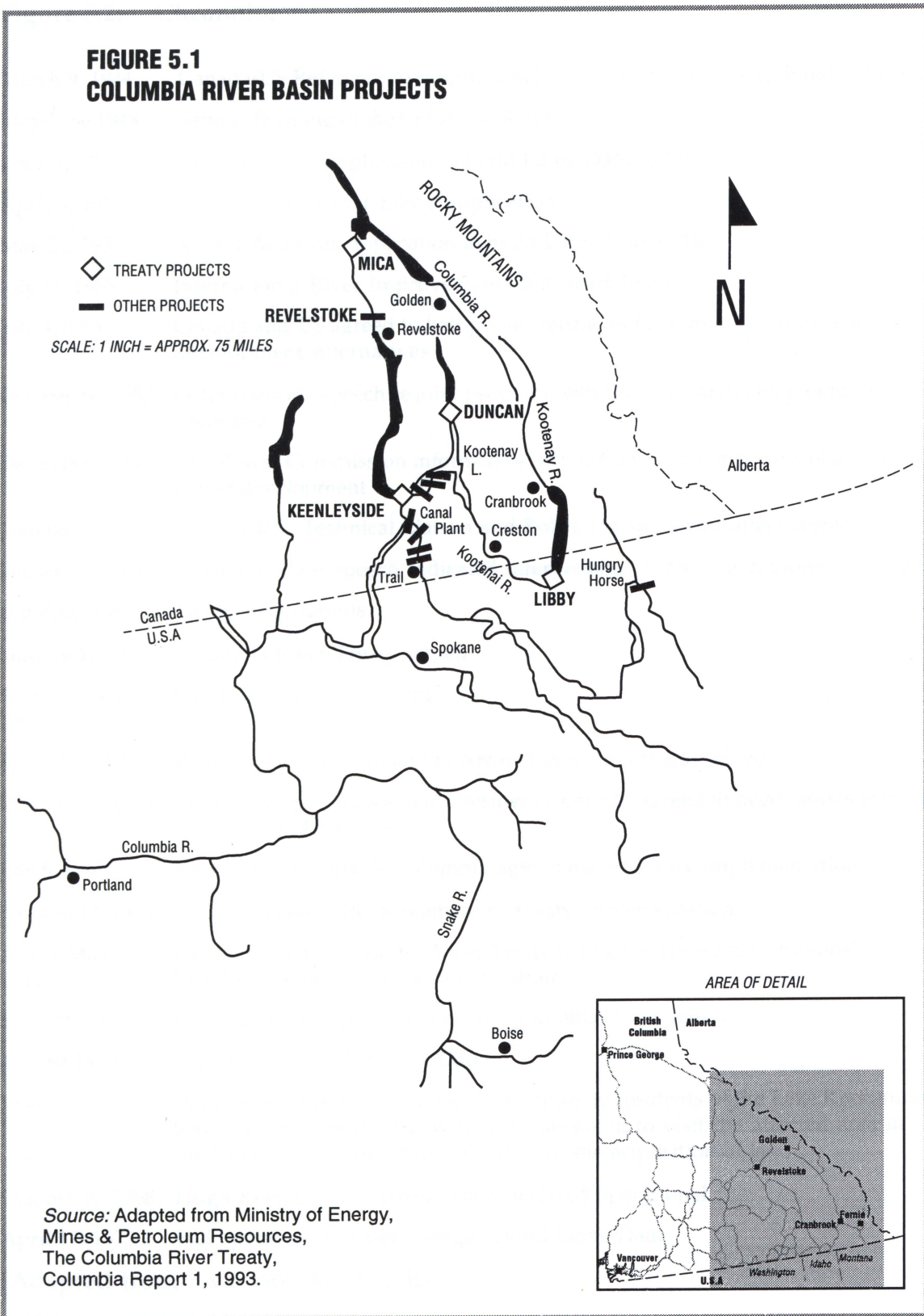
While this chapter differs in approach from each of the above-noted published sources in its primary focus on hearing the voices of those who would lose their homes and trying to understand the process from their perspective, as well through the introduction of new source material, the

above works do provide important information in terms of their descriptions of the area and negotiations undertaken prior to project development. They also provide a number of statements from persons affected by the projects. This information is woven into the following sections which, for ease of discussion, are broken into two major case studies, one for the Arrow Lakes area and the other for the South Country area. Following a brief general description of the projects, each section covers the same subject areas, although in slightly differing orders: the area is described pre-project, as are public hearings relating to the project; the meaning of loss of home and reaction to the process of losing home are discussed based on evidence from the hearings statements and other available sources; and finally, the question of who benefits in these circumstances is discussed.

5.4 Prelude to Domicide -Years of Uncertainty

The two reservoirs, created behind the Libby and Keenleyside Dams, are part of a comprehensive system for flood control, navigation and hydroelectric power in the Columbia River Basin (Figure 5.1). The system includes the Duncan, Keenleyside and Mica Dams. The Treaty also allowed the United States to build Libby Dam. The Revelstoke Dam was added in the 1980s. The chronology of development of the case study projects is shown in Figure 5.2. The dams had been discussed by the United States and Canada from 1944 when the Canadian and American governments requested their International Joint Commission to determine whether greater use could be made of the Columbia River system. On March 9, 1945, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced that the Canadian government had requested the Commission's Columbia River Engineering Board to survey hydro-electric and flood control potential. Despite the presence of surveyors in the area from this time and warnings from their MP, H. W. Herridge, local people took little interest in this proposal beyond a few local meetings.¹ This changed when U.S. Senator Richard L. Neuberger made a grand tour of the

**FIGURE 5.1
COLUMBIA RIVER BASIN PROJECTS**



Source: Adapted from Ministry of Energy, Mines & Petroleum Resources, The Columbia River Treaty, Columbia Report 1, 1993.

Figure 5.2: Chronology

- March 9, 1944 Canada-US Reference to International Joint Commission re Columbia River
- May-June 1948 Serious flooding of the Columbia River
- January 12, 1951 First American application to build Libby Dam to IJC
- April 8, 1953 Withdrawal of first Libby application
- May 22, 1954 Second American application to build Libby Dam to IJC
- July 11, 1955 International River Improvements Bill proclaimed
- July 4, 1956 Canada and US agreed to halt public debate and commission studies of development alternatives
- October 14, 1957 Federal throne speech re joint program with province of development for Columbia
- December 1958 B.C. Power Commission informed of role as Canadian entity for Columbia power development
- January, 1959 Canada-B.C. Technical Liaison and Policy Liaison Committees formed
- January 14, 1960 Federal Throne Speech indicated international treaty negotiations pending
- Feb.-Oct. 1960 Treaty negotiations
- January 17, 1961 Columbia River Treaty signed
- Sept. 18-Nov. 22, 1961 B.C. Comptroller's hearings
- April 16, 1962 Water licence appurtenant to Arrow Lakes project was issued
- May 10-11, 1963 Prime Minister Pearson and President Kennedy agreed to negotiations leading to Columbia River Treaty
- July 8, 1963 First Canada - British Columbia agreement re Treaty implementation
- January 13, 1964 Second Canada - BC agreement re Treaty implementation
- Apr. 7-May 21, 1964 Hearings on the Columbia River Treaty before the House of Commons' Standing Committee on External Affairs
- Sept. 16, 1964 Ratification and proclamation of Columbia River Treaty
- August 13, 1966 Ground-breaking for Libby Dam
- 1968 Water Resources Service issued a brochure to residents of the Lake Koochanusa area/Department of Highways officials begin to visit the affected area in the Fall of 1968 to begin negotiations for the acquisition of land
- October 10, 1968 Hugh Keenleyside (Arrow) Dam declared operational
- April 17, 1973 Full operation of water storage behind Libby Dam

(Adapted from Swainson 1979, xvii)

area and, in addressing the Nakusp Chamber of Commerce, ended with the threat: "If you Canadians continue to delay the building of storage, we shall have to consider your behaviour an unfriendly act between nations." The dams were represented by Neuberger as an essential response to the needs of a growing population and to the improved post-World War II economy.

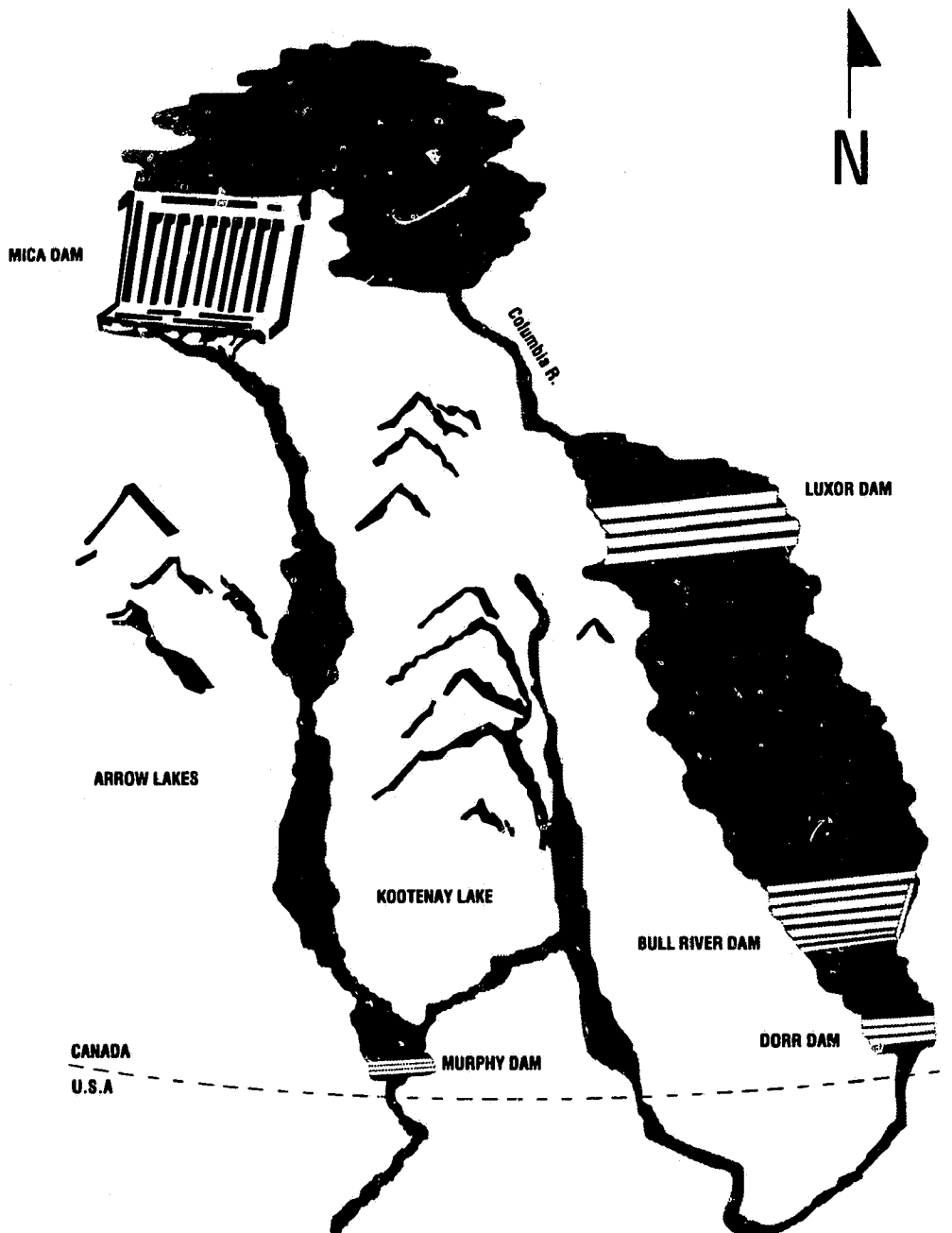
However, the need for the dams and for flood control through the creation of upstream storage suddenly became more pressing. As a result of serious flooding in 1948, Trail, British Columbia was inundated, and in the United States fifty lives were lost and property damage of a hundred million dollars was incurred. At this point, in recognition of the possibilities of comprehensive development, a number of options were presented. In addition to the Murphy Dam at Trail, in 1951 the United States requested permission to collect the waters of the Kootenay River and store them behind the Libby Dam in the United States. They also offered to pay the entire cost of the Mica Dam in return for control of the Columbia flows to suit American needs. In 1954 the Kaiser Aluminum company offered to build a dam on the Arrow Lakes (Low Arrow) at its own expense in return for eighty percent of the profits derived from power production. This proposal would have meant flooding to an elevation approximately equal to natural high water on the Arrow Lakes. It would also have meant the export of Canadian power and thus would fall under federal jurisdiction. The government of Canada vetoed this plan and entered the dispute by passing the *International River Improvements Act* of 1955. The Act required a licence from the government of Canada to construct, operate and maintain any improvement altering the natural flow of rivers running from Canada into the United States; it was justified on the grounds that single-project planning was obsolescent and that projects should only be permitted when in the national interest (Swainson 1979, 61). An additional result of this action by the Federal government, and adding to the continuing discord between Canada and the Province of British

Columbia, was that "the province did not [soon] forget that it had been held up throughout the country as a hasty, improvident, unimaginative, and short-sighted administration" (p.65) which had courted the Kaiser development.

The *International River Improvements Act* caused at least the residents of the Arrow Lakes valley to feel that they were out of harm's way. The Canadian proposal was to put storage in the East Kootenay valley, and to irrigate the broad benchland above the high water level, thus adding 300,000 acres to agricultural production. Figure 5.3 shows this proposal in a distorted but highly effective manner. While this plan would have maximized power production within Canada, it would have displaced many homes as well as community infrastructure, significantly affected environmental values, and would have precluded construction of the Libby Dam in the United States. There were also a number of other permutations to these proposals, but that discussion is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that in the final analysis, during treaty negotiations in June 1960, British Columbia favoured the High Arrow plan (described in the next section), which included storage and re-regulating facilities at the Keenleyside and Duncan Dams.

In December of 1960, Waterfield reports, the Arrow Lakes residents began to hear rumours from afar that an agreement had been finalized between the United States and Canada (Waterfield 1970, 35). The Columbia River Treaty was signed on the 17th of January 1961 and ratified September 16, 1964 following a bitter debate by a large section of the Canadian population regarding the sovereignty of Canada's water.² The Treaty, preambled by the following words: "Recognizing that their peoples have, for many generations, lived together and cooperated with one another in many aspects of their national enterprises for the greater wealth and happiness of their respective nations," requires that Canada provide 15.5 million acre feet of storage by the construction of three dams, two on the Columbia River – the Mica and High

**FIGURE 5.3
COLUMBIA RIVER BASIN - CANADIAN PROPOSAL**



Source: James Ripley Papers University of Victoria Special Collections
SCALE: SCHEMATIC

Arrow (Keenleyside) – and one on the Duncan River (Canada 1964). B.C. Hydro was named as the Canadian entity responsible for constructing and operating the three Treaty Dams. The Libby Dam was also accepted and the Bonneville Power Administration made responsible for its operation. Of the four dams, the Keenleyside and Libby Dams were the only two which significantly affected population in British Columbia.

In the words of one of the Treaty's opponents:

The present treaty assigns all the risks and obligations to Canada and most of the benefits to the United States. An outsider reading the terms of the treaty could be excused for assuming they had been imposed on a conquered country which has surrendered unconditionally after a war. The terms represent a perpetual erosion of Canada's self respect; a national characteristic that already is in a frail condition (Ripley 1964, 60).

Against this background of delay, uncertainty and opposition, this chapter now moves to a detailed examination of each project and the domicile which resulted.

5.5 The Hugh Keenleyside (High Arrow) Dam – The Arrow Lakes Region

5.5.1 Project Description

The Hugh Keenleyside (Arrow) Dam is an earthfill and concrete structure on the Columbia River, 8 kilometres upstream from Castlegar. The dam, which provides 8.8 trillion cubic metres of storage and holds back a storage reservoir extending 232 kilometres north to Revelstoke, was declared operational on October 10, 1968. Before its construction could occur, however, there were many years of uncertainty and pain for persons who would be displaced, and those years began in earnest with the dam's water licence hearings.

5.5.2 Public Hearings

The Treaty enabling the Hugh Keenleyside Dam was signed without benefit of any real representation from the people who were to be displaced as to whether the project should be built. When, on February 6, 1961, a delegation from the area to be affected by the dam went to Victoria to protest, they are purported to have been told by Dr. Hugh Keenleyside of the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority "that they should have faith in the people running the country and should accept their decision as being in the best interests of all concerned" (Canada. House of Commons 1964, 602). The only hearings occurred in Revelstoke, Nakusp, Castlegar, and Victoria in the Fall of 1961, as part of the water licensing process, a process which is primarily concerned with the impact of water use on the holders of existing water licences (and to an unknown extent at this time on instream uses) (Comptroller of Water Rights 1961). Unlike some jurisdictions which base water law on riparian rights, proprietary rights to water are vested in the Province of British Columbia, and the opportunity to use or divert water is subject to a licence. The issuance of licences is based on whether or not sufficient water exists. The question of whether or not the dam should be built was not a subject for discussion as this was a question being dealt with under the Columbia River Treaty negotiations which fall under the purview of the *International River Improvements Act* (1955). Consideration of intangibles, such as the significance of loss of home, was also beyond the scope of the Comptroller's hearings as described above. The applicant for the water licence was the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority and the hearings were chaired by A.F. Paget, B.C.'s Comptroller of Water Rights. In the words of one resident, the hearings were "a farce" (Wilson and Conn 1983, 46).

The editorial from the Arrow Lakes News (1961) for the week of the

hearings said:

On Friday and Saturday of last week, in the Legion Hall, Nakusp, the town's residents and those from the neighbouring districts, Galena Bay to Edgewood, were "on the stand" to defend their homes and valley, from destruction, by the High Arrow Dam.

The "court" was conducted according to law and we can well be proud of the very fine material presented by a large number of our citizens and the excellent manner of presentation. Dignity and sincerity was evident in most briefs from those who spoke without notes to the most elaborately prepared document by the larger organizations.

The trust and considered thought put into all material presented, made a favourable impression on the chairman, Mr. Paget, and also on Dr. Keenleyside, the chairman of the B.C. Power Commission.

No political prejudices entered the appeals. No superficial supposed reasons were offered. This was a "court" where each individual was fighting for that which was closest to him or her – his home, his living and his country.

We cannot guess what the decision of the Comptroller will be but we can be very sure that the people here in Nakusp, gave him much to consider, when he tallies his hearings. We cannot but be proud, be the decision what it may, that we presented our objections with sincerity, with dignity and with strength.

Somehow we feel that these expressions will not go unheeded, but will find a sympathetic ear and a second look will be taken at the whole situation of Columbia development, to make it really development, not destruction.

But the expressions of the Arrow Lakes' residents who spoke against dam construction were not successful and the water licence appurtenant to the project was issued on 16 April 1962, the Comptroller "being satisfied that no person's rights are injuriously affected." (British Columbia Department of Lands, Forests and Water Resources 1962)

Terms of the licence included: clearance of the reservoir in the manner and to the extent deemed necessary by the Comptroller of Water Rights in consultation with the Minister of Forests; provision of public access to the reservoir; \$10,000 for a two-year study of the impact on fisheries and wildlife; construction of a hydrometeorological network; and conditions related to release of water. The only clause which directly related to the human

inhabitants of the reservoir area read that:

The licensee shall review with the Comptroller of Water Rights prior to expropriation under the Water Act or any other Act any matter where the licensee is unable to reach agreement with the owner or owners of land affected by the works and the operation thereof as authorized under the licence.

Even after issuance of the licence, the Arrow Lakes residents continued to doubt their impending fate due to: continued bickering between Premier Bennett of British Columbia and Davie Fulton, the Federal Minister of Justice, who headed the Canadian negotiating team; promises to refer the decision to the Canadian External Affairs Committee; and a letter of April 13, 1962 from L.B. Pearson to Donald Waterfield suggesting that a new Liberal government in Ottawa would renegotiate the Treaty. Sixteen days later, however, after dinner with President Kennedy, Pearson indicated that there would be no change to the Treaty dams, that Libby should be part of the Treaty, but that construction of Mica and High Arrow might be delayed. Six months later he wrote to a local resident saying that Libby should be eliminated as a treaty project. At this time also, General A.G.L. McNaughton, a major opponent to High Arrow, was removed from the chair of the International Joint Commission, leaving him free to speak against the Treaty, and Jack Davis, who was Chair of the Power Study Committee of the Liberal Caucus published a series of articles against the Treaty in the Vancouver Sun. The Arrow Lakes residents' sense of security continued but was to be short-lived.

In April 1963 the Liberals came into power at the federal level with a narrow majority and signed an agreement with British Columbia which made it clear that High Arrow would go ahead. Then the Federal External Affairs Committee was convened by the Minister of External Affairs, Paul Martin, to accept or reject the Treaty; no alterations were permitted. The Treaty was accepted, the way was paved for the Treaty's ratification on

September 16, 1964 and the fate of the Arrow Lakes residents was sealed. This decision would "cost 2,300 people who dwelled along the Arrow Lakes their homes, their livelihoods, their best forest land, their finest agricultural land, their birds and wildlife and native flora, their natural fisheries, their fascinating beaches, their Indian pictographs inscribed in ochre on the bluffs of Cape Horn and Arrow Park, and in some cases their permanent health" (Comptroller of Water Rights 1993).

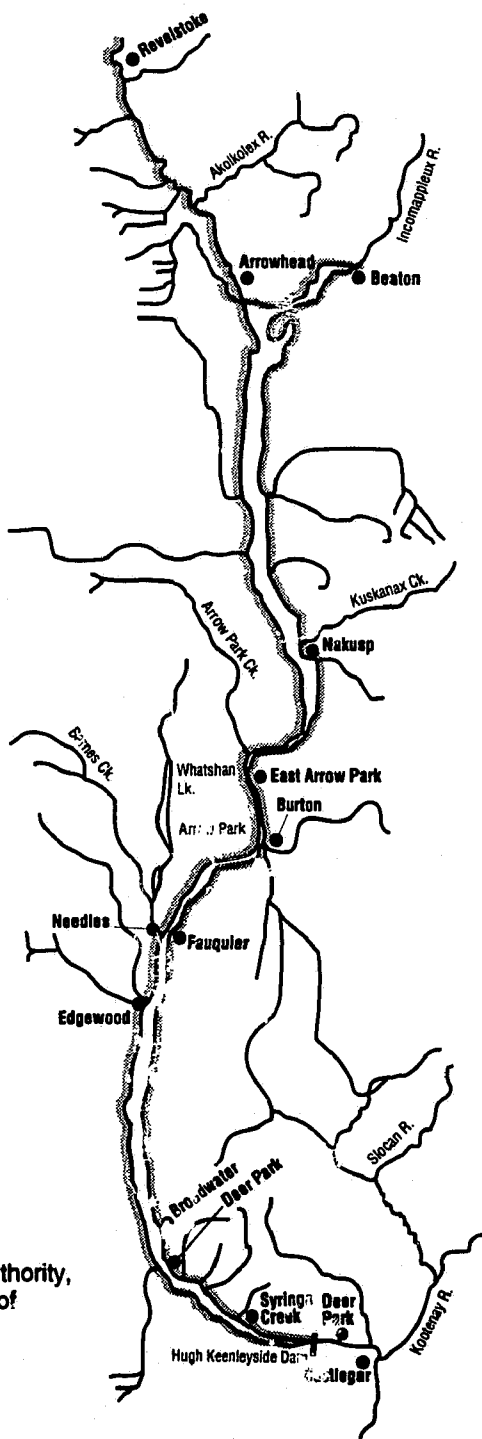
5.5.3 The Role and Goals of the Project Developer, B.C. Hydro and Power Authority

The construction of the Arrow Lakes Project necessitated the acquisition of 4,376 parcels of land, of which about a quarter were owned by the Crown. The remainder were acquired from 1,350 private owners. Fourteen lakefront communities disappeared; 2000 people living in the valley, 615 households, and 269 farmsteads and small ranches were affected. (Figure 5.4). The communities affected by flooding included Mt. Cartier, Beaton, Needles, Sidmouth, East Arrow Park, Edgewood, Renata, Syringa Creek, Burton and Fauquier. Arrowhead, Broadwater and Deer Park were bought out entirely and all improvements removed because access was cut off. Arrow Park was also bought out because it was situated on ground that would be unstable as a result of reservoir operation.

In addition, the land acquisition program affected many businesses and community institutions including the B.C. Forest Service, forest products industries, Celgar Limited (a major pulp and paper company with many affected operations), schools, stores, post offices, churches, cemeteries, community halls, resorts, boat clubs, hotels and lodges, railways, roads and power lines.

The local benefits of project construction were said to be direct employment for almost three thousand workers for four years and indirect

**FIGURE 5.4
COMMUNITIES AFFECTED BY THE KEENLEYSIDE DAM**



Source: BC Hydro & Power Authority,
ARROW PROJECT - Review of
Construction, July 1969

AREA FLOODED
SCALE: 1 INCH = APPROX. 16 MILES

employment for many more. Speaking on behalf of the B.C. Hydro and Power Authority at the water licence hearings, Hugh Keenleyside said:

For fifty years, Mr. Comptroller, the Columbia Valley has been waiting for a major stimulant which would bring to it the kind of prosperity that has been known in many other parts of Canada and that its people deserve. The Columbia power development can provide that stimulant (Comptroller 1961 c, 778).

As with most major projects of this nature, the construction cycle is short-lived but there is a continued need to provide for people who are displaced. When it is remembered that there was very little onus on the project developer to care for the needs of those whom the project would displace (i.e. the licence only required that the licensee review with the Comptroller of Water Rights prior to expropriation any matter where the licensee is unable to reach agreement with the owner or owners of land), the goals and activities of B.C. Hydro are worthy of further examination for they were significant. When notice of the licence hearing was posted, a redevelopment committee was established whose goal it was to ensure the intention of the B.C. Government "that any adjustments required by the Columbia developments shall be made in a fair and equitable manner" (B.C. Hydro 1961, 4). This five-person committee made contact with organizations and persons in the affected area and invited written submissions. In addition their chair, H.D.C. Hunter, travelled from Castlegar to Revelstoke explaining the proposed project to affected persons. At this time B.C. Hydro also undertook a comprehensive census, title search of affected lands, and an economic study.

Once the Treaty was ratified in 1964, B.C. Hydro published a booklet for property owners in which assurances were given that the Columbia Region would become richer, more stable and more accessible and that the Commission would assist residents "as far as we can to ensure that the changes will take place as smoothly as possible" (B.C. Hydro 1964, 2). In 1965, in The New Outlook, B.C. Hydro told the residents of the Arrow Lakes valley

what their options were in terms of resettlement, including resettlement to a larger community such as Nakusp, Revelstoke or Castlegar, out of the Valley, or in a new community. As discussed in Wilson's People in the Way, three new communities were eventually created at Edgewood, Burton and Fauquier.

Besides the activities described above, there were other actions taken (B.C. Hydro 1966). These included: the publication of a Columbia News Letter which kept the valley residents updated on the project; the publication of a regional plan, and public discussions on this plan; the appointment of an Ombudsman, Chief Justice Colquhoun of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, who acted as a Special Commissioner to advise those who believed their rights or interests were adversely affected; and the appointment of a former B.C. Deputy Minister of Agriculture to help the aged and infirm to relocate. In addition: waterfront property owners were enabled to buy Crown-owned waterfrontage elsewhere; community meetings were held; community planning assistance and other financial assistance to schools and hospitals was given; arrangements were made for appropriate donation of historic articles; and economic and archaeological studies were performed. Significant community infrastructure was also provided in the form of tourist facilities, parks and beaches, marine facilities, housing subdivisions, new cemeteries, waterfront protection, water supply systems, roads and power lines. However, despite these efforts, as Premier Bennett opened the Arrow Lakes Dam in 1969, renaming it after Hugh Keenleyside of B.C. Hydro, the hecklers "protested against honouring the man who had come to symbolize for them the tyranny of B.C. Hydro" and the MP Bert Herridge, who fought for the preservation of the Arrow Lakes for twenty years, placed a quarter page advertisement in the Nelson Valley News on behalf of the Mourners of the Arrow Lakes Non-Partisan Association (Hodgson 1976, 204). The effect on people who were to lose their homes is still of significance.

5.5.4 What was Lost

At the time the project was initiated, not everyone welcomed the promises of economic benefit or believed that the Arrow Valley would gain from B.C. Hydro's plans. The loss of a beautiful valley, a peaceful way of life, and a sense of community was much more important to them. During the water licence hearings, people praised the beauty and peace of the Arrow Valley which provided the setting for their home:

The dam will completely destroy practically all existing and potential amenities of this 150 mile long valley, whose elevation, soil, climate and beauty are second to none...but [for] visitors and tourists who love the beauty and peace of our Arrow Lakes, the shores and beaches would be lost for hundreds of years (Comptroller 1961a, 462).

I feel that it is an unnecessary destruction of the beauty and serenity of our lands and properties (Comptroller 1961b, 713).

After covering much of the world in the last few years, I am of the firm and honest opinion that this whole area of the Kootenay is one of God's natural paintings of fertility and beauty (Comptroller 1961b, 642).

We have been looking forward to move to that place and have a nice quiet life after 37 years working on the smelter and all kinds of noises. We like to have a rest. We could have had a nice rest there, too, but everything is kind of shattered now, and that is actually my only complaint I have (Comptroller 1961c, 831).

I have travelled all over the United States and Canada and beyond dispute [the Arrow] is one of the most beautiful valleys that there is in the world (Comptroller 1961c, 871).

I never seen anything like it in three continents, in Europe, in Australia, and in this continent. The situation is absolutely ideal. It is warm, there are beautiful mountains, there is lovely forest, there is good land, the whole area is well protected against gusts of wind (Comptroller 1961a, 446).

The sense of violation was put most dramatically by Mrs. Alma Jordan who said simply: "Mr. Comptroller, ladies and gentlemen, I protest the mutilation of our beautiful valley"(Comptroller 1961a, 409).

The valley was more than just a beautiful place as a setting for home,

however, for, with its small settlements and natural resources, it provided a living and a source of community life. In order to understand the loss of these values in the valley, it is necessary to understand something of its historic development. Settlement dependent on mining, logging and farming began in the Arrow Lakes Valley in the early 1900s. By 1915, the area supported over thirty small communities. While this settlement was restricted to land near the river between Revelstoke and the Arrowhead, there were many farms, usually smallholdings of ten to twenty acres. The climate was favourable to the production of fruit, dairy products and fodder for the horses from the lumber camps. With the coming of World War I, all this changed; many of the English settlers left, and fruit growing declined in comparison with that industry in the Okanagan Valley. However, during the depression the small farms did permit survival for many families; in the forties, the granting of a tree farm licence to Celgar Ltd. gave many alternative opportunities for employment. Despite the beauty of the area, tourism was at a minimum as the sternwheelers which used to serve the area no longer existed and there had been little new road construction. The lack of new roads was popularly blamed on local politicians being in the provincial and federal Opposition parties. With the threat of the Columbia development, the area stood still from the 1950s onwards. Because of this, many of the people in the area were older, those "who had lived in the valley for decades and for whom the whole landscape, natural and human, was a comfortable tapestry of things familiar" (Wilson 1973, 10). It was the "humanity of the landscape, evolved over so many years of settlement" which disappeared with the coming of the dam (p. 129).

It is also this humanity of the landscape which brings us to a review of what home meant to the residents of the Arrow Lakes. The best source for such information has proven to be the thousands of pages of transcript from the water licence hearings, even though such evidence was frequently not

admissible in the eyes of the Comptroller of Water Rights, described as an "omniscient presence" by one of the people of the Valley (Comptroller 1961b, 655). From these transcripts, published sources described in Section 5.3 and statements made at the Kootenay Symposium in 1993, five main themes appear relating to loss of home, and three relating to feelings associated with the process leading up to their loss of home as well as to their sense of loss.

The themes which will be explored relating to loss of home are:

- 1) similarities to fighting for home/nation
- 2) loss of environment
- 3) loss of identity/community/place/final home
- 4) loss of land/security/property rights
- 5) loss of initiative/health/effect in old age/emotional disturbance/loss of heart.

Feelings about the process of loss of home included:

- 1) uncertainty regarding expropriation and compensation
- 2) sense of injustice in relation to those who benefit
- 3) sense of bereavement and of bitterness.

References to home at the water licence hearings were often coupled with references to nation. Since two World Wars were very much part of people's memories at this time, the comparison between fighting for one's country and one's home was easily made, particularly for those who fought in the war, came back and acquired land under the Veteran's Land Act, worked that land and now found that they were to be removed from it (Comptroller 1961b, 741):

If this High Arrow goes in, my place will be completely flooded. I will have no land or anything left, no home, and I have lived on the place now for fifty years. I was practically raised in the Arrow Lakes. I was only four when I came here. Furthermore, I joined the Army to fight for this country and I believe that every returning soldier should have a fair chance, not to be driven from his home. The last war was caused by Sudeten, and I am sure we are not going to make a Sudeten out of the Arrow Lakes. That is all.

The spokesperson for the Nakusp Women's Institute stressed the relationship between home and nation, citing similar feelings of sentiment towards each, as well as recognizing the stabilizing influence which each provides (Comptroller 1961a, 461):

The 25 to 30 members of the Nakusp Women's Institute...do have and are concerned with their motto, "For Home and Country." It seems now that these two are closely bound up in each....Love of home and country, and the desperate measures taken to protect them, has sometimes been called sentiment. If it is, then it is something very strong...In our opinion, the very words "home, country, sentiment, patriotism", call it what you will, is still one of the most stabilizing influences we have left today. It provides a counter-balance to the changes and uncertainty the world over.

The most powerful of the presentations was that of the Reverend Pellegrin, Deacon of the Anglican Parish in the Nakusp area, who stressed the importance of home in people's lives and their identification with home more than nation, and in so doing, emphasized the magnitude of the expected loss (Comptroller 1961a, 509):

In times of national stress we are urged to show in visible ways what our fatherland means to us, to pay the price for self-determination and, if necessary to die for it. You can't expect us now to give away what many have died for just because the government feels that it is a convenient way of making some \$65,000,000 or thereabouts. To each of us our home is the most important place on earth and it is this which we seek to preserve, not some nebulous thing called a nation.

The link between home and nation in the context of World War II is most clearly put by Waterfield (1970) in the dedication of his book:

In recognition of those who died in war in the belief that they were preserving their homes for their descendants.

Loss of home meant loss of a special environment in which the Arrow Lakes residents lived (Comptroller 1961a, 412,413; Waterfield, 218). It was an environment in which choice botanical specimens had been gathered as early as 1830 and where the soil was reputed to produce African violets, where

migrating birds visited all winter and which was home to white-tailed deer, black bears, Mallard ducks and Canadian geese. Deacon Pellegrin challenged the notion that to care whether the environment of the Arrow Lakes Valley should be destroyed was pure sentimentality when he talked about what would remain: "It is not sentimental to abhor the idea that this valley should become a colossal duck pond edged with picturesque stumps and scum and so cease to be any sort of attraction..." (Comptroller 1961a, 513).

Just as strongly felt was loss of place, community and identity, a loss perhaps best summarized by the comment that "We lost everything we cherished and my father nearly lost his life – so great was the trauma of seeing his beloved farm destroyed and go under the water" (Comptroller of Water Rights 1993). Similarly at the water licence hearings someone said: "Now it [the dam] is to remove us from that place which we have built up over the years, I have been there all my life, to remove a person from that place which can't be replaced as far as the landowner is concerned..." (Comptroller 1961c, 864).

At the Nakusp meeting of the Kootenay Symposium held on June 2nd, 1993, these communities were remembered. When asked to define past impacts caused by the construction of the reservoir behind the Keenleyside Dam, people listed loss of small community lifestyle, friends and roots. The Story of Renata 1887-1965 tells of the community life which was lost: church services, the Women's Institute "Dollar Teas" for the upkeep of the cemetery, and the "bees" to butcher the pigs in the fall – each family attending ten or more "bees" within a few weeks (Warkentin and Rohn 1965).

Loss of community also meant loss of the final home for the ancestors of the flooding victims. The fate of cemeteries became an issue at the hearings when it was suggested that they might be covered by concrete. As one person said:

... it is a disgrace to disregard the work of the pioneers of this valley, those who have passed on, to cover their graves with dirt, driftwood and filth of all kinds every year, when there is no sensible reason to do so, only for money (Comptroller 1961a, 415).

Wilson, in describing the detailed steps taken to close cemeteries, acknowledges how emotional a subject this was. He remembers one young woman who was able "to stir a crowd by crying, 'We are not just to be thrown out of our homes. Now it appears we can't even die in peace!'" (Wilson 1973, 90-91).

Loss of home and loss of "the concentrated efforts of our hearts and hands" (Comptroller 1961b, 644) was most difficult for those who had cleared the land with their own hands and stayed, often when there was no profit in so doing, believing always in the valley's future potential (Comptroller 1961a, 509-11). What working on the land and creating a home meant is clearly depicted in a letter submitted to the Comptroller of Water Rights:

My late parents and myself took possession of this property in 1924 and have improved it with good buildings, cement walks, propane gas installations, rock wall, gardens, fruit trees and planted the street with acacia trees, now grown to enormous size and height. The street for nearly two blocks is lined with these trees, and also maples. It took many years to bring them to this beautiful and useful stage (Comptroller 1961a, 489).

And what losing this meant – the loss of memories and of identity – is explained in the following:

After six years of hard work and after having made something out of nothing, it is not a very pleasurable position to see the thing ruined and go under water, even if you are paid for it. If you work, it is not only for doing something for yourself, but to do something for the country, and if it is ruined, it really hurts.

I have my personal experience what it means to lose what you have. I had a very nice property in Europe, in Poland, 3,000 acre property which we farmed for four generations. I had only two hours time to run away from it when the Russians came, in order to keep my head where it belonged. It is not the financial loss that hurts. What hurts is that you are losing the land on which you worked, where you know every bit

of it, where you get accustomed to it, you know how to farm it. It is full of remembrances, of your failures and successes. It becomes a part of you (Comptroller 1961a, 446-447).

The harder edge of loss for those who have worked to build up a home and, in the case of the Arrow Lakes Valley, often their livelihood, is loss of security and property rights. The sense of helplessness created is expressed thus: "so far I have been working my head off to get far enough to have a roof over my head, or even my family, if necessary, but if they take it away from me, I have nothing" (Comptroller 1961c, 821). A sense of desperation is also expressed:

I am now 61 years of age and up until the last twenty years or so, have not been in a position to help myself financially to any extent owing to various conditions. During the last twenty years I have put practically all my savings in earnings into my home, of which I am very proud. My wife and I are entirely contented where we are and I have arranged our house and grounds to suit our wishes, and at the same time, stay within our means. Therefore, considering our age and contentment, we would not sell willingly to anyone. In other words, the only way we would move is to be compelled to. Apparently that is what may happen. No one knows the meaning of this except those that are vitally affected. At our age we do not feel like starting over again to get our home and grounds prepared in the same condition as they are at present (Clough 1961).

Loss of property rights is, of course, a serious issue. One person at the water licence hearings told the Comptroller that: "To force us out by pressure is nothing short of blatant interference of our liberties, denying our citizenship" (Comptroller b, 698). This link to rights within a democratic governance was again made in the following comments: "Democracy assures us that it is a crime to move or meddle with people's homes and land. We are led to believe that holding land or a house title assures our ownership and indisputable right to hold what is in those title deeds" (Comptroller 1961a, 436). The spokesman for the Farmer's Institute also stressed the importance of tenure: "WE OBJECT to this water licence on moral grounds. More than any other section of the community, farmers set great store by their

indefeasible titles. Farming is a long term business based on security of tenure" (Comptroller 1961a, 548). As has been discussed in previous chapters, property rights can be expropriated to accommodate a greater goal of the community as expressed in the term "public interest" but nevertheless most property owners believe that their rights are sacrosanct.

For the farming community, loss of home may also signal a loss of heart and loss of initiative (Comptroller 1961a, 464; b, 638):

No, a few hundred or a few thousand dollars for each family will not buy a real home, for the people's hearts will be lost in the flood. There can be no love if hearts are gone, just death in our valley.

The small man was encouraged to play a large part in this development. It is the small man, such as my husband, who has been the backbone of this country, and I deplore seeing much of the initiative taken away from them.

The previous discussion of loss of community and place was introduced with a quotation which also included loss of health as one of the effects of loss of home. The same writer commented: "you have to understand that a genuine farmer loves his land and to have it forcibly taken away from him and destroyed is comparable to a death in the family" (Comptroller of Water Rights 1993). Another person spoke of the difficulties of salvaging materials from her old home and told how her husband took ill and died one year after they moved. Yet still she hoped to make the best of her situation (Wilson 1973, 144). At the Kootenay Symposium, one speaker said: "I have been waiting for twenty-five years for this opportunity." He then told how his mother, who lived in one of the first communities to be flooded, lost a store, six lots and a two-acre home on the waterfront, all for compensation of \$47; she subsequently had a nervous breakdown (Kootenay Symposium 1993d).

Waterfield (1970, 48-49) writes of an individual who, because of his role as a real estate and insurance agent, probably stood to gain while others lost, but who spoke strongly at the hearings of how the licence "would smother

the spirit and initiative of many of our people." Waterfield concludes that the speaker was emotionally disturbed but suggests that so were most people faced with eviction:

How could one be otherwise and claim membership in a sentient human race? While one cannot prove it, many people firmly believe that elderly persons who, later, through the procrastination of the servants of the B.C. Hydro and Power Authority, witnessed the destruction of their and their neighbours' homes were emotionally disturbed - fatally.

Wilson (1973, 110-111; 144-145) suggests that older persons, of which there were an unusually large proportion in this area, were often the least able to cope with losing their homes. Not only could they not start again to build or work the land, but also they frequently lost the legitimate "expectation of living the rest of my years in familiar surroundings in a home that I had helped to build among groves and flower beds that we had built up gradually over the years. No amount of money can compensate me for this property, and I am now too old to start over again." For many, moving from their home would also mean loss of independence (Comptroller 1961a, 510; 1961c, 823, 838).

In fairness it must be noted that for some people, there may have been an advantage to displacement. Based on a survey of eighty persons over sixty years of age who were to be displaced, Wilson found special problems including low earning power and therefore a requirement for a low cost of living, as well as physical disabilities, lack of mobility, and dependence on neighbours for chores and transportation. For these people, it is suggested that the move to Nakusp or other larger communities may have been welcomed, particularly for the medical services. In these circumstances, with no follow-up survey of older persons possible, it can only be suggested that while living standards may have improved for some, loss of long-time homes would be very difficult. Wilson concludes that "forced removal from

a familiar environment is an inescapably brutal act which should in no way be glossed over" (Wilson, p. 145).

Besides permitting an examination of the meaning of loss of home, review of the Arrow Lakes situation illustrates the process of domicide. Because most of the information was gathered from the hearings transcripts, the perspective provided is frequently from people who still may have felt that they had some hope of changing their circumstances. Three themes are identified; namely, the plague of uncertainty, the feeling of injustice, and finally, the sense of bereavement and bitterness felt. Over and over again, people at the hearings related feelings of uncertainty, feelings which affect both individuals who seek certainty as to their future and the community where a sort of "planning blight" sets in:

It is the uncertainty of this that is just about driving us all wacky (Comptroller 1961a, 409).

The general appearance of indecision and inability to give satisfactory answers to questions in these hearings have succeeded in shaking the confidence of myself and others in the ability of the Power Commission...If High Arrow is so tremendously profitable, why cannot the Power Commission offer us a bold imaginative program of reconstruction with broad black-topped highways, model villages and secondary industries run on the cheapest power in the world, instead of a jumble of make-shift plans qualified by "ifs" at every turn? (Comptroller 1961b, 646).

I understood when a man came in there first and spoke about the dam that this would take place, and in the very near future, but it has dragged on and dragged on until I don't know what to do any more, whether to do any more improvements or not, although I have done some things, but things are pretty much at a standstill (Comptroller 1961c, 833).

Every place I go, I make my living up in the Arrow Lakes for over 25 years and through the indecision of our Governments, I have been unable to get any work. Nobody wants to repair anything. Every place you go, the people are really nervous and only people who make something out are doctors and chiropractors...(Comptroller 1961c, 820).

Finally, people could only hope that "what you have to do, and feel is your duty to do, may it be done quickly and put an end to this uncertainty, this pall

which has descended on this area where no decisions can be made" (Comptroller 1961b, 642).

The prospect of domicile might have been better accepted if there had been some certainty around the issue of compensation. Wilson deals at some length with this issue (see particularly his Chapter Fifteen: "Fair and Generous?") as does Waterfield; only the main concerns will be summarized here. Certainly Wilson believes that the whole Arrow Lakes program was overshadowed by the issue of compensation (Wilson, p.146). Hugh Keenleyside, speaking on behalf of B.C. Hydro at the water licence hearings, had made it clear that no decision had been made about a fixed rate of payment and stressed that each case deserved individual compensation. He suggested that each family would be paid the market value of their land plus a bonus of ten percent for forcible taking. But the problem was that land in the area had suffered a lowering of values because of the years of uncertainty over project construction, and sometimes it was just not possible to find comparable agricultural or other situations. And what if an owner refused to settle, would that ultimately result in a higher settlement? (Waterfield, p.45-47; Wilson, p.31-32). Concerns of residents of the area also included: the feeling that, based on previous circumstances, they would not be fairly compensated; the belief that: "No amount of money would ever repay us for what we would lose, our home, our livelihood and our whole way of life..." or that it was impossible to compensate for future value (Comptroller 1961b, 652, 644; Comptroller 1961c, 800). One resident suggested that the only appropriate compensation would be a home similar to the one he would lose (Comptroller 1961c, 833). Wilson believes that despite Hydro's attempts to be fair and generous, concerns about the compensation process continue until today. Speaking at the Kootenay Symposium in Castlegar in June 1993, he acknowledged that compensation had taken place in a "cauldron of gossip, rumour and competition," and that appraisals had to be based on fictitious

values. But he also noted that even Donald Waterfield felt that Hydro leaned over backwards to be fair. Wilson feels that it is simply the fact that some mistakes were made which has contributed to the "myth" that Hydro was unjust and unfair.

5.5.5 Victims' Sense of Who Benefitted

The question of who benefitted by the construction of the Keenleyside (High Arrow) Dam was also a theme which became apparent during my research. In the eyes of one Arrow Lakes resident, "too much luminous paint [was] being used on the benefits of High Arrow - too little emphasis on the detriments and the losses through destructive flooding"(Comptroller 1961*b*, 701). While the British Columbia government saw financial advantage in the project construction and the Federal government saw the opportunity to be a good neighbour, the residents of the Arrow Lakes saw only benefit to the United States.

In considering whether British Columbia's Premier Bennett had been "got at" by American interests or was trying to "get back at" the Federal Minister of Justice Davie Fulton who had negotiated the Columbia River Treaty and with whom there was no love lost, Waterfield (1970, 17-18) provides a plausible explanation that Bennett was simply "deceived by the optimistic estimates and conclusions of a misleading engineering report." Swainson (1995, pers. comm.) tempers this view by suggesting that Bennett was aware of the financial aspects but was never happy with the Treaty as its signing came too soon and prevented his realization of a Peace-Columbia power system. In any case, the suggested annual return of fourteen and one-half million dollars for an initial investment of sixty-six million dollars appeared attractive. In addition, at the public hearings Keenleyside had indicated that sixty-five percent of the energy benefits and eighty percent of the flood control benefits of the Treaty Dams would result from operation of

the High Arrow Dam, therefore justifying its construction. To these tangible benefits could be added the assurances of the federal government's Minister Fulton:

This is the service which we gave in the interests of the lives and property of our neighbours, which we may be requested to provide, and which we agree in advance to furnish but on a basis of which there will be absolutely no cost or loss to us; and it is provided by dams with respect to which the portion of their cost attributable to flood control purposes has been fully met and amortized by the cash payment in advance. Under these circumstances we felt we could afford to be that good a neighbour to the United States (Waterfield 1970, 157).

But the residents of the Arrow Lakes were not taken in by this rhetoric. They called such words a public relations exercise in favour of the Americans, cited the American advantage compared with local losses and asked why British Columbians' taxes should go to compensate Arrow Lakes residents just so the Americans could reap the advantage:

Even the public relations exercise attempting to sell the Columbia River projects to its victims was unjust with its emphasis on the downstream benefits and its attempt to present an altruistic picture whereby B.C. would provide flood control in perpetuity to American citizens who were spreading out to live on the flood plains in the lower Columbia River basin (Comptroller of Water Rights 1993).

The work of years, or perhaps a desire only of being able to live in this Garden of Eden, is to be destroyed, with consequent loss of confidence in any government or leaders who would allow it. We should not be deprived of this right to live here for American advantage and their financial gain (Comptroller 1961a, 457).

We are going to be paid by taxes which ourselves and other pay, and this all, as far as we can see, goes actually not for the benefit of Canada but for the benefit of the United States (Comptroller 1961a, 447).

In the material studied, where people have spoken about loss of home, there is a sense of bewilderment, bitterness, and bereavement at the prospect and process of loss of home. This is as expected, for in the words of one person at the water licence hearing: "To us this valley is not just a broken down and relatively backward 'outback', it is home" (Comptroller 1961a, 508). At the Kootenay Symposium I was told that a few people would not come to the Nakusp meeting leading up to the Symposium to discuss the future

because they are still so bitter about the past that they do not want to speak about it (Johnston 1993). Their bitterness is summarized in the following:

They love their home and their pieces of land, and they have put the best of themselves into improving both, and they feel sick at heart at the thought of leaving them, and perhaps even more sick at heart at the destruction of their family and social lives (Comptroller 1961*b*, 645).

Of course this is all water very much under the bridge and I shouldn't be mentioning any of it except as a way of emphasizing that the pain of those terrible years has not eased so very much with time for many of us. It wasn't just the act of being dispossessed, being stripped of everything we loved, being forced to watch it all being torn apart with chainsaws and bulldozers, set fire or submerged, knowing that our wildlife was drowning, knowing that our river was dying along with all the natural life it had supported since the beginning of time, the kind of sadness associated with permanent loss; it was as much the conspiracy, the denial of democracy, the disenfranchisement, being victims of a decision in which we were excluded (Comptroller of Water Rights 1993).

5.6 The Libby Reservoir -The South Country

The choice to make the Libby Dam part of the Columbia River Treaty was, like the decision to build the Keenleyside Dam, a long time in the making. The first inkling of such a project occurred in 1944, as described above. The details of necessary studies and treaty negotiations which led to the creation of the Libby Reservoir are better told elsewhere (Swainson 1979; Waterfield 1970). However, particular aspects of these issues, such as the expected benefits of dam construction, are important to this discussion. Moreover, a more detailed description is given for this case study than for the Keenleyside Dam as I have not found published sources which provide the same level of detail as do existing sources for the Keenleyside Dam.

The overall benefits of the construction of the Libby Dam were clear. The project was expected to eliminate completely the possibility of flooding on lands adjacent to the Kootenay River from Bonners Ferry in Idaho downstream into Canada. It was also expected to significantly reduce the risk

of flooding in the United States on the lower main stem of the Columbia below The Dalles. Beyond these benefits, the Dam would produce electrical power both on site and downstream. Many of these benefits were confirmed by the International Columbia River Engineering Board and acknowledged by residents of the Kootenay Valley near Creston in the hearings which were held in July 1948 by the International Joint Commission (Swainson, p.43).

Faced with such obvious declarations of interest, the Canadian bureaucracy moved quickly to determine: potential Canadian dam sites which would be submerged by the Libby Reservoir; the costs of acquisition of the Libby Reservoir site; and the benefits which would be foregone by construction of the Libby Dam in the United States. During this time, the importance of the latter aspect became more and more apparent and the issue of sharing of the downstream benefits of dam construction rose to new prominence. This issue was to be the focus of attention for many years to come. However, the discussion really began on January 12, 1951 when a formal application was made by the American government to build the Libby Dam.

5.6.1 Public Hearings

Public hearings were held by the International Joint Commission in Spokane, Nelson and Cranbrook in March, 1951 to receive representation from groups regarding the Libby Dam and Pend d'Oreille power projects. In fact, the hearings transcripts mainly reflect the positions held by the provincial and federal governments and only to a much lesser degree those of individuals in the area. The Commission was represented by General A.G.L. McNaughton, Chairman of the Canadian Section and A.O. Stanley, Chairman of the United States Section.

Of those attending the Cranbrook hearing, eleven were bureaucrats

from the U.S. or Canada, eight represented utility companies, one person represented a lumber company, and Guy Constable (about whom more information will be provided in a later section) represented the Associated Board of Trade, Kootenay Valley Associated Drainage Districts, and the Creston Board of Trade. There were also one merchant, one insurance agent, eight farmers, three housewives and diverse others. The hearing began with a statement by a representative of the United States government in support of the Libby proposal and by Lt.-Col. J.P. Buehler of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers who explained the proposal in more detail.

What was interesting about the latter presentation was that Buehler noted that of the five sites investigated, there was one dam site available which would back water just to the boundary with British Columbia, would provide adequate storage, and would be wholly within the United States. It would, however, have an extremely adverse impact on the economy of the valley in the United States, would not fit into a comprehensive plan of development of the river on both sides of the boundary, and would involve materially greater costs than for the Libby site, particularly for relocation of the Great Northern Railway.

Mr. G.P. Melrose of the British Columbia Department of Lands indicated that the Canadian area to be flooded was 17,000 acres, 13,000 acres of which was outside the present river channel, and of that the Crown owned over half. In private ownership there were 5,054 acres of unimproved land, and 1,634 acres of cultivated land. Thirty-one farms would be totally lost, and ten would be partially lost. The total cost of damage, land to be purchased, and relocations was expected to be in the region of \$6,500,000 (Canadian). Melrose felt that there was adequate land nearby to accommodate people who were to be dispossessed.

The official statement from the Province of British Columbia did not

oppose the project but requested: prompt provision for the protection and indemnity of all interests in British Columbia which would be affected by the erection and operation of the works; recognition for the loss of taxes and for the loss to the economy of the Province of the productive value of the lands to be flooded; and an amount of electrical power to be delivered in British Columbia as the Commission deemed appropriate. It also requested that a Board should be set up to regulate the power, and that nothing contained in the order should prejudice the right to the use of the water for irrigation purposes. Finally, the Province requested that no approval order should be issued until the Engineering Board had reported on the issue of benefits to be derived from the downstream works.

The Government of Canada did not oppose the application, citing its "sensitivity to the potential costs to Canada as a whole of a major frustration of a strongly-held American desire" (Swainson 1979, 46), but submitted that the approval should be subject to conditions to ensure:

- (1) the protection and indemnity against injury of all interests in Canada which may be affected by the construction and operation of the said dam and reservoir, as provided by Article VIII of the Boundary Waters Treaty, 1909; and
- (2) a fair recompense to Canada for the utilization by the project of Canadian natural resources.

Of the few other statements from those appearing, one is of particular interest given the focus of my study. It is therefore produced in full and discussed at the end of section about the public hearings. The statement is by J. Aye, a Canadian rancher who was to lose his home:

AYE: There are a few questions that I would like to ask on behalf of some of the ranchers in the district that are going to be flooded. At first we had thought about organizing, but on giving it further thought we decided that it would be futile for us to try and stop the building of this dam. I know myself for one, I am certainly not in favour of it, probably for a very selfish reason. We have spent the most productive

part of our lives building up a ranch that will be flooded in this area, and the place is just now starting to produce. It is not into production yet, and it is not a very nice feeling to have something like this come on you. But, I do not feel there is anything I can do to stop it, but I would like to know how much longer we are going to have it hanging over our heads here.

If they are going to go on and build this dam I feel that we should get a settlement so that we can get out of there, and get started again before we are too late altogether.

I am afraid that I do not agree with Mr. Melrose here that there is plenty of room on land in the district to move us ranchers to. I have not seen any place in there, and I have lived there all my life, that would be up out of the flood, out of the river bottom that will be flooded that would take the place of what I have.

The interchange which followed between the Commissioners and Aye is also revealing:

SENATOR STANLEY: If you had the assurance that you could stay where you are and work your ranch just like you are now until there was an immediate prospect of flooding and then you would be paid what you considered, and what your neighbours considered, a fair value, a fair cash value of everything you lost, would you be content?

AYE: Well, the point that I am trying to raise here, I feel that once it is decided that this dam is going to be built--

STANLEY: Yes

AYE:--that we people that are going to be flooded should get a settlement so that we can---

STANLEY: Before the dam is built?

AYE: As quick as reasonably possible we should get a settlement so that we would have two or three years, or whatever time is necessary, to still live on our place, and use it, and get out and look around, and find a new location, because it is not too easy to find something that will suit you. There is another point in my particular case, and there are others the same, my farm land will all be flooded. My farm land will all be flooded.

STANLEY: Yes

AYE: But my buildings, and some pasture land, I have a special lease permit from the forest services and a lot of holdings there that will not be flooded, but they are no good to me without my farm land.

STANLEY: I understand.

AYE: And I was wondering how that would be taken care of?

STANLEY: In making this, just like when a railroad goes into a piece of land, or a mill floods it, it depends upon the value of the land, and the value by reason of what is destroyed by the loss of the land will be taken into consideration. All these things will be taken into consideration, and I do wish to assure you, my friend, that you would not have to wait until the dam is built to be compensated. That can

be done before that, and it often is. You are worse scared than hurt. We are going to take care of you.

AYE: Yes, but there is another point there. It is very easy for a man on the outside to say, "Well, you are getting paid for it, you will get paid for it." How much? When? Where? If a man comes along to buy your place you make a deal, and if you don't like it you don't deal. This is a different proposition. You gentlemen, the Government, they say: "Here now, we are going to build this dam." But I cannot say that I am going to stay there.

STANLEY: Going to what?

AYE: I cannot say I am going to stay there. It is a very different proposition. It is a different setup altogether.

STANLEY: These things happen every day. Every time you build a railroad, every time you build a highway from your market, from your farm to your market, you exercise, the Government exercises what they call the power of expropriation. It is the duty of every good citizen to waive his gains. That is associated by always taking the private property for private use. I do not like that idea. I do not like the idea of taking a private citizen's property. I do not care if he is worth \$100,000,000, but I not believe in taking his property for the benefit of some fellow if he hasn't got a dollar. I do not believe in socialism, or anything that looks like it, tastes like it, or smells like it. But I do believe in the right of a Government to do these things necessary for the benefit of all of us, and then compensate our good citizens who are affected by it, to the extent of giving them complete and adequate monetary compensation, and that without delay.

AYE: There is another question that I would like to ask, and that is who will make these settlements, and how will they be made. Will it be the American government, the Canadian government, or the Provincial government, or who will settle with us when the final settlement comes?

STANLEY: The treaty provides that the Commission shall make compensation, and that this Commission shall decide what compensation shall be, and it will say what will have to be done before the dam can be built, and unless the Canadian Government comes in and takes that job off our hands, the United States Government could pay you. And that would be without delay, without any quibbling, or dickering, or horse trading, but just pay you right off the bat and pay in money that is worth at least 100 percent of the Canadian dollar.

AYE: That will be fine. I have one other point. I presume from what the Senator has just said there that they would, that the Commission would take into consideration too the cost of relocating as well as the actual cost of the property they are buying. We are not going to be able to move out of there into some other new district without it costing us money.

STANLEY: You will be paid every cost that is legitimately attached to the transaction. That is right.

AYE: I notice in your report here by your engineers that they have estimated 766 thousand dollars. Now that figure, I presume, was arrived at three or four years ago. I do not believe---

GEN. MCNAUGHTON: I would like to assure you that those figures that are in

the report, it was stated repeatedly by the people who took part in the preparation, that those figures are preliminary estimates only. They are merely put up for the purpose of getting a sense of proportion on the whole proposition, but when it comes to an assessment of the damages, and the awarding of damages, compensation, that will be their intention to go into the matter very thoroughly in each individual case. No round number figures would be adequate for that purpose. Each case has to be gone into thoroughly on its own individual merits. I would like to state from the point of view of the Canadian Section of this Commission, I would like to reaffirm what my colleague has said, the Chairman of the American Section, that the Treaty provides that the payments for compensation have got to be on such a scale that the Commission are satisfied as to the equity, and so we are not only to help forward the project which needs to be undertaken in the general public interest, but we are here as trustees over and above the governments, in this case to measure the compensation to be paid to individuals who are hurt or damaged in the process of making their land and property available for the public good, that they will receive compensation which is just. Otherwise, no permission to build a dam can go. That is settled by Treaty. I can give you assurance on that score.

STANLEY: In addition to that, the treaty provides that we must give you adequate compensation, and every individual must be compensated for his land or property at the time that it is taken. We will compensate you at the time that we take your property, and give you an adequate return for every nickel that it cost you. We do not want to split hairs with you over a shirt tail full of land. (Applause)

GEN. MCNAUGHTON I would like to say just one thing further, and that is that the members of this Commission, and the people who are associated with them in the land branches in the Provincial and Dominion governments, and the Government of the United States, fully realize the hardship which is being, or would be inflicted on the property owners who are evicted. And I can assure you that from the point of view of the Commission there will be the utmost of sympathetic consideration in the exercise of this powers if the time should come to exercise them, so as to give you all the time that may be given, to adjusting yourselves to the new conditions, that will be dealt with most sympathetically, I assure you.

The public hearing held at Nelson in March 1951 was attended by the same people from the International Joint Commission. Otherwise fifteen bureaucrats, eight people representing the utilities, four people from the railways, two from industry, one merchant, two members of local government, two from Boards of Trade, one from the Rod and Gun Club Association, ten farmers, one housewife, and other interested persons attended. Similar statements to those made in Cranbrook were made by the government agents. However, the Canadian Indian Affairs Branch made a statement that if the Libby Dam was operated, as indicated, in the interest of

flood control, the results would not be unfavourable for the Indian Reserve Lands on Creston Flats.

Also of interest is the statement by Guy Constable in favour of the application on behalf of the Associated Drainage District of Creston, the Associated Boards of Trade, and the Associated Drainage Districts. He noted that the project would allow the additional reclamation of 17,000 acres of land, equal to the amount which had been reclaimed up to that time.

These statements from the public hearings illustrate many of the aspects of domicile discussed in Chapter Three, namely:

- 1) the sense of futility which victims feel regarding any possibility of resistance. J. Aye and his fellow ranchers thought of organizing to fight against the dam but felt that it was futile at that time; they were overwhelmed by the presence of a government decree. Once it was clear that project construction would go ahead, the ranchers did protest (See Section 5.6.4) but at that point it was too late to do anything other than argue for better compensation. Similarly, in Howdendyke, Yorkshire (Chapter Three), the residents left it too late to marshal effective resistance against industrial expansion.
- 2) the pain of uncertainty. Both J. Aye ("I would like to know how much longer we are going to have it hanging over our heads.") and Senator Stanley ("You are worse scared than hurt.") express the pain of uncertainty. This sense was also expressed by the residents of Howdendyke and in South Africa where removals took place over a number of years.
- 3) the difficulty of leaving land which has been worked for years to reach a productive state, and the sense that nothing will replace it. For the ranchers of this area, some had just reached the stage where they would be starting to produce crops in the fertile river bottom area. In Chapter Three, Million's (1992) discussion of the effect of construction of the Oldman River Dam on ranchers revealed similar concerns.
- 4) the need for a quick settlement and compensation for private property to allow those who were affected to find a new home, new land, and start the work necessary to get into production again.

Senator Stanley, in his remarks regarding expropriation, expresses just how tenuous the rights associated with property ownership can be.

- 5) the victims' superior familiarity with the land compared with the officials. Again, those who had settled and worked the land are most familiar with what it would take to replace it.
- 6) the official paternalism in negotiating the domicidal process. "...we are going to take care of you." This statement echoes statements found in Chapter Three such as "These people are being liberated."
- 7) the assumption that victims will always bend to the common good. "I do believe in the right of Government to do these things necessary for the benefit of all of us." Again, from Chapter Three: "It is sometimes necessary for people to be moved for their own good."
- 8) the giving of false promises. "And that would be without delay, without any quibbling, or dickering, or horse trading, but just pay you right off the bat and pay in money that is worth at least 100 per cent of the Canadian dollar." Establishing a compensation value did not prove to be as straight-forward as Senator Stanley suggested. In Chapter Three, the situation of the Inuit removed from Ellesmere Island and Resolute Bay is similar. The promise of a more acceptable lifestyle was, in fact, the beginning of living for many years in very difficult conditions.

As described in the case study of the Arrow Lakes, the public hearings were followed by many years of uncertainty. But finally the Libby Dam and Lake Koochanusa Project began with the ground-breaking on 13 August, 1966 at the Dam Site 17 miles north and east of Libby, Montana.

5.6.2 Project Description

The commemorative sculpture, chosen from two hundred and forty entries, to be placed on the Libby Dam treaty tower shows a strong Zeus figure holding back the rains and a sun illuminating two figures representing the United States and Canada, who are shaking hands. Full operation of water storage behind the dam started on April 17, 1973 when Lake Koochanusa was

created (KOO for Kootenay, CAN for Canada, and USA). The over-riding theme of "agreement between nations" exemplified by the treaty tower and the name of the reservoir seems ironic given the difficulties which this agreement encountered in its making.

The final report on construction progress of the Libby Dam project reported a construction cost of \$108.6 million (American) with a cost of \$205.2 million for relocation of 236 miles of roads, 60 miles of highways (including a 7-mile tunnel), as well as the relocation of cemeteries and utilities. Land used for the Lake Kooconusa Reservoir totalled 46, 500 acres (USA-28, 850 and Canada-17, 650).

5.6.3 Role and Goals of the B.C. Government in the Reservoir Clearance

The British Columbia government fell heir to the responsibility for the procurement and preparation of land to be flooded in British Columbia. To this end, the B.C. Water Resources Service issued a letter and brochure to residents of the area in the summer of 1968 introducing the program of reservoir operation, but unfortunately its delivery was delayed by a mail strike. This was followed by sending a preliminary Guide to Property Owners which explained the benefits of the project and its extent. The brochure indicated that the lake to be formed would extend 42 miles into British Columbia to a point just north of Wardner, covering 17, 850 acres of land. The actual "Take Line," as it is euphemistically called, was not established until March, 1969. ³ Filling of the reservoir was to begin in 1972.

The British Columbia Water Resources Service was to be the responsible coordinating agency while the Department of Highways was responsible for land acquisition and road relocation. Survey crews were in the area establishing the flood line from July 1968. The British Columbia Forest Service was to carry out the planning and direct the clearing of the

reservoir area. File information from the Water Resources Service indicates, however, that the B.C. Water Resources Service, Power and Special Projects Section, also became an unofficial ombudsman to represent people's interests (albeit from Victoria). In this role, the files indicate a highly professional pursuit of the interests of persons who approached them. As I worked with these individuals for many years, I am also aware of the integrity with which they worked. What must be recognized, however, is that their expertise was in engineering and particularly in the construction of water management projects. It is a considerable tribute to these individuals as people that they took to the role of ombudsman so well.

Two small communities were seriously affected, Waldo and Newgate, while other areas suffered adverse effects from the dam construction (See Figure 5.5). The agencies directed an operation which resulted in the flooding of one hundred parcels of land, and partially affected a further one hundred and twenty parcels. There were one hundred and thirty-four owners of the land parcels and twenty-five ranchers, about two hundred people in all, who were to be affected as a result of the Libby Dam pondage. Photographs in the following pages (Figure 5.6) show some of the homes which were lost. To our eyes today, some may seem inadequate, but the following sections will define their meaning to those who lived there.

FIGURE 5.5
SOUTH COUNTRY COMMUNITIES AFFECTED BY
THE LAKE KOOCANUSA RESERVOIR

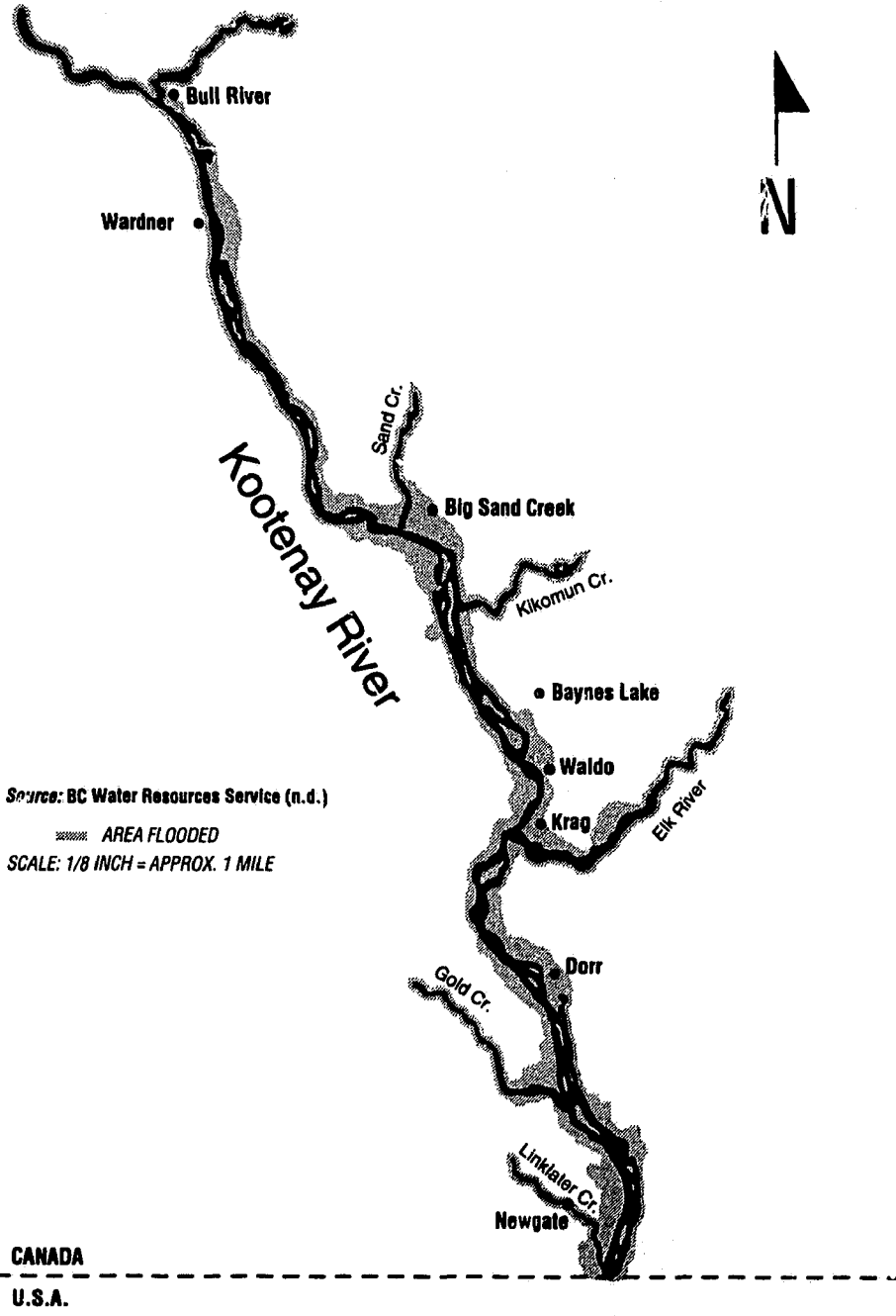


FIGURE 5.6
HOMES DESTROYED BY LAKE KOOCANUSA FLOODING







5.6.4 What was Lost

The fate of the residents of the area to be flooded by Lake Koochanusa was discussed with them at a public meeting attended by 150 people in the School Hall at Baynes Lake on September 11, 1968. Seven staff from the Water Resources and Forest Service were in attendance as well as the Highways Department. ⁴ The meeting was opened by an official of the Water Resources Service with a description of the Columbia River Treaty, the policy on reservoir preparation, and a general timetable which contemplated survey completion in November 1968, land appraisals starting in September 1968, acquisition starting in October 1968, clearing commencing in spring 1969 and program completion by December 1971 for reservoir storage to begin mid-1972. The speaker stressed that "all property owners will be treated honestly and fairly and on the same basis" (Fernie Free Press 15 September, 1968). This was followed by another address from the Water Resources Service in which the dam was described as well as the amount of land to be acquired. A map reserve, which ensured that Crown lands would be retained, was to be placed around the reservoir to make certain that displaced persons could remain in the valley and to curtail speculation.

The Department of Highways property negotiator indicated that all appraisals would be undertaken by an independent appraiser from the American or Canadian Institute of Appraisers. Appraisals were to be undertaken and then negotiations would occur when all the information was available. Full payment was to be made once the survey was complete; partial payment was available in the meantime. Voluntary resettlement was expected, with compensation adjustments to be made later. Staff from the Highways and Forests ministries then described the relocation of highways and clearing of forested land.

Following these presentations there were only twenty-seven questions,

as the meeting had been advised that questions relating to personal land could not be answered at a public meeting. Most sought general information relating to the use or disposal of agricultural land and stocks, the flood level, and the fate of the community of Waldo, or commented on the delays in starting the preparation program. Only the first question asked is of particular interest to this study. The question and answer were noted as follows:

- Q. Since we are forced off our land, is there any payment or compensation for the inconvenience created? How can a ranch be relocated in three months? We are caught in a trap for 20 years...since 1966, we cannot ranch from year to year....
- A. To be forced off the land is not in my jurisdiction. Three months to relocate is not correct. First amount paid is substantial, approximately 80%. It is recognized that land owners are being displaced. This is taken into account in the settlement.⁵

Of significance in this interchange are a number of issues: the request for adequate compensation including compensation for disruption; the sense of entrapment caused by the lengthy time between project announcement and implementation; and finally the difficulties caused by the number of players involved from the government side in major projects. All of these difficulties contrast with the assurances of Senator Stanley and General McNaughton given in 1951 and point out the need for a clear compensation process and planning process associated with relocation.

Department of Highways officials were to visit the affected area in the Fall of 1968 to begin negotiations for the acquisition of land. Even at this time some properties had been offered for sale voluntarily (B.C. Water Resources service December 31, 1968). However, for others, there were the comforts given in a brochure issued by the Water Resources Service (B.C. Water Resource Service 1968):

Despite the fact that our Province will become richer, more stable, and more accessible as a result of the Columbia River Treaty projects, of which the Libby project is the last to be developed, we realize that the

owners of the property affected by the Libby Dam Reservoir are deeply concerned.

For you, it will mean dislocation and change. Some of you may be pleased to sell your properties to us because it suits your plans to move elsewhere. Some of you, understandably, would prefer to stay where you are and have no desire to sell.

We cannot avoid the impact the development will have on your lives, but it is our intention to assist you as far as we reasonably can to ensure that the changes will take place as smoothly as possible.

The brochure went on to describe in general terms the land that would be needed, how the appraisal of land values would be made, how offers would be made, how expropriation would be used only when necessary, when it would be time to move and how new communities could be established. Examination of files and newspaper accounts indicates that despite the good intentions described above, the years between 1968 and 1973 were years of great uncertainty for some of the residents, particularly the ranching community, who subsequently lost their homes. These sources provide data on the meaning of loss of home from the perspective of residents (and others involved) or from persons reporting on the situation. One caution is necessary here: as the files and newspaper accounts are reviewed, certain "stories" repeat themselves, a situation not unlike the traditions created within societies who depend on oral history. To some degree, I have taken this "perception" to be "reality" as I believe that in stressful circumstances, these stories become the only reality in which the victims will believe.

The story of some of those who lost their homes has been recreated from files in the possession of the Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks, mainly letters between those seeking compensation and either the B.C. Water Resources Service or the Ministry of Highways property negotiator, and from press reports. It is also derived from comments which I heard in the course of the Kootenay Symposium meetings held at Cranbrook and Castlegar in June

1993 (see Section 5.8). During the meeting in Cranbrook particularly, in one of the smaller sessions, people shared their feelings about the past. For this observer it was remarkable how they could speak so easily, and apparently without malice, of a past about which they clearly must hold some rancour. The notes which I took can never adequately capture the faces of two of the women, nor my admiration at how such a story could be told while still retaining a smiling calm. To a large degree, it is a story of the enormous difficulties encountered by these people. These sources tell a little of people's feelings about their homes but more about the way in which they were treated. In general it is possible to recreate a sense of what loss of home meant, about the process of losing homes and the problems encountered, about resistance to the inevitable, and about the victims' feelings regarding the fairness of the situation and their sense of who benefits in these circumstances. These issues will be dealt with in turn below.

In general the loss of home meant:

- 1) loss of a beautiful place
- 2) loss of livelihood
- 3) loss of family, identity, familiar surroundings, and community, and
- 4) effect on health.

To put it most simply, "it was a beautiful valley" (Kootenay Symposium c). One reporter suggested that the three hundred acre Island Ranch, owned by Lloyd Sharpe and founded by his father in 1917, was the most beautiful place of all with its "lush meadows and woods abound with deer moose, elk and bear" (McCandlish 1961) while another spoke of a property where, "from the living-room window, you look across a little valley and see cattle on their winter grounds. A creek runs through the valley which is dotted with a few small lakes" (Jacobs 1968, 58). Beulahmae

Waldo came into being around 1905 and for a time was the site of two mills, was a stop for the river boats which ran from Jennings, Montana to Fort Steele, British Columbia, and was served by two railroads. In 1926 a fire destroyed almost the entire community which had grown around the lumber industry. Only the Anglican church and six houses remained. The earliest records of Newgate date from 1858 and are for Fort Kootenay which was moved from time to time along the Kootenay River. It must have been a rich area for wildlife for one report indicates that in the spring of that year, 220 bear skins, 800 marten, 500 beaver skins, 2000 rats and a large number of dressed moose, elk and buffalo hides were transported from here to a waiting market. The first settlers came just after the turn of the century and turned to ranching. Three of these ranches still existed in the 1960s and two were affected by the creation of the Libby Reservoir.

More settlers came in 1912 on the basis of the "B.C. Farms" land development scheme begun by a firm of Edinburgh lawyers. Colonel Stewart, who was in charge of the project, had a large area cleared and many fruit trees planted. Many of the young Englishmen who came out to settle returned to fight in the 1914 war. When Colonel Stewart and many others were killed in action, the enterprise was abandoned. But others came to create small farms. There was also a lumber industry between 1910 and 1960 but at the time of dam construction the area was primarily agricultural.

Given the rural nature of this area, it is not surprising to learn that loss of livelihood was a major concern, particularly for the twenty-six ranchers of the area who became "victims of the great Columbia River Treaty" (Jacobs 1968, 10). This situation must have been particularly difficult for men who had come home from World War II to settle in the valley, only to see the Libby Pondage occur (Kootenay c). In 1951 United States Senator Stanley had told the ranchers: "You will not lose a dime - we will pay you big American

dollars" (Jacobs 1968, 3). But the ranchers claimed that they had been losing for a long time prior to the dam construction. Because the project was under consideration, the Government recognized that expansion of the ranches through Crown grants of land would cost money when it came time for expropriation. Hence Crown land sales were terminated. In reaction, Jack Aye, who was a community leader for many years, who had ranched in the Sand Creek area, on the borders of the Kootenay River for thirty-one years, and whose comments at the International Joint Commission hearings seventeen years earlier have been previously quoted, stressed the cost of uncertainty:

After World War II up till quite recently, ranchers anywhere but here could expand. Some of them bought crown land at \$3 an acre, which they could develop; others got additional grazing permits, or leases, or S.U.P.'s. We couldn't do anything. If we had been smart, we would have sold out then and taken our chances somewhere else. We kept thinking next year we'd know what the score was and we might be able to make a deal.

Another thing works against us...this area is dead if you try to sell it. Who would pay any real money for a place along here, knowing that it could be flooded at any time? Who would lend you money to buy a place? The few places which have sold, have traded under value – really at ridiculous prices. When the government does come to expropriate, they're going to look at these low prices and figure that's what our land is worth. And how can we put a value on what is lost in the last 20 years because the government hasn't let us expand our units? (Jacobs 1968, 3).

Aye also stressed the difficulties in moving a ranch: "They don't seem to realize a man's time is worth something. We can't move at the drop of a hat." And he felt that it would be too costly and time-consuming to begin again on land above the flood-line, particularly since this land would have to be irrigated (Fernie Free Press 26 September 1968). The ranchers felt that they should be able to relocate in as favourable a position as previously, with room for expansion, and on the basis of the number of animals which they owned.

Others too suffered from loss of livelihood where they combined ranching with trapping or working as a licensed guide or where they had a

small business. One told how after the Libby Dam was built and their highway access was cut off, they sold nine cups of coffee in sixty-six hours in their small coffee-shop. The appraiser subsequently estimated that their loss was close to seventy per cent of their normal income, yet their final settlement was sixty-five per cent of the amount recommended by the appraiser (B.C. Water Resources Service November 28, 1974).

Beyond loss of livelihood, my review found a whole range of meanings for loss of home associated with loss of family, familiar surroundings, and community. These feelings are particularly strong for persons who lived in the area for a long period of time.

The loss of familiar surroundings is expressed particularly well in one letter where a woman described in detail what she and her husband would lose:

My home in ... was 900 sq.ft. living area-2 bedrooms each 12' x 14' approx., lge. living room, lge. kitchen & dining area, plus an 8' by 8' bathroom. A 16' x 24' approx. Cement building attached served as our Basement, a Garage, our own Well that we dug, & very good water. The house had a screened verandah right across the front, approx. 8' x 30'. The house was well insulated so was economical to heat in winter and kept cool in summer. My husband re-wired the whole place, including our basement, the interior was completely finished with wallboard, trim etc. and all floors newly covered.

At first they were told that they would not be affected and then that their house would have to be moved, but then that it was immovable being two-thirds cement; and the letter continues:

In Oct/70 he came with the Papers stating that I would be paid \$5,128.00 and that was a Final Offer, for ~~my~~ our Home (B.C. Water Resources Service April 24, 1972).

These letters express both the pride which people have in their homes and the work which they undertake to make them comfortable. It is also interesting that in the latter quotation the word "home" is capitalized in the same way as the more legal terms "papers" and "final offer".

Besides loss of the physical structure which had been altered to each resident's needs, loss of home also meant loss of family and community. Persons attending the Kootenay Symposium recognized that before the reservoir was formed, there was a community and those people did not want to leave. One person stressed the special generosity of the people of this area. Another felt that breaking up the social fabric of the community should have a price tag too, just as it did with the restoration of communities in Los Angeles after the race riots. But many people did leave the area entirely and now are forgotten. A few people remain, but they feel that new people do not become so involved in the community. One speaker, from the generation after those directly affected, noted that many of their relatives lived south of them and when the valley was cleared, they were the only ones left. Family histories were lost (Kootenay c).

Loss of home is particularly hard for persons who have lived in the same area for much of their lives. One couple affected by the reservoir had lived in their ranch house for 50 years. Another said "All my working life I have lived right on this ranch. Where are you going to find a place like the one you grew up on?" (Jacobs 1968, 54). Others lost only half their land but it was difficult to begin building a new home on the same lot where they had lived all their lives and one person felt that "It looks as if the government's policy is to drown us out like gophers and then if any survive keep making excuses until we die of old age" (B.C. Water Resources Service January 12, 1972). It was perhaps easier to just give up in these circumstances: "Sure, its hard uprooting yourself after living in the same place for years," he said, "but I don't have much longer to go, and I'll let the younger men fight the government" (McCandlish 1971).

For older persons, the effect of stress and uncertainty was particularly evident:

"There have been some elderly people around here who died of worry," she said. "Ownership seems to mean nothing to the government. Its so unsettling not knowing what we are going to do in the future" (Vancouver Sun 1972).

...his Health is failing and he is worrying himself sick over our situation. He repeats "if I should die tomorrow, you haven't even got a home" – which I know a lot of people don't have. But we did own a comfortable Home ... & did not owe a cent to any one. We have had this terrible debt over our heads & heavy on our hearts for 1 1/2 yrs. now, and it is surely showing. We need help and we need it now...It is mental anguish to write this, but I am at my wit's end. Please help us (B.C. Water Resources Service April 24, 1972).

Some people became ill or were very disturbed by the negotiations process, finding difficulty in coming to terms with the reality of the situation (Kootenay c). A Forest Service crew member who was sent in to burn the evacuated houses tells of one occupant who simply left all his furniture and departed the night before his house was to be destroyed.⁷ A negotiator for the Highways Department reported that his presence caused agitation and upset, as if the proposition to buy-out a home had come too suddenly, and he felt that a week or two was needed to allow people to mull over the proposal (B.C. Water Resources Service January 6, 1972). A negotiator acting on behalf of the ranchers said: "It is a deplorable situation. They are driving the hearts and minds out of those poor ranchers" (Farrow 1971). At the Kootenay Symposium, it was suggested that compensation should be given for the stress of forty years which had hung over their heads and those of their children (Kootenay c). In the final analysis, however, another delegate recognized that money doesn't replace the things you had (Kootenay d).

The previous section discussed the meaning of loss of home. However, in my review of the information gathered about the creation of the Libby Reservoir, one effect is more clearly demonstrated than all others, that is, the problems associated with the process. These problems may be generally described as: the difficulty in finding a new home and appropriate land and particularly the cost; problems associated with the method and length of negotiations; and finally, the uncertainties surrounding expropriation and

compensation. Negotiations were still ongoing in 1972, when full operation of water storage behind the dam was to start on April 17, 1973. Hansard of March 10, 1971 indicated that there were thirty-four properties purchased between December 31, 1970 and that date and that agreement had not been reached with thirty-seven owners. Hansard of March 2, 1972, just over one year before full water storage behind the dam was to occur, indicated that forty-seven properties had been purchased since December 31, 1971 and that there were twenty-four owners with whom agreement had not yet been reached. In late 1972 there were still fifteen settlements to be reached, including four families whose homes would be inundated. It must be acknowledged that British Columbia's expropriation laws left much to be desired at this time; however, much of the problem can be attributed to the split in responsibilities between several government departments. The confusion which this engendered is summarized by Leo Nimsick, then Minister of Mines and Petroleum Resources, when he wrote to the lawyer of a constituent:

I find many of these problems very difficult to analyze because there is so much hearsay evidence and very little written down in black and white. A big mistake was made at the start of this whole affair when the negotiations were not placed under one negotiator and with the power to buy the people outright by written agreement. Now I find that many of the people are saying they were promised things and the people to whom they refer deny any of it. If I were in this situation I would apply to the Government to buy the balance of my farm and get out of it altogether because it will be very, very difficult to try to build up a viable farm on the bench land without proper grazing rights (B.C. Water Resources Service, May 11, 1973).

For persons who were to be displaced, it was difficult to find a new home and to deal with disposal of existing assets given the conditions of uncertainty surrounding the Libby Reservoir project. One person complained that an offer had been made for the purchase of his ranch in 1969 in the amount of \$50,000. This included land, buildings, machinery, as well as 8 pack horses. At the last moment, he said, he pulled out of the deal mostly because he had not found a suitable homesite (B.C. Water Resources Service

January 6, 1972). Another land owner wanted to build on the same lot above the reservoir safe-line. Because the cost of services would be very high if he did this, it was recommended that he should relocate closer to Wardner. He rejected this notion saying:

I have considered it but private land is now selling at \$1000.00 an acre so I am forced to keep my bench land and build there. I have a good spot for a home already serviced by B.C. Hydro but will lose about 1 mile of access highway which will be as much as 12 feet under water when the Reservoir is full. That highway has been in continuous use for over 70 years. It is only reasonable to expect the government to replace that road on higher ground like they did for the Waldo and Newgate people (B.C. Water Resources Service March 8, 1972).

The length of time which it took for negotiations is very apparent. Presumably some of this delay arises as some choose to hold out, hoping for the highest price. Nevertheless, it is a part of the process of losing home which cannot be ignored. Three examples follow:

Two years ago I received your Interim Report on progress of Libby Reservoir Preparation. On page 2 item No 5 you state that Negotiations have been started with B.C. Hydro and B.C. Telephone in the matter of compensation for dislocation of services on account of the Libby Reservoir. Now as soon as the snow melts the Libby Reservoir will begin filling and I would guess that over two years should have been time enough for your negotiations...I finally received my official offer on my ranch from the Cranbrook highwaymen and it is less than three years income on my ranch and not enough to replace the Utilities which I am going to lose. It is more of an insult than an offer...My neighbours south of me have no negotiations until they come with their offer in one hand and the expropriation papers in the other... (B.C. Water Resources Service January 12, 1972).

Correspondence continued with this individual through 1974 with the negotiator concluding that the person's "demands are far in excess of anything approaching market value and hence we have no alternative but to cease negotiations... Confidentially, I feel that part of his excessive demands are because ... he looks forward to a good fight with the Department of Highways... intends to push to the limit and get everything he can." In April, 1974 a final offer was made which was acceptable in terms of buy-out but the land offered in recompense was short by a number of acres so was not

acceptable. A lawyer acting on behalf of the individual then attempted to settle the matter before it went to arbitration. A settlement was finally reached in 1977.

Another couple wrote to the Highways Property Negotiator in April 1972:

We have sold down our cow herd, we have spent our savings, the water is backing up, Hydro is planning to take out the power within the next month, and the Department has the gall to ask us to sign a document to commit us to spending \$30,000 of our settlement for our flooded property [for a new property] before we can get the balance which is \$13,700. This we find very hard to accept.

This property was the subject of lengthy negotiation and much correspondence, as summarized below:

In October, 1968 an appraisal was completed and the results were to be sent in several months. However, no offer was made on this appraisal. In February, 1969 another appraisal was made while three feet of snow were on the ground; an offer was sent two months later. As this appraisal was not acceptable, the owners asked for a breakdown of the appraisal and were told that this would only be given in court. They were told they had a year to make up their minds and at this point they applied for Crown land as they wished to remain in the area. Between 1969 and 1971 the owners had several approaches from private land surveyors one who said that "they could force their way on [to the land] if they desired." In October 1971 the owners were given access [denied in previous requests] to 1968 and 1969 appraisals but believed these were in error. In November, 1971 a Highways official "presented me with Mr. Penny's appraisal in one hand and expropriation (sic) papers in the other. That is their terms of negotiations. Following the expropriation the Forest Service wished to clear the property." (An eight page letter goes on to explain the difficulties regarding the establishment of an agreement the owner wanted about funds necessary for the re-establishment of the ranch operation, purchasing cattle in the fall, retaining grazing priority and the terms under which the money was to be paid for the land which was flooded.) The letter closes: "I would like to continue to make a livelihood for my family...as I believe there are enough people on welfare already."

In August, 1972 further correspondence from the government indicated that negotiations

were carried on in good faith and that successful application for tenure of 155 acres of Crown land "represents an unusual bonus which could prove of considerable value within a few short years." By October 11, 1972 negotiations were still not complete. The B.C. Water Resources Service response indicates that an offer had been sent two weeks previously, but on October 23 the owner wrote again to say that the offer has not been received. When it did arrive the offer was not acceptable, as another letter sent to Highway's Chief Right of Way Agent on November 3, 1972 (B.C. Water Resources Service (1972)). There the file ends.

Yet another person complained regarding appraisal and settlement offers, including the presentation of one expropriation offer during a wedding reception, and two offers where the lawyer was described as arriving late in the evening and intoxicated. This circumstance led to an article in the Vancouver Sun (Farrow 1972) titled "Rancher vows he'll stay put until dam floods his land" from which the following excerpt is taken:

The waters of the Libby Dam pondage are steadily inching toward the home of an 86-year-old pioneer rancher near here.

But Henry Sharpe is determined to stay until he gets a satisfactory settlement for his flooded land. He is one of 13 individuals and three companies still trying to reach agreement with the government over compensation for their property... "My husband's going to stay put in our ranch house until the water comes," said Mrs. Sharpe Saturday. "If he doesn't stay there the government might come in and burn it down - they've done that to other people."

Underlying all of the difficulties for those persons who did not settle until the very last was their firm belief that the government did not appreciate the value of their land. Appraisals were based on specific criteria (B.C. Water Resources Service June 2, 1972).⁸ While the appraisal guidelines may have tried to create a fair process, many of the ranchers eventually hired an independent appraiser from Calgary because the government-appointed appraisers did not appear or their valuations were considered unfair. Comments to the Water Resources Service included the following:

I have had no attention paid to my appraisal, instead I have had to deal with people that appear to have no idea of the value of ranch land, refuse to meet with my appraiser, and prefer intimidation type of tactics when dealing with the people. (B.C. Water Resources July 6, 1971)

I know our property isn't one of the ranches in that area but it is costing us just as much to get relocated as it is anyone. All we are asking is the price for another house and well, is that too much? (B.C. Water Resources Service June 2, 1972).

And the people who haven't settled can't afford to for the offers they've received. There are discrepancies of \$30,000 to \$40,000 between the prices offered and what the people believe their property is worth (Farrow 1971).

But to counter this, the lawyer for the Highways Department, who grew up in the valley and recognized the bitterness of the "victims," insisted that the prices were fair :

The trouble is that people have become bitter over being uprooted and not knowing where to go. But simply because someone is sentimentally attached to a place doesn't mean that we can give him an extra \$50,000 of taxpayer's money...Sure, I'll try my best to work out some agreement with a landowner. But it's got to be justified. You can't put a price on sentimentality. Its simply a case of public good taking priority over individual rights (Farrow 1971).

At least one person agreed with the government lawyer, because in response to the complaints about valuation, he wrote a letter to the Editor of The Sun in which he said "It may be hard to give up his home, but I don't think he should say that the government underpays him" (Wester 1971). This statement seems to underlie the apparent belief by many that while it is difficult to give up your home, such an action is acceptable, given adequate compensation. In the end, given the momentum which develops around major project construction, it is often this question of compensation which forms the basis for resistance by the victims rather than any feelings about home.

Resistance is frequently led by one or two individuals. A speaker at the Kootenay Symposium meetings held in Cranbrook on June 4, 1993 paid

tribute to Lloyd Sharpe, describing his "valiant effort" on behalf of the ranchers, but, in the words of the speaker, "it was bigger than all of us." Sharpe was spokesman for the ranchers and fought against the project for many years. Today, I believe he carries with him a long term mistrust for government (Kootenay *d*, pers. comm.) In particular he objected to the length of time that the negotiations for expropriation took and the values placed on the ranches. When asked to discuss the benefits of what had happened, one delegate at the Kootenay Symposium said that it "brought out how little power people have" and "the need to tell future generations to fight for everything...to put in a wide open process for negotiation...and legislation which will protect individuals – the common thing is for the common good." The speaker felt that the "common good" would always prevail over the rights of individuals.

5.6.5 Victims' Sense of Who Benefitted

Persons affected by the project were particularly concerned about the need for fairness in the process given that it was others who benefitted. Many felt that: "We're being thoroughly and completely shafted by the government of British Columbia" (McCandlish 1971). Reflecting on this, thirty years later, one person noted that in the 1960s bigger was always better and it was this belief that set government priorities; now our value system is changing (Kootenay *c*). But returning to the time when the dam had just been constructed, on August, 1975 a letter written to Donald S. McDonald, Canadian Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, after hearing MacDonald address the dedication ceremony that day, said:

Do you think it is justice to take away a man's livelihood and let him starve to death when you agree that the Columbia River Treaty was such a benefit to the rest of the people? We are not arguing over payment of more money. We want less than their offer but we want to farm our own land when there is no water there and we want to retain our priority on grazing rights on crown range

just like my neighbours did when they settled (B.C. Water Resources Service August 27, 1975).

Another wrote to Leo Nimsick, M.L.A. regarding a proposed "Access Act".

The excerpts below also demonstrate the sense of trespass which extends from simple crossing of property to domicile:

Hunters and fishermen go where they please without an act – even when there is a valid reason for denying access at certain times to certain property and they are asked politely not to go in they swear at you and the abuse is something let me tell you. About the only property they don't make their own is one's house, so far they haven't entered the house though shots have been fired at it (the house)...Politics has become a complete negation – nothing is done for what is right or for the good of the country. Just figure out what will keep me in power, and by all means throw the money around – give me, give me. When its all added up, who pays?...

But when there is a reason to take care of a few people with not enough votes to interest anybody there isn't any money, so the story goes....The act passed regarding Libby basin gives powers "to take" any property needful but not one word about payment – no money mentioned (Nimsick April 2, 1968).

Nimsick's response is interesting and certainly represents a politician's answer to the question of who benefits:

When you state that I have not been interested in the problems of the people who are flooded by the Libby Dam, I am also a little taken aback. I am sure that you understand that I am a Member of the Opposition, and do not have the final say in the policy as to the buying out of those people affected. Nevertheless, I have, through questioning the Government both on the floor of the House, and on the Order Paper, and explaining to them the wishes of the people, contributed something, I hope, to a solution and which will assist the farmers during the period that is coming up in the near future when these properties will have to be bought out ... It is difficult to give you a complete picture of what our rural representatives must try to do. He has got to be interested in the common good of all the people, not on just one section, and while some people may think I have failed in this regard, it has not been due to want of trying (Nimsick April 4, 1968).

Or, put another way, on behalf of an individual who, with his family,

had ranched in the area for approximately fifteen years, on a farm which had existed in the area since 1912: "It does seem fair to suggest that when a man is expropriated innocently, as was the case, then everyone should move over a little to let the victim carry on as he desires" (B.C. Water Resources Service January 8, 1973).

There was another side to this story, however, perhaps best spoken by someone who might benefit. A real estate agent and local mayor in the area was quoted as saying: "It's a shame that good farming land is to be flooded. But I think the benefits of the dam will outweigh the negative factors" (McCandlish 1971). And even those affected directly can apparently view the situation in perspective. A speaker at the Kootenay Symposium remembered a rancher telling him that "a few have to suffer so many can enjoy a better quality of life" (Kootenay c). It is this apparently common understanding which justifies a greater examination of the question of who benefits in the next section.

5.7 Who Benefitted – Regional to International Perspectives

Examined in isolation, it would appear that feelings about loss of home engendered by the Columbia Treaty projects might have been sufficient to at least sway the choice of projects, particularly given that alternative choices were available (for example, see comments by Buehler at the IJC hearings in 1951 and Figure 5.3 (although the significance of environmental damage under this scenario is noted)). We need to understand why resistance failed in these situations and who benefitted from dam construction. In fact, the issue of benefit in the "public interest" or "common good" took on a whole new meaning in the context of the Columbia negotiations. Any resistance which did occur was simply not seen as significant against the background of the negotiations for the Columbia River Treaty. This fact strengthens the need to tell the story of those who lost their homes, as has been done in

previous sections.

Swainson (1979) has touched on the theme of benefit indirectly and provides some initial guidance regarding the national and provincial perspectives. With regard to the American interest, he cites the work of John Krutilla (1967), and Krutilla's belief that "had the United States pursued a policy of enlightened self-interest in the late stages of the Columbia decision-making, and had it restricted its assessment of participating in cooperative development to the economic consequences directly attributable to it, then it would not have become a party to the treaty as it finally emerged, but would have provided much of the additional storage in its own section of the watershed" (Swainson, p.5). This is an important issue given that throughout the negotiations of the Treaty, the Canadian team had focussed on the economic benefit of the projects to the United States and therefore on recapturing the "downstream benefits."

The Columbia River Treaty as it finally emerged recognized that the Canadian Treaty projects – Duncan, Keenleyside and Mica – as well as the Libby Dam in the United States would increase the energy output and dependable capacity of the American power plants (Province of British Columbia *a* 1993, 5). In return, Canada was entitled to one-half of the additional power generated by the power plants as a result of storage in Canada. The calculation of this entitlement is determined six years in advance and is based on the amount of power that would be produced by the American plants with and without the Canadian storage. Because this power was not required in the 1960s, these benefits were sold back to American utilities for a thirty-year period for US \$254 million. The expiry of this thirty-year period is fast approaching with nine percent of the entitlement to return in 1998, forty-six percent in 1999, and forty-five percent in 2003, based on the date of completion of the various Canadian dams. The entitlement is now

expected to be much larger than was predicted in 1964 and the Province of British Columbia is considering alternatives to the return of this power at a point near Oliver, B.C. which was agreed to in the Treaty. These alternatives include agreeing to a return of power at sites other than Oliver, permitting the United States to pay for alternative power sites in British Columbia, or reselling some or all of the power (Province of British Columbia v 1993, 3,6).

Turning to the provincial government, and the benefit which the Columbia River projects would bring, Swainson (p.22) identifies three overall government policies which were of importance to this situation:

- 1) fiscal restraint and the elimination of provincial debt
- 2) the establishment of a reputation as a government which would get things done, and
- 3) projecting an image of large-scale thinking.

While the second and third of these policies may appear to be merely image-seeking rather than substantive policy, any discussion of benefit must recognize that it was these policies, above all, which were the major benefit which finally accrued to the provincial government of the day from entry into the Columbia River Treaty. While there was financial advantage, it was more than eaten up by new hydro-electric construction. It is only today that the fourth benefit, from Bennett's prediction regarding the future demand for power, has the potential to be fully realized as the downstream benefits return to Canada (Swainson 1995, pers. comm.).

But newly available material enables a further examination of benefit beyond the creation of an image. My review suggests that benefit from the Columbia River Treaty projects took two main forms: first, benefit in the public interest (social and economic benefit as discussed above including flood control); and second, benefit to those who hold political, bureaucratic

and individual power. Not unimportant in considering the latter category is the creation of a sense of achievement and therefore enhanced self-esteem for those in power. While a discussion of such an intangible benefit is difficult to portray, its existence has often occurred to me as I have observed the personnel changes which occur in the control of government projects. Where individuals are successful in achieving control, just as in the business world where the benefits are more frequently monetary, there are benefits in terms of prestige and knowledge of goals achieved. This sense of self-esteem contrasts sharply with the losses experienced by the victims of domicile and therefore seemed important to highlight.

The following sections explore this theme through reference to the activities of several actors in the debate surrounding the construction of the Columbia projects who represented various perspectives: Guy Constable (Columbia Valley regional interests), James Ripley (national interests), and General A.G.L. McNaughton (national and international interests). An added benefit to this examination is the opportunity to understand their motives, in the same way that the letters and statements from persons who lost their homes help to create a portrait of their reactions at the time.

Guy Constable promoted the Columbia River project because he felt it would best benefit southeastern British Columbia. From his arrival in Canada until his death in 1973, Constable involved himself in many facets of the life of the Creston Valley and Kootenay District. Prime among his interests were the development of the Columbia-Kootenay watershed and the reclamation of the Kootenay flats. He was a frequent contributor to the International Joint Commission and was eventually appointed to an advisory group to that body in 1947. Constable was an Insurance Broker, a Stipendiary Magistrate and Juvenile Court Judge and Secretary of the Creston Dyking District.

At a meeting on April 13, 1964 of the Associated Boards of Trade of Southeast British Columbia, Mr. Constable, aged eighty-three, was honoured for sixty years of service with the Chambers of Commerce and as a "charter architect in the development of the Columbia." At the same meeting, Constable presented a Resolution which requested British Columbia not to use the Columbia flood control payments from the U.S. to build Mica Dam but to use them for the development of Southeastern British Columbia.

This motion was typical of Constable's significant interventionist style on behalf of his region and representative of the level of influence which he applied. Of similar nature was a letter written thirteen years earlier to the Honourable George Spence, Chairman of the International Joint Commission, in which he deplores the delays which were occurring in the Libby Dam project (Constable *a*, 1/18):

At both meetings, it was represented by us our concern with respect to the somewhat delaying attitude of the British Columbia government with regard to the Libby Dam proposals ... The Premier was assertive that we had nothing whatever to worry about but our confidence in this was somewhat shaken when he said that he did not know too much about it all, and that we should go into details with Mr. Kenney [provincial Minister of Lands and Forests].

Constable was most apologetic to Spence in this correspondence saying that he felt unsure as to whether he should be reporting this information about the British Columbia government.

When that letter was written, continuing delays in the Libby project had begun to receive public attention. Gen. McNaughton, Chairman of the Canadian Section of the International Joint Commission, speaking in Vancouver on October 28, 1951, said "We cannot afford to take a short term outlook on the development of our water resources. I want to be sure. I want to make a recommendation to the Government that will have the support and confidence of the Canadian people." A letter in the Province (October 28, 1951) echoed this thought: "But let us not jump at the bait too eagerly. Let us

look this power gift horse of Mr. Dill's in the mouth and see what sort of animal it is. Let us not sell our heritage for a mess of dollars – depreciated dollars at that." A number of letters in this vein led Constable to write with concern to Spence, suggesting that this would cause delay and unnecessary cautiousness by the bureaucrats in Victoria regarding the Columbia Basin development (Constable *a*, 1/18).

By 1952 Spence and Constable were on first-name basis and Spence was writing to Constable to see what difference the shakeup in the B.C. Government would make (January 31, 1952). There was a flurry of correspondence and a phone call between Spence and Constable when Constable suggested introducing a resolution to the Board of Trade chiding the B.C. Government for not getting on with the dam. Spence advised otherwise. Again Constable wrote to Spence on December 24, 1952 because B.C. Electric had been placed on a Committee to discuss the dam construction: "...it is with much dissatisfaction that B.C. Electric are again in the picture. A protest is being made by the Associated Boards of Trade that East Kootenay and its interests has no representation. In my opinion and that of many, the Libby situation has been gummed up for months by people obsessed with power ideas and viewpoints to the exclusion of all else" (Constable *a*, 1/18).

The delays of which Constable spoke were caused by the continuing discussions regarding the benefits package associated with dam construction and contributed to the deadlock over the Libby application which was to continue for seven years. During this period Constable was not idle in his promotion of the interests of south-east British Columbia. At a general conference of the Pacific Northwest Trade Association in 1958, Constable was successful in putting forward a motion that a committee of the Association should "be appointed to make such investigation of the existing differences between the two countries concerning the further development of the

Columbia River System" (Constable a 11/7). The minutes of a meeting of the Water Resources Committee of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of South-Eastern British Columbia held in Creston, December 2, 1959 and attended by Constable are also of interest in their portrayal of the perspectives of the business community on the construction of Libby Reservoir.

The meeting was called to discuss a statement by Ray Williston, Minister of Forests and Lands, that "you present your case as to your special interests and no matter what the rest of Canada thinks we won't give a licence for anything detrimental to south-eastern British Columbia." The following are excerpts relating to the proposed flooding of home taken from a meeting which Constable (C) attended with colleagues Stewart (S) and McMynn(M), and from which the minutes extended to nineteen pages (Constable a 11/1). In a microcosm they represent the debate between those who benefit and individual loss:

S: We must speak with one voice. We should see that everybody gets some benefit and nobody is cut completely out of it.

They then discussed the effect on game organizations and their belief that the dams could be built in the United States with less conflict than in Canada but acknowledged that in British Columbia there is not the conflict between public and private hydro-electric power developers.

S: This area here would be flooded out, so that would be a small community lost (Waldo?). It is a lumbering community from both sides, but chiefly from the Newgate side. This would be under water and wiped out, not too many families, but you are dislocating people, withdrawing from the community a settled community which is gone forever.

M: There are several areas here supporting several communities. You can relocate one on this side and one on this side.

S: This will be under flood and they will be only too happy to sell out and leave. These farmers in this flood area now, their biggest hope is that they will get a big enough recompense to go.

C: 42 settlers. 6,688 acres of private land and 4,400 common land.

S: Actually, this is an active community, both from the point of view of farming

and lumbering, in this area, going either through Galloway or Fernie. You close that off and they are going to Wardner and to Cranbrook. You are going to change the economic picture in that area.

They continued discussing the possibilities of tourism and problems of reforestation. In discussion of the Big Sand Creek area:

- S: The dislocation to your agricultural land can be disregarded. With irrigation, they could get up on the bench and be better off. We should not worry about them except for adequate recompense. It is going to dislocate the economy of certain areas that are at present partially dependent upon them.

The discussion continued regarding changes to road patterns and hence the economy:

- S: Some will gain and some will lose. We have to say " You are going to lose now but we can see a future gain for you." We must show the gain as well as the loss. Most people are not as well versed as we are. You have to show both sides.

- C: This country was built up by giving each place its place in the sun. I am not going to say that the whole of British Columbia will benefit, but we are entitled to our place in the sun. Canada will never be strong by sacrificing one part of the country to another.

...

- C: As far as farming is concerned, these farmers will have to move to a higher level, but with irrigation they will grow more hay than they do now.

- S: These farmers are going to pack up and get out and you are going to lose twelve families. That is the thing. You have to point out that there is a possibility of irrigation.

- M: Part of the conditions of flooding would be that they would supply irrigation regardless of the cost.

...

- C: Well, if you follow the thing like I have you will find that McNaughton's thinking is just simply of power and he is just obsessed with power (rather than economic benefits to S.E.B.C.)

...

- S: Everyone is going to say "How is this going to affect me." They look at it from one point of view.

- M: I was talking to someone from Trail and they said, "I don't think we should protest too much. We should be willing to sacrifice something for the whole." Look at the St. Lawrence Seaway.

- C: Yes, but when they got through they had something left. When they get

through with us we will have nothing left.

- S: They moved those communities and when they finished they were better off than before. Here you are going to wipe out a community, probably small or dying, but there is nothing to replace it.

The group was in favour of development of the Libby Dam but not the Arrow. They discussed the possibility of flooding of the Arrow foreshore:

- M: I think it's just like all the rest. I think if some land agent offered them far more than they ever expected to get, they would be glad to sell out.
- S: That's true down our way. They hope the recompense would be far more than the land is worth and as far as they are concerned the Libby dam can't go in soon enough. The land is such that they can make a living while they can work it, but otherwise they have nothing.

Constable then had a significant part in the creation of a resolution at the Special Convention of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of South-Eastern British Columbia at Nelson, B.C. on February 13, 1960 (Constable *a*, 10/3):

The Associated Chambers of Commerce of Southeastern B.C. (Guy Constable, Chairman of the Water Resources Committee) recommend that the High Arrow not be constructed unless the Government of British Columbia show to the people of Southeastern British Columbia that High Arrow will be beneficial to Southeastern British Columbia.

They further recommended that, if built, the project's benefits should be returned directly to Southeastern British Columbia for: the development of irrigation and reclamation projects; recreational facilities in town, rural and wilderness areas; rural electrification and reduction in power costs; roads and bridges; restoration of historic sites; facilities for encouraging interests in arts and crafts; and other projects. They also recommended that Libby and Mica Dams be constructed first, then Downie Creek, Revelstoke Canyon and Murphy Creek, Bull River and Duncan Lake. These feelings were echoed by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Southeastern British Columbia on November 19, 1960 when they put forward a motion that "the Chambers of Commerce must insist that benefits derived from storage and power must be used for further development of our area"(Constable *a*, 11/4). At this point

Constable must have found it necessary to ensure his alliances, for the files have an undated note from K.N. Stewart who was Chair of the Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce saying: "May I state, Guy, that you have not 'overstayed your welcome'. It is important that we have as much strength as possible at meetings concerning the Columbia. The views of big power interests and industry at the coast are biased, as are we also, but we have a right to be heard and considered"(Constable *a*, 11/4).

Constable extended his intervention to higher levels in 1963 when he sent a telegram to the Honourable Lester B. Pearson, c/o President Kennedy, Hyannis Port: "Associated Chambers of Commerce of Southeast British Columbia most anxious to see development of Columbia River for power and flood control under Treaty Agreement expedited by all possible means, etc. Respectfully urge that discussions with President Kennedy embrace in particular clarification by United States of its position as to high level dam on Kootenay River near Libby state of Montana whereby its construction will be assured and not left optional." A handwritten note from Constable in the file says that this was wired although minutes of the January 28, 1963 meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce indicate that the motion to send it was defeated (Constable *a*, 10/4).

That Constable, as one-time Secretary of the Creston Dyking District, should support the development of the Libby Dam is not surprising in view of the words of the Honourable Member for Kootenay West, Mr. Byrne, in the debate in the House of Commons regarding referral of the Columbia River Treaty to the External Affairs Committee (Canada 1964, 606):

The Creston flats are many square miles of land and contain some of the best soil on the North American continent. Due to floods that usually come every 10 years the people there suffer the danger of losing their entire crop and buildings. The Libby Dam will provide flood control for the area, and will enhance the land values by some 50 per cent, or even higher. The people in Creston have been waiting many years for this development.

The previous section, describing the untiring efforts of Guy Constable to promote the regional economy of southeastern British Columbia, has been included to serve as a counterpoint to the viewpoint of the victims of the Libby Reservoir flooding. It is, in essence, representative of regional interests which focussed on the question of which dams should be built, not whether the dams should be built, and quite simply overwhelmed any protest which arose from the residents of the South Country. The following section will briefly explore the issue of "who benefits" from the perspective of provincial, national, and international interests.

The issue of who benefits from these viewpoints is illustrated by reference to the activities of two men who were closely linked in their allegiance and their perspective. James Ripley was the editor of the Engineering and Contract Record and for many years researched the Columbia River Treaty in order to provide material for his own publication. In addition, he acted as an unofficial aide for General A.G.L. McNaughton who was a distinguished engineer and led the Canadian Army in Europe prior to 1943.

James Ripley took a particular interest in the Columbia River Treaty, travelling throughout the Columbia Valley to see what the development might mean to the area and meeting with government leaders and officials in British Columbia and Ottawa. His reasons for so doing were his concern as an engineer that public information on the Treaty was conflicting, his belief that legislators who had to make the decision did not have understandable technical information, and because, "as a Canadian, I wanted to make sure that this treaty is the best for Canada, and that it protects our resources for our use now and in the future" (Ripley 1962, 33). His travels and various meetings, often recorded by detailed notes, provide some insights into the making of the final Treaty. These notes show the powerful position of British

Columbia public servants who clearly recognized the beauty of the area to be flooded but who, in the end, recommended a decision based on the public interest. The notes also provide some inkling that there were people in the Valley who privately favoured the Columbia River development. In addition, General McNaughton's influential position is revealed as is the view of Premier Bennett and the strength of his personal vision for British Columbia. Of particular interest are the meetings described below.

In 1962, Ripley met with British Columbia officials including Bassett, Deputy Minister of Lands who said that he wished he could fly over the Kootenay valley with Ripley to show him what an attractive valley it is, the "only one," and that it should not be flooded; with Comptroller of Water Rights Paget whom Ripley described as "emotional, pro-U.S., anti-East, anti-Fed., and perhaps anti-Bennett." Paget was very emotional about the valleys, and said that he had offered to rebuild the community of Arrow but that "They [the community] said (privately) No. Wanted out for 50 years." He also said that the Kootenay farms were no good and the Arrow farms worse. Ripley reports that Paget believed that it was necessary to make a decision in the public interest and that people have no right to know the reasons for government decisions.

During a meeting with General McNaughton on July 11, 1962, Ripley noted that McNaughton said: "the U.S. negotiators were the slickest bunch of coons that ever came down the pike. They had no ethics in mind except what was good for them...Senator Stanley...of the U.S. told McNaughton if he signed he could turn the first sod... When Paget discovered that High Arrow was a bigger and better version of Kaiser, they climbed about. Skim the cream and to hell with the future....Paget...said B.C. interests lie with U.S. To hell with anything east of the Rockies...." This is perhaps too harsh a picture of the bureaucrat whom Swainson (1995, pers. comm.) remembers for his

excellent understanding of the projects and for carrying on even when unwell. However it was typical of Ripley's journalistic style.

In a meeting on August 3, 1962 with Lloyd McCallum, who acted as a liaison between McNaughton and the negotiating team for the Treaty, McCallum said of the General: "A great Canadian. He reached such a position of prestige that we were ready to name the dam after him. To his credit, he has kept out of the press except for one outburst when he was fired He was against the treaty from the start, not just because he was fired He has a fertile mind. Also great passion, gets involved deeply in what he is doing. Something of an actor. The passion is still there but his judgement is failing. He would rather keep on fighting than win a victory. This fight is his whole life now. He carried the whole ball on this matter for years. He was advocate, judge, policy maker at the same time. The government had no policy and the General made it as he went along, saying, this is Canadian policy." And of Bennett, whom McCallum met early in Bennett's years as Premier: "Looked good then. Had a vision and wanted advice, would listen. He changed within a year, has no contact with his ministers. He could be more humble now. He is high-handed but maybe he is good for B.C. development. Men with vision sometimes distort everything to fit their vision."

General McNaughton, L.M. Bloomfield, a prominent Montreal lawyer, and Ripley met and "discussed attacking Bennett on grounds of private gain or treating the situation from political perspective...but Bloomfield insisted that any scheme he was involved in be free of political bias and that our case should be based on the logic of the case and not on the personalities or their failures." However, such high principles did not stop Ripley from commenting that: "Bennett wants to sell downstream benefits to build the coffers of Social Credit and also because he is a crook."

Finally, among Ripley's notes there is a letter dated September 17, 1962

from The Hon. E. Davie Fulton, federal Minister of Public Works and chief negotiator of the treaty in which Fulton summarizes the benefits of the treaty which include an immediate financial gain which would finance the construction of the Mica dam and low-cost power on the Canadian reaches of the lower Kootenay River.

Of all those who played a role in the Columbia River Treaty, General McNaughton certainly played a leading one. His focus was on who should benefit from the perspective of the Canadian interest and this discussion is most succinctly seen through review of an interchange of letters between McNaughton and the Honourable Paul Martin, Minister of External Affairs just prior to the final ratification of the Treaty and Protocol by Parliament. McNaughton set the stage for the discussion when he wrote to Martin on July 18, 1963:

too many people have overlooked the basic purpose of the treaty, which for Canada, is to secure the best possible development of the Canadian section of the Columbia basin. The U.S. has developed its section in its own way. Our essential objective must be to develop our section in our own best interest, then share with the U.S. the added benefits that stem from the cooperative use of water ... the particular interest of Canada has been subordinated by making the overall advantage of the basin the predominant motive.

He then went on to outline his specific objections to the Treaty and his support for the Dorr and Bull River-Luxor reservoirs. Martin replied on August 6, 1963 with a highly flattering preamble and a rebuttal of McNaughton's points:

On a subject of such complexity and concerning which there are so many divergent interests, it is inevitable that there will be bona fide differences of opinion among those who are genuinely seeking to move forward the best interests of our country. In the result an international agreement will reflect the composite of views rather than all the ideas of a single individual.

Your opinions on the Columbia River Treaty quite rightly carry a great deal of weight, not only with myself but throughout the country. It is for this reason that I am deeply concerned over your criticism of some of the provisions of the Treaty.

As no studies apparently exist which show the Columbia development within Canada to be a viable proposition at this time without international cooperation, a decision which made a Treaty impossible would be a most serious matter. The loss of employment possibilities and other economic gains now and over the longer future is a matter of great concern. However, this is a question on which we must take a decision and it is for this reason that I am particularly indebted to you for being so co-operative in providing both time and effort so that I may be fully aware of all facets of the problem ... I am more than ever impressed with the potential value of this great development. I do believe that co-operation in its execution, as contemplated by the Columbia River Treaty, is capable of providing benefits to both countries that are greater than either could achieve without co-operation.

McNaughton replied on August 22, 1963 that "the right of Canada to control our own waters within our own territory must be maintained, free of servitude," called for the appointment of an independent consultant to report on alternatives to the Treaty, and asked Martin to direct that a public hearing be held under the International Rivers Improvement Act in the Arrow Lakes and Windermere areas so that the government might hear at first hand the views of the people of the region. "Surely it is a requirement of simple justice that the people most affected shall be heard from before any definitive negotiation is entered into." This latter statement was the only mention of the victims of the Columbia River projects' flooding in this interchange of letters between two very influential Canadians. The correspondence continued with five more letters and on November 21, 1963 it appears that Martin was becoming tired of the discussion, for he writes:

The question therefore remains: are we to strive to obtain this last increment of Columbia River energy in spite of its cost when the owner of the resource is unwilling to do so and the incentive for the United States to provide the essential cooperation is considerably less now than it was three years ago?

Finally, after two more letters, Martin writes on January 21, 1964 that his mind is made up:

The long, and sometimes rough, course of the Columbia River negotiations seems to be reaching its end. It is only appropriate that I should now personally send you a folder recording the results.

Believe me, General, I have made every effort to take account of the many very

good points that you have made to me over the past several months in our conversations and correspondence. I am satisfied that the settlement which we are now making is the best attainable if the Columbia is to be developed at all As the government's principal negotiator in these closing stages I have had to take responsibility of judging what was negotiable and then I have had to bargain as hard as possible to get acceptance of our point of view. Generally, I think we have been successful. All in all, I am satisfied that the agreement which has been reached will be of great benefit to Canada and will fully protect our sovereignty.

As was inevitable at some point, the various power struggles, be they personal or political, had ended. Who should benefit was resolved in terms of hydro-electric power, prestige and money, in exchange for loss of home and environment in the Arrow Lakes and the South Country of the Kootenays.

The previous sections have been based largely on documents which existed from the time of the Treaty negotiation and project construction. Common threads which run through these documents were the significant delays and uncertainty which were experienced by the victims of the Columbia River projects. Much of the delay was caused by the lengthy period for study of these projects and for negotiation of the final agreement. Much of the negotiation was taken up with the issue of whether British Columbia would adequately capture the financial value of the "downstream benefits" which accrued to the United States as a result of project construction. The issue of the return of the "downstream benefits" to British Columbia leads directly to a consideration of initiatives begun by the people of the Kootenays and the provincial government in 1992. In particular, these initiatives are a manifestation of Smith's reminder quoted in Chapter Three: "When places die ... they are often believed to be no longer worthy of attention. But such places are still of importance to their residents and therefore when 'death' is a consequence of public policy...the implications have to be addressed as a matter of social responsibility" (Smith, 1992).

5.8 The Present – the Kootenay Symposium – and the Future

The existence of downstream benefits to be returned to British Columbia in the future and the belief of the people of the Kootenays that these benefits should finally return to the area which suffered from the construction of the Columbia River projects was the impetus behind the organization of the Kootenay Symposium in Castlegar, B.C. in June of 1993.

In order to provide a unified voice for the people of the Kootenay region, the Columbia River Treaty Committee was formed in 1992 to represent "the 260,000 people within municipalities, Regional Districts and Native Councils in the Columbia River Basin who have been affected by the building of hydro electric and storage projects on the Columbia River and its tributaries as allowed by the Columbia River Treaty" (Columbia River Treaty Committee 1993) to renegotiate the return of the downstream benefits, accruing to the British Columbia government, to the Columbia River Basin. The Committee included two members of each of the five regional districts and two members of the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council. The goals of the Committee are:

- 1) to forge a reasonable partnership with the Province in the negotiation process, a partnership that is mutually beneficial; and
- 2) to allow regional representatives to have a direct voice in negotiations and be active participants in the decision making process.

To prepare for this discussion at the Kootenay Symposium, I was requested to coordinate the development of responses from the various government ministries on their role in providing mitigation to the region at the time of project construction. This proved a challenging task given that

the corporate memory has been eroded by government early-retirement schemes. In the end, although this material was to have been provided to Symposium delegates, we settled for the presence of Ministry delegates to act as resource persons. To assist the various ministries as well as gather information for this dissertation, I attended four of the seven pre-meetings sponsored by B.C. Hydro, the provincial government and the Columbia River Treaty Committee (Kaslo, Nakusp, Castlegar and Cranbrook) and facilitated discussion in two of these meetings. My roles can thus be seen in the first instance as an observer-as-participant and in the latter simply as a participant. Meetings were also held in Valemount, Revelstoke and Golden where the primary focus was on loss of natural resources or transportation issues.

These meetings provided the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority with the opportunity to explain the current operating conditions of the Treaty dams and allowed those who attended, first in small groups, and then in plenary sessions, to discuss the benefits which had accrued from dam construction as well as its negative impacts, possible mitigation, and suggested future directions. This information was then collated by the Columbia River Treaty Committee for circulation at the Kootenay Symposium. The benefits were identified by the meetings as flood control, a short-term building boom, and improved recreational opportunities such as marinas or fishing. Beyond loss of homes, negative impacts which were identified included reduction of timber supply, loss of farmland, low water levels or extreme fluctuations, dust storms around the reservoir, reduced recreation and employment opportunities, effect on fish and wildlife, loss of road connections and climate changes.

For the future, the meetings called for regional improvements in the tourism infrastructure, new road linkages, community control over fish and wildlife funding, development of a major energy conservation program,

extension of revitalization programs to small and rural communities, development of educational opportunities, the installation of a natural gas line, and control over the water levels of the storage reservoirs. Although there was specific recognition at four of the meetings that there was loss of home and community as well as hardship caused by litigation to settle the claims, there was little public call for restitution to the victims of domicile. Following the meeting at Nakusp, however, Chris Spicer, a resident of the area who was displaced, wrote to the Mayor of Nakusp with suggestions for use of the downstream benefits entitlement including:

that the people of the whole area South of Revelstoke and North of Castlegar in all justice deserve financial recognition of the fact that they suffered all the damages and very few Of [sic] the benefits from the treaty projects, and they should receive the lion's share of the payments resulting from the downstream benefits. All agreed that it would be a travesty of justice if such money went into the general budget of the province or be used to reduce the provincial deficit (Spicer 1993).

The Kootenay Symposium sponsored by B.C. Hydro, the provincial government and the Columbia River Treaty Committee was held in Castlegar from June 18 to 20, 1993 to discuss the future of the Columbia-Kootenay Region and to plan for the use of the downstream benefits. This symposium was attended by three provincial government ministers, the Columbia River Treaty Committee, representatives from the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority and other provincial government departments, as well as nearly one hundred delegates hand-picked by the Treaty Committee and the provincial government to represent specific viewpoints. Of these, I recognized only four who were actually victims of Columbia River projects, although others may have been present but attended the Symposium to address the interests of specific organizations. The Symposium began with an open house to familiarize meeting participants with the Treaty, downstream benefits, the operations review currently underway by B.C. Hydro and an economic overview of the region. In the evening a retrospective

presentation was made by James Wilson and delegates to the symposium who focussed on the benefits as well as the negative impacts of dam construction. This was the major opportunity to relive the past, and the remaining two days of the symposium were used to look to the future of the region. During the retrospective session, I was an observer and on the next day I acted as a recorder while people defined their thoughts for the future. During informal discussions with other delegates, I became more of a participant-as-observer as I was able to explain my particular interests. On the final day I was again an observer.

The "Saturday Night Report" (Salasan 1993,1) which summarizes the results of this Symposium, recognizes that:

People of the Columbia-Kootenay Basin are deeply attached to the land, lakes and rivers. The changes brought about by the development of the Columbia River are not just matters of energy and economy but reach to the very roots of their sense of relationship to their homes and environment;

and recommends:

A successful venture into development for the future needs to be based upon a careful, sensitive and objective assessment of the impacts of past development and fair redress to the communities and people whose social, environmental and economic losses remain as sources of hurt, anger and mistrust. Redress should take the form of positive efforts to create long term wealth, not just short-term stop-gaps of distribution of funds.

This report suggests that beyond mitigation and economic reconstruction within the regions, a portion of the downstream benefits should be used in province-wide efforts to develop energy alternatives and to manage water for the purposes of British Columbians. Further, a Columbia River Basin Authority should be established to receive information and advise, consult and make recommendations to governments on the past, present and future issues arising from the generation of power in the Columbia River Basin. It is interesting to note that such an authority was promoted by the MP Hubert Herridge twenty-five years ago as part of the CCF political platform for

national planning in the belief that "some things are too big for private enterprise, and the Columbia Basin is one of these" (Hodgson 1976, 211).

The Summary Report from the Symposium dated August 1993 brings forward a number of specific proposals and includes general assurances from the provincial government that they will pursue the recommendations of the Symposium. Two statements are of particular interest to this dissertation: first, under the heading "Need for redress", the Symposium said that: "focusing too much on redress can be destructive and cause division"; and second, in the government response that "both government and BC Hydro must admit past mistakes, redress grievances and take actions to involve people in future decisions" and that "the trust may be lost but trust of future generations can only be built on actions, e.g. allocation of all or a portion of downstream benefits to a regional management authority" (Salasan 1993). These statements suggest that there is a recognition of the need for redress, but when viewed in the context of the whole Symposium report, this redress is seen to be interpreted as various forms of regional benefit.

In April 1994, the B.C. government indicated that it intended to pursue the creation of an authority, once it determined what funding is available from the downstream benefits. In November, 1994 these promises came closer to reality when the second Kootenay Symposium was held in Cranbrook, again sponsored by the government and the Columbia River Treaty Committee. By this time I had left the Water Management Program and become responsible for planning for the Islands Trust, the body responsible for land-use planning in the Gulf Islands. Because the conference organizers were aware of my interest in the Symposium from the perspective of my dissertation, they suggested I come to the meeting as a "resource person" to share my knowledge of one kind of special jurisdictional authority, the Islands Trust, as well as permitting me to gather more

information for my study. I therefore attended the Symposium as a participant and worked as one of the delegates during the process of determining how a Columbia River Authority should be structured, and what its terms of reference should be.

Symposium delegates were divided into small groups and with professional facilitators were given suggested questions to address such as the preferred mandate and scope for the proposed Columbia Basin Authority, the full spectrum of community interests that should be represented and how these should be represented as well as the question of how the directors of the authority should be chosen.

I believe that there was a considerable sense of empowerment felt by the delegates to the Symposium as a result of this process which recommended that the benefits be used "to restore, sustain and enhance the environment of the basin and hence the communities and society which depend on a healthy environment" (Cornerstone Planning Group 1994, 1). This sense of empowerment was somewhat dashed when the Minister Responsible for Crown Corporations and Economic Development, Small Business and Trade, the Honourable Glen Clark, presented a proposed government position during a lunch-time address. He suggested that the portion of the downstream benefits to be returned to the Kootenays should be returned in the form of ownership of new power generation facilities on the Keenleyside Dam and the funding of economic development projects. It was suggested that this would provide short-term job opportunities and longer-term financial benefit from the sale of electrical power. He indicated that B.C. Hydro was interested in this opportunity and therefore a quick decision would be needed from the Columbia River Treaty Committee. The reaction of the Symposium participants as expressed in the afternoon session was one of confusion given the open-ended nature of the morning's session but in the

closing comments to the Symposium this had changed to caution; they recognized the possible viability of Clark's suggestion but urged their representatives to undertake independent economic analysis of the proposal and to ensure that it met the guidelines for investment developed by the Symposium, despite the short time frame for decision.

In summarizing the options for immediate use of the downstream benefits, the interim summary of the conference proceedings found six: personal compensation, social development, environmental mitigation, investment analysis, sustainable planning and authority development (Cornerstone, p. 1a).

This raises the question directly as to whether any specific benefits will accrue to persons affected in the past during the creation of the reservoirs. At this point, it appears that there are unlikely to be any arising from this process. First, both Symposia were carefully organized, in terms of selection of delegates and agenda, to honour the past but ensure that the primary focus was on the future. In closing remarks to the Cranbrook meeting, the local government M.L.A. Corky Evans stressed the importance of having allowed the grieving process (through sessions revisiting past events), and reminded the delegates that thirty years ago a deal was made behind closed doors by Premier Bennett, Prime Minister Pearson and President Johnson. He contrasted this to the Symposium where the region and the province were talking through a window created by the Committee and the government. His comments appeared to indicate that this window would not be open very long. Second, the government faces a considerable dilemma if persons who lost their homes in this project, as opposed to others in the province, are compensated. It appears that, once more, the common good will prevail.

Since that time, there have been some interesting events. On March 8, 1995 I received an official invitation from Premier Harcourt and Josh Smienk,

Chair of the Columbia River Treaty Committee to attend an announcement of the return of a portion of the downstream benefits (\$1 billion) to the Kootenays. On May 16th, 1995 these hopes were dashed as the United States government suspended negotiations on the non-binding agreement which they had negotiated nine months earlier because power valued at forty-five dollars a kilowatt six months previously was now worth twenty dollars a kilowatt. At time of writing (August 1995) it is expected that the British Columbia government will soon announce that they will nevertheless honour their commitment.

5.9 Conclusions – Summary and Lessons Learned

The task in Chapter Five has been to examine all available materials, within the constraints described in Section 5.2, relating to loss of home through the creation of the hydro-electric storage reservoirs in the Arrow Lakes Region and the South Country of the Kootenays. The primary purpose of this chapter was to test the validity of the definition and concept of domicide through an empirical study, and in particular: the meaning of home and loss of home; the parameters of domicide including process, motive and benefit; the reaction to loss of home; and the means by which those affected were planned for.

Reflecting on all the material examined, I find a significant degree of similarity between the findings of previous chapters and those of this empirical chapter. Figure 5.7 relates the findings of this chapter to salient aspects of previous chapters, in particular the meaning of home and the

1. The Meaning of Home	Arrow Lakes	South Country	Case Studies' Comments
1.1 identity	X	X	"becomes part of you"/loss of family histories
1.2 "where the heart is"/attachment	X	X	sentiment for home/nation
1.3 source of memory, nostalgia	X	X	apple trees in the South Country
1.4 family/community	X	X	small community lifestyle
1.5 centre			
1.6 shelter	X	X	"our Home"/"roof over my head"
1.7 freedom, escape, refuge	X		serenity of Arrow Lakes' region
1.8 rootedness	X	X	historic continuity
1.9 security/possession/source of livelihood	X	X	emphasis on loss of land/property rights
1.10 marketable commodity	X	X	many just sold and left the area
1.11 source of livelihood	X	X	farms built up to production level
2. Process of Domicide			
2.1 proponent	X	X	B.C. Hydro/Bonneville Power Authority
2.2 motive: socio-economic uplifting	X	X	justified hydroelectric development
2.3 justified in the public interest	X	X	hydro power benefits
2.4 victims disempowered	X	X	no transport links in Arrow Lakes
2.5 victims not really consulted	X	X	no real public hearing - Arrow Lakes
2.6 law, bureaucratic regulation	X	X	Columbia River Treaty
2.7 common good rhetoric	X	X	citing American interest
2.8 compensation/mitigation	X	X	programs announced
2.9 compensation difficult to establish	X	X	uncertainty, lowered values
2.10 ineffective resistance	X	X	resistance to choice of projects only
2.11 paternalistic attitudes	X	X	the "omniscient presence"
2.12 domicile threat disbelieved	X	X	even after surveying began
2.13 grief, health affected	X	X	some deaths
2.14 adapt with little help to new situation		X	little relocation assistance
2.15 difficult to develop land again	X	X	ranchers, farmers
2.16 hostility to government	X	X	hostility to B.C. Hydro
2.17 long period of uncertainty, unease	X	X	twenty years of uncertainty
2.18 sense of helplessness	X	X	project too big to fight
2.19 significant planning for relocation	X		B.C. Hydro

Figure 5.7: Case Studies: Comparison to Previous Chapters

process of domicile. It is clear that home for the residents of the Arrow Lakes and the South Country meant choosing to live in a beautiful place with a strong sense of community and for those who worked the land, a strong sense of attachment and identity. Loss of home meant loss of environment, identity, community, livelihood, a beautiful place, familiar surroundings, final home (grave), land, security, initiative and health. The loss of historic continuity, the sense of being rooted, was also felt. Both valleys had been settled for over fifty years and while they might have seen better economic times, there was a quiet sense of prosperity to come.

The process of domicile in the Columbia River Basin has been compared to the conclusions of Chapter Three. Many aspects are similar: project construction justified in the public interest (socio-economic benefit grounds and flood control); disempowered victims (years of uncertainty; long-term grieving and some effect on health); paternalistic bureaucracy (particularly in the International Joint Commission hearings); a sense of injustice on the part of the victims in relation to those who benefit; a sense of bereavement and bitterness; and problems with appraisal and compensation.

The case studies have provided particular insight into the issue of loss of property rights. This was very serious for those who lost both home and livelihood. As Million (1992) demonstrated, there is no more significant tie to home than that which exists for those who work the land. Recalling the definitions of property in Chapter Two it is interesting to note that Denman (1978, 108), when examining property systems embodying absolute forms of property rights, places the American ideal of the family farm square in the middle as the unit of family work. This may explain why it was particularly the ranching community which protested the construction of the Libby Dam Reservoir. Finally, it is again found here that, once slated for destruction, home became primarily a marketable commodity to be given up in return for

what people hoped would be fair compensation. Perhaps it is in these moments that the victims of domicile, unconsciously, attempt to achieve the true monetary value of their "embodiment of identity" (Million 1992, 153). In the circumstances of the case studies, it is apparent that for some, this value was not, and perhaps could not, ever be realized.

There were also some specific differences between the case studies and the discussion developed in earlier chapters. In particular, in the Arrow Lakes, the loss of an environment of great beauty was frequently cited and is mourned even today. The sense of home as centre and the effect of loss of home on identity were not as clearly established as I had hoped. However, aspects defining centre were evident: references to refuge, freedom, possession, shelter and security. As to identity, from persons who spoke at the Kootenay Symposium, I sense that their experiences over thirty years have caused them to forge a new identity both for themselves and for their children.

The differences between these case studies and the findings of previous chapters may well be explained by the following factors:

- 1) this research was almost totally based on the examination of written records rather than interviews, such as those undertaken by Million (1992), and therefore the opportunity to prompt subjects to provide more details was lacking; as a result, less depth is found in discussions of meaning of home;
- 2) most of the records reviewed were from a time prior to or during the final loss of home, a time when naturally there would be little opportunity for deep reflection on what loss of home meant;
- 3) the records in existence are from a very small sample of people

who actually lost their homes, and usually from persons who resisted the destruction of their homes;

- 4) in many cases loss of home meant loss of both home and livelihood for farmers or ranchers, rather than simply loss of a dwelling; the emphasis is therefore often on loss of land rather than the physical structure of home.

It is noted, however, that comments made at the Kootenay Symposium, by those who lost their homes thirty years earlier, echoed the thoughts of those who spoke at public hearings and through letters to the Water Resources Service at the time of project construction.

In reviewing the process by which people lost their homes there were also some factors which were more clearly delineated than in the previous chapters. These included: public hearings which did not really deal with the people in the area (IJC hearings, 1951) or were undertaken after the real decisions about project location were taken (Comptroller of Water Rights, 1961) and therefore enhanced the sense of grievance and bitterness felt by those who lost their homes; the longer period of uncertainty prior to project construction which affected individuals who wanted greater certainty as to their future ("You are worse scared than hurt") as well as lowering property values when property deteriorated while treaty negotiations were underway; the sense of entrapment given that period of uncertainty; the sense that people were always waiting for a message from afar (Victoria, Ottawa, Washington, D.C.) which would seal their fate; the difficulties which arose in the South Country given the number of players involved in reservoir clearance (various ministries, many private appraisers); and, finally, the apparently constant belief that the victims must bend to the common good - hence the lack of focus on the victims, particularly in the South Country.

In regard to the latter, this chapter has explored in more detail than in Chapter Three the issue of who benefits from project construction. Certainly there was benefit to communities and rural areas which no longer flooded; to American industries who required electrical power; and benefits will be forthcoming to the British Columbia government and therefore to the Kootenays, in the form of the return of the downstream benefits. It is also suggested that benefits included an increase in the self-esteem, based on the achievement of goals, of a number of people holding political, bureaucratic and community power, a concept not dissimilar to that of the "evangelistic bureaucrat." Finally, this chapter touches on the significant planning efforts made by B.C. Hydro to provide mitigation to those who would lose their homes: meetings, advocates, publications, surveys, community relocations; community financial assistance; and new infrastructure.

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate the salient characteristics of the process of domicile. To a lesser degree, it has demonstrated what loss of home means. While the research might have gained from the opportunity to interview persons who lost their homes, the contact which was made with these persons during the Kootenay Symposium in 1993 and 1994 confirms the underlying sense of bitterness which lingers on even after thirty years. This bitterness is tempered by the desire and the strength for new beginnings and the recognition that the public interest can be viewed as a positive element. Nevertheless it is clear that more could have been done for the "victims" of the Columbia River projects. In this connection, Chapter Six will examine the process of planned change and the means by which planners and others, faced with the responsibility for changes which involve domicile, can better plan for and ameliorate its effects.

Endnotes to Chapter Five:

1. This section on project development is derived from an article by Larratt Higgins in the Financial Post, January 31, 1970 which reviewed Donald Waterfield's Continental Waterboy. Higgins was an economist and associate, along with James Ripley, Editor of the Engineering and Contract Record, of Gen. A.G.L. McNaughton. Donald Waterfield's Continental Waterboy also provides background.

2. Besides the able local opposition led by Donald Waterfield and the Nakusp Chamber of Commerce, there was national resistance led by General McNaughton and by the Columbia River for Canada Committee. Others included the group of 24 engineers led by Richard Deane of the Kootenays. Also see J. Ripley (1964) "Informed observers condemn treaty" in "The Columbia River Scandal," Engineering Contract and Record, p.58, 59. The James Ripley file in the University of Victoria Archives preserves much of the written record of this opposition, including a massive collection of press clippings. While it might have been expected that the opposition would contain comment on the plight of the victims, in fact, opposition was solely on the basis of the choice of project to best protect Canadian interests.

3. The Take Line was generally located one hundred feet horizontally from the Flood Line, except when the embankment slope was 1:10 or steeper in which case the setback was to be located ten feet vertically above the Flood Line. (B.C. Water Resources Service File 0178369A 1969).

4. This section is based on notes taken at the meeting by a Forest Service employee and a subsequent Progress Report prepared by the Water Resources Service (File Date: September 19, 1968)

5. Notes taken by K. Borneman of the Forests Service at the public meeting.

6. Borneman file, film no. 13, photo no. 18, taken near Flagstone, June 23, 1969.

7. Discussions with B. Bugslag of the Water Management Program, 1993.

8. Appraisal criteria were:
 1. Appraisals of ranches were based on market value by comparison with similar holdings in the Kootenay area and Animal Units were used as a common denominator. Valuation was on carrying capacity including fences, irrigation, range permits, and leases. Equipment, if not being kept by the owner, was to be appraised at market value. Ranchers were to look after disposal of cattle themselves.

 2. Smallholdings were appraised at market value based on sales in the immediate area and in the Cranbrook-Kimberley area.

3. Partial compensation was to be available soon after an agreement and was expected to cover the purchase of raw land. A substantial sum was withheld until clear title was conveyed and possession given up. A substantial sum was to be added to each appraisal to take care of expenses.

9. The material for this section is derived from Waterfield's Continental Waterboy, chapter 15 "The general's last stand" which includes excerpts from this interchange of letters, as well as from copies of this correspondence found in the Ripley papers, Box 7, held in the University of Victoria archives. The Honourable Paul Martin also tabled this correspondence at the hearing of the External Affairs Committee of Cabinet.

Chapter Six: Planning for the Victims of Domicide

It is not what they built. It is what they knocked down.
It is not the houses. It is the spaces between the houses.
It is not the streets that exist.
It is the streets that no longer exist.

It is not your memories which haunt you.
It is not what you have written down.
It is what you have forgotten, what you must forget.
What you must go on forgetting all your life...

from "A German Requiem"
James Fenton (1983, 11)

6.1 Introduction

Based on the knowledge gained from previous chapters, it is suggested that the process of domicide and the effect on its victims are serious phenomena which deserve recognition in just the same way that many environmental arguments have received world-wide attention. Sadly, such knowledge is unlikely to prevent the occurrence of domicide which will continue to occur through major project construction or at the behest of authoritarian governments. Nevertheless, since recent literature (Ruitenbeek and Cartier 1993) and general precautionary principles in the environmental arena suggest that there may be a threshold beyond which project development should not be permitted, the phenomenon of domicide should be considered when reviewing the potential scale of cumulative effects and uncertainty in distribution of costs and benefits. Further, where projects which will cause the loss of home are to proceed, it should be recognized that there are improvements which can be made to the existing processes discussed in Chapter Four. In particular, the following sections will address improvements to the use of public meetings and hearings, social impact assessment, and planning as well as suggesting a number of processes to augment those presently being used.

6.2 Improving Existing Decision-Making Processes

The first step is to decide whether domicide-producing development should occur at all. In this regard there are a number of improvements which could be made to existing decision-making processes.

6.2.1 Public Meetings and Hearings

Public meetings and hearings are two quite different processes: the first is for gathering information; the other is the quasi-judicial hearing stage prior to a final decision. Nevertheless there are some improvements which could

be made which apply to both. Both should specifically allow a period for hearing persons who will be directly affected and financial assistance to permit attendance. Where these persons cannot attend the meeting or hearing, an independent assessor should be charged with providing a record of their views. Adequate notice of meetings or hearings should be given and every effort should be made to ensure that the actual event is conducted in a non-threatening, non-legalistic atmosphere. An information meeting summarizing the material gathered during the process of project development should be held for hearing participants just before any formal public hearing. In this way, those who are charged with the task of approval or non-approval would have one final chance to decide whether they have adequate evidence on which to move to public hearing.

6.2.2 Social Impact Assessment

Social impact assessment is the area of anticipatory planning which appears to require the greatest attention. Assisting decision-makers who may have little difficulty arriving at personal opinions to arrive at a decision in terms of social values is the challenge (McAllister 1980, 9). Cost-benefit analysis has been used in this regard but relies primarily on monetary values and fails to represent equally all the people of the present generation as well as the interests of future generations (p.261). The Roskill Commission hearing on the Third London Airport was an example of the use of cost-benefit analysis.

To rectify this situation, it is suggested that full-cost accounting, and particularly social-cost accounting, be used as a method for valuation. There is currently insufficient knowledge about the value system of community and neighbourhood (Korsching et al. 1980, 336) and, I would add, about the individual whose home is being destroyed, and how this system will condition adjustment at time of relocation. Korsching (1980, 336,337)

recommends gaining knowledge about this value system through the use of a modified Delphi technique, where the "experts" are, for example, members of the group who will lose their home, or by the use of a nominal process in which a group, individual by individual, creates a list of their concerns in communication with a group leader, and then prioritizes these concerns. There are disadvantages to this process. Those affected by domicile might feel ill-equipped to assess impacts where a solid background of scientific knowledge is involved or might find it difficult to participate in such a process in view of the time involved. Nevertheless it is suggested that in the context of the Delphi system, or in social-costing discussed below, using "experts" from those affected should be essential to augment other input.

Social-costing is an area in which the British Columbia government is taking some leadership and which should be used in social impact assessment. During 1993 and 1994, the government sponsored three conferences on the issue of social costing (values for intangible goods). While these conferences were directly aimed at broadening the scope of traditional cost-benefit analysis in relation to environmental issues, the conference proceedings recognize the need to achieve better enunciation of intangible values:

By working with people, by informing them of the issues and assisting them in evaluating the trade-offs associated with the problem at hand, there is increased willingness to participate in the surveys. As well, this approach escapes the need for market information and does not require people to pull a price out of their head which is the premise of the contingent valuation methodology. Overall, this approach answers the right question; that is, given the context of social diversity, it deals with the question of the loss to our society and our region for a given decision and informs the nature of compensation for environmental damage (McDaniels 1993, 21)

The current focus of these discussions is on environmental factors and on methodology. Some persons champion the cause of contingent valuation (willingness to pay for public goods is measured) (Kahneman and Knetsch

1990, 57-70), while others favour multiple objective approaches (people are asked to consider one value relative to another) (McDaniels 1993, 21). In the latter approach valuation is the final stage of a five-stage approach in which the "objectives" which matter are clarified, alternatives are structured, the impacts of alternatives are analyzed in terms of the objectives, trade-offs associated with the alternatives are clarified, and then the alternatives are evaluated. There is an opportunity for participation by those who would be most affected at each of these stages. The importance of this type of valuation is the recognition of externalities and so to the lengthy list of impacts (on resources, the environment, land use, health, regional economic structure and aesthetics, for example) can be added impact on individuals of loss of home, surrounding landscape, and community, including the impact on future generations. While the subject of social cost-accounting in relation to social impact assessment would require much greater consideration, it is simply suggested here that this emerging field may provide some guidance to persons who must determine whether projects will proceed and under what conditions.

6.3 Softening the Blow

Should it be determined that domicide will inevitably occur, there appear to be some practical improvements that could be made to current planning practices. Foremost, projects which will result in loss of home should recognize this at the outset and plan for this circumstance throughout the process – not just at one stage such as the public hearing – and should permit adequate time for the determination of compensation and remediation.

The following sections describe three measures which could be useful as part of a planning process by those who attempt to soften the blow of domicide. Possible improvements to the planning process in general are then

discussed as is the suggestion that people should share in a project's benefits.

6.3.1 Training in Coping with Dying and Grieving

Peter Marris's Loss and Change (1974) suggests the importance of studying bereavement as a source of guidance in dealing with the victims of homicide. More recently, considerable literature has grown up around the subject of death and dying in response to an aging American society (for example, the re-publication of Kübler-Ross (1992)). Marris's book examines the transition which occurs during bereavement, rehousing and other situations where change is significant. In each of these situations it was necessary to overcome a desire to restore the past and each has the common thread of loss and grieving.

What is significant in this discussion is the need for planners to learn that the victims of homicide must go through processes similar to the stages of dying and experience the characteristics of bereavement. Kübler-Ross has identified the stages of dying as including the following (p.34-121):

- 1) initial denial replaced by partial acceptance;
- 2) anger, the 'why me' question;
- 3) bargaining for longer life through the undertaking of certain acts;
- 4) depression; and finally
- 5) acceptance, if the patient has had sufficient time to come to terms with his or her condition.

In a less structured manner, Marris portrays bereavement as "the irretrievable loss of the familiar"(p.23) and describes the various symptoms of persons experiencing bereavement to include restlessness, exhaustion, illness, a withdrawing from people, a feeling of aimlessness, guilt, hostility, an inability to surrender the past and a clinging to possessions. Three general reactions include a desire to escape from everything connected with bereavement, a

worsening of physical health, despair, and a refusal to mentally surrender the dead (p.28). Marris further suggests that bereavement occurs, not because of the loss of others, but because of the loss of one's identity, and that intensity of grief is closely related to the intensity of involvement, not of love (p.33). It is important to accommodate all of these factors when trying to assist persons who must lose their homes. As Chapters Two, Three and Five have shown, there is a significant link between home and identity and this link is almost always stronger where there is greater involvement in the creation of home, for example, where a person has worked the land.

Another perspective is provided by Cohen and Ahearn (1980, 73) who suggest that when persons lose their home to a natural disaster the following characteristics may occur:

- 1) loss of self-confidence and inability to deal with the new situation in which they find themselves;
- 2) a sense that everything in the future will result in failure and therefore feelings of guilt and shame;
- 3) feeling "singled out" by the disaster even though they can see others in a similar situation;
- 4) feelings of resentment when help is not forthcoming from those they expect to help;
- 5) increased dependence on others ; and
- 6) loss of faith in group values.

Where the victims of domicide differ from the victims of natural disaster is in their additional feelings of directed anger. Their fate is not caused by an "Act of God."

Marris (p.16) believes that survival in any situation depends on the ability to predict events. Such prediction is most successful when we are placed within a context which we understand, within the structure which

each of us has learned from past experience. Simpson-Housely and de Man (1987, 3) corroborate this finding in their studies of natural disaster victims. They confirm that knowledge of personality traits and response to natural hazards enhances understanding of human appraisal of the hazards concerned. In essence, "life will be unmanageable until the continuity of meaning can be restored" (Marris, p.41) and until we learn that what has been lost can still give meaning to existence (p.149). On the other hand, Aiken (1985, 245) argues the need for a substitute for the loss in the form of: a reliance on religious or philosophical beliefs that stress the future; intensification of old social relationships or forming new ones; or becoming actively involved with other activities. Either way, a successful return to normality is the desired end:

Like death, the moment of transition is abrupt: the household wakes one morning in familiar surroundings and by nightfall is gone for ever. And as in grieving for the dead, all purposes and understanding inherent in those surroundings have to be retrieved and refashioned so that they still make sense of life elsewhere. If the new home is adaptable to their way of life, the adjustment is soon made – the same conventions of neighbourliness apply, the old patterns of shopping, meeting, visiting their counterpart in new spaces. The predictability of the new environment is not hard to learn, since it involves no radical revision of the past (Marris, p.57).

What has been learned most recently in studies of dying and of grieving is the need to help people during this time through listening, counselling and unconditional caring, through knowing when privacy should be respected and when intervention is necessary, through recognizing that conflict will occur, and through recognizing that both time and patience are required. All of these skills, utilized by trained professionals or lay counsellors such as social workers or hospice-trained therapists, would ease the transition when homes are lost and new circumstances accommodated. As Section 6.3.4 will demonstrate, these aspects are familiar to those who have studied the management of change.

6.3.2 Victim Impact Statements

The use of victims' statements arises from the criminal justice system and has been narrowly defined within that context to date. Since much of the literature on this subject relates to the procedures to be used and case studies of use, rather than the theory associated with use, this section is derived from discussions with Tim Roberts of Focus Consultants (Victoria) who is recognized as the provincial expert in this area.

From the 19th century, crimes were defined by the judicial process as between the individual and the state, so that the victim was excluded from any part of the trial. Victim impact statements were developed to permit the person who had been most affected to have some say in the sentencing of the offender, while the state retains the right of judgement based on facts. Two benefits accrue: first, the statements sensitize the criminal justice system to the essence of the crime; and secondly, the victim may be helped by the therapeutic aspect of having their story officially recognized. The use of these statements is now leading to victim - offender mediation based on a tradition of restorative justice which believes that relationships must be mended.

In the context of this discussion, victim impact statements would be used after the event, thus prolonging the compensation process, a fact which should not detract from their use but which should be planned for initially. Beyond the usefulness of victim impact statements to assist in the establishment of mitigation where people lose their homes, there is a problematic theoretical perspective. The concept of victim - offender mediation allows a closing of the circle. However, in the case of the victim of domicile, speaking to either government or a large corporation, there would always be the question of whether there was anybody "at home," at these levels, to close the circle and mend the emotional rents of domicile.

6.3.3 People's Histories

The creation of life histories as undertaken in the History Workshop movement and in family histories is a technique which could be effectively used from the stage at which it becomes certain that people will lose their homes. Life history has been defined as "the account of a life, completed or ongoing, the use of which can present an individual's evaluations of experience and give the context of experience" (Eyles and Smith 1988, 10). Plummer (1983, 13-38) identifies a number of different types of life histories including: the diary; the letter; "guerilla journalism" such as that of Studs Terkel where the lives of many are recorded and presented with little commentary; tape-recorded oral history; the "literature of fact", i.e. fiction based on factual events; studies of photographs and films; studies of inscriptions on tombstones; studies of a person's belongings, and critical self-reflection. Of these, however, the most successful are those in which people are able to tell their own story in their own way.

Porteous (1989, 232, 233) has noted how ordinary people have seldom created autobiographies. This has been rectified to some degree with new emphasis on the recognition of everyday life in the academic fields of history (particularly labour history), geography and planning. Family histories contain an evocation of place as well as the motivations of individuals. In this way they provide a valuable record of places which are to be destroyed and a source of memory. Cragg (1982, 48), in undertaking family history, acknowledges that "nostalgia has become a key to determining what I valued in the landscape and what responses prompted my emotional and imaginative growth."

Ebaugh (1988, 31-34) describes this process as permitting the experiences and definitions held by a person, group or organization to be interpreted by that person, group or organization. In so doing, it is possible to elicit the

different ways in which each person interprets an experience and therefore reacts in a specific way. In gathering this information, the sequence of events, social context of the events, interpretation by the individual, and reasons for individual reactions are all important.

It is also important to recognize the possible shortcomings of this tool, including the possibility that a person's memory may fade or that present experience may influence past experience. However, these records are likely to be the only ones that will ever be available and once again, perception is reality. The telling of life histories also has therapeutic value as a palliative measure. Encouraging the victim of domicile to provide information about their homes enables special recognition of their circumstance and comfort that someone is listening. Such histories will quite simply prevent "memoricide," the loss of individual feelings about a place which could otherwise disappear forever.

Victim impact statements and people's histories should be undertaken by trained folk/family/oral historians to be used in combination with environmental impact assessments and planning processes to more adequately tell the story of those who will lose their homes.

6.3.4 Planning

Planning for the future homes of persons who are to be relocated could gain much from using several techniques: integration of the social and environmental impact process with the planning process, use of public participation techniques including advocacy planning, and use of strategic planning and/or environmental dispute resolution techniques. In particular, the goal of this planning should be to minimize the uncertainty surrounding the time-frame and maximize the involvement of those who will lose their homes.

Lawrence (1992, 25,26) suggests that integration of environmental impact assessment (presumably including social impact assessment) would permit data, research and experience to be utilized fully in the planning process and as well would provide cost-saving by avoiding two separate processes.

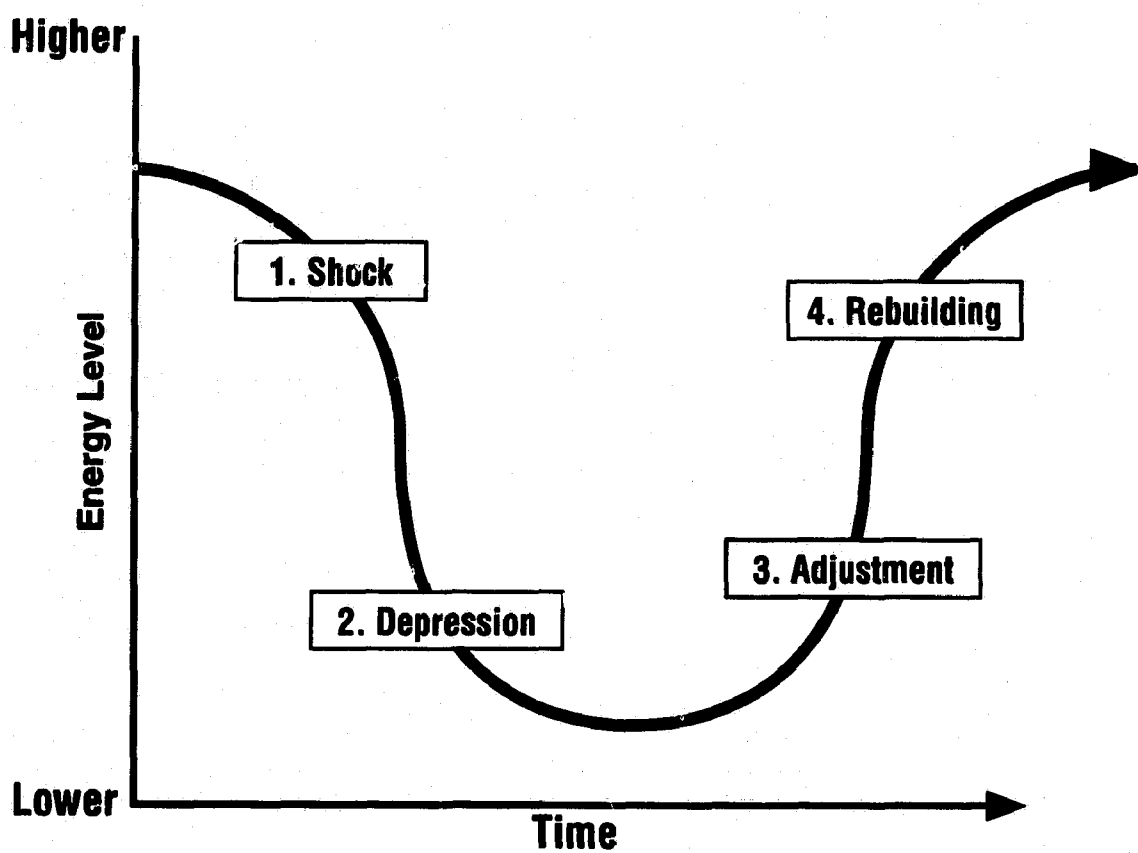
As with social impact assessment, and as illustrated in the work of Arnstein (1969), Fagence (1977) and many others, it is also crucial that the people most affected be involved in decisions about their future. To ensure this involvement, use of the nominal process to design implementation options is suggested, as is "fishbowl planning" through which brochures, public meetings and workshops continually revise and develop alternatives (Korsching, p.336). The Charette process could also be used in which citizens, planners, community representatives and politicians work together within a specified time frame (Fagence 1977, 301ff.). These methods could be augmented by other public participation tools such as attitude surveys and other means of provision of information and gathering of feedback. In particular, it is suggested that the appointment of an advocate, ideally where that advocate comes from within the community, and is a constant presence relating the interests of those whose homes would be lost, would be a useful extension of the concept of advocacy planning. A useful example of the success of such an advocate, albeit from outside the community, was found in the work of persons involved in participation research in sociology in North Bonneville, Washington (Chapter Four). The benefits of having people participate in decision-making are numerous. Marris (1975, 99) believes that: people lose their irresponsibility; improve their attitudes to administrators; sacrifice apathy or dissent; yet still interpret life as those without power would do. While this list may be overly optimistic, it is hoped that the definition of the project might change because of such participation.

Today it is unusual to be part of a large organization which has not been subject to some sort of strategic planning or change management exercise. For this writer, who has been involved with four such exercises, there appear to be a number of lessons to be learned which would be of benefit to those who must deal with the victims of domicile. While there is now an extensive literature on the subject of strategic planning (for example: Bardwick 1991, Mills 1991, Moss-Kanter 1983, Peters 1987), I have chosen to rely on the work of Stephen Haines of the Haines Group of San Diego, California, who has collated much of this work and thus used it in strategic planning exercises (Haines 1990).

Perhaps most important is the recognition of the "Roller Coaster of Change" which persons involved in change must go through. This phenomenon, which is very similar to and in part derived from knowledge about the cycle of grieving, is shown in Figure 6.1. During the period in which change occurs there are a number of emotions, similar to those experienced in bereavement, which people can be expected to feel and actions which they are likely to take. Upon the first impact or knowledge that change will occur the reaction may be one of shock, fight/flight or mourning. This may be accompanied by numbness or disorientation, a search for what is lost and a reminiscence for what has been. This stage is followed by a period in which there may be feeling of rage, anxiety, guilt, shame and depression. The focus is on the uncertainty of the future; in such situations people often appear perplexed. During the next period, the search for a new future begins and gradually hope returns and new energy is found.

Building upon the knowledge that the above reactions will occur, strategic planning sets out, through a series of activities, to engage the persons whose circumstances will be changed. These activities, which could be adapted for use by persons who must relocate to a new area, include:

FIGURE 6.1
THE ROLLER COASTER OF CHANGE



Source: Haines (1990)

- 1) developing a practical vision of the future;
- 2) analyzing the obstacles to achieving the vision;
- 3) determining the strategic actions required to achieve the vision while still taking into account the obstacles which exist;
- 4) determining the tactical actions required to carry out the strategies of the group; and
- 5) developing an implementation plan of "who, what, where, how, when" for each tactical action for the first implementation period.

This step-by-step approach has the advantage of breaking the tasks into small enough chunks that people can visualize success while allowing for plan revision at regular intervals. Overall, the success of strategic change is likely to rest on a number of factors:

- 1) the commitment of leadership;
- 2) the development of a vision by group leaders, shared and supported by the group, and which is comprehensive and detailed, positive and inspiring;
- 3) the ability to undertake strategies in the future, but to understand them through the past;
- 4) the recognition that people do not resist change but resist loss or the possibility of loss, and that it is necessary to permit time for mourning the loss of the current state; and
- 5) clear and continual communication throughout the process.

Processes such as strategic change which depend on social learning by community groups are expected to have a number of advantages (White 1987, 162-163). They permit the gathering of essential expertise from the people who will be affected; they create a momentum for changing government organizations and for promoting learning; and they increase the community's

capacity to contribute to the development and its capacity for effective action. There are, however, certain disadvantages which must be kept in mind, including: the problem that there is no possibility of "no change;" you are either in the process or you're out; the danger of achieving mere participation as opposed to involvement (the highest rungs on Arnstein's ladder (Figure 4.2)); the possibility that certain elites will dominate a process; and finally, the possibility that the process will be too complex for those who are already trying to cope with losing their homes.

Despite these difficulties, the use of strategic change processes appears to provide a number of strengths beyond those described above. They arise from knowledge that a loss will occur. They engage the participants in working towards a self-defined positive future. Here, knowledge of personality traits, as was discussed by Simpson-Housely and de Man (1987), would be most useful, for those having the best ability to deal with change would lead such a definition. Finally, they emphasize the importance of communication throughout the process and the setting of an implementation and monitoring schedule to ensure that what is planned will occur. Strategic change management should become part of the planning process and should include planners who have undertaken special training in this subject area. Use of strategic change management would have a number of strengths in dealing with the victims of domicile, including: its recognition of the stages of change which people must go through from the troughs to the high points of emotion; the use of visioning to plan for the future; and finally, and perhaps most importantly, the design of a monitored implementation strategy which should continue long after domicile has occurred.

Finally, it is suggested that when determining planning processes to be used, there are lessons to be learned from environmental dispute resolution

techniques. These techniques commonly involve the following characteristics (Crowfoot and Wondolleck 1990, 19):

- 1) voluntary participation by those involved in the process;
- 2) "face to face" interaction among the participants;
- 3) consensus decisions on the process to be used and on any settlement that may emerge (sometimes with the help of a skilled neutral).

While time-consuming, environmental dispute resolution techniques are seen as providing greater power and influence in the decision-making process as well as greater access to decision-makers. Individuals also gain new skills in negotiation, communication, active listening, group process and coalition-building as well as a sense of empowerment (p.255). These benefits would be very useful to persons who must change their home and sometimes rebuild their livelihood following domicile.

6.3.5 Sharing in the Project's Benefits

Ultimately, the most beneficial of tools to assist persons who are to lose their homes will be those which provide the greatest empowerment. Therefore to the list of those already considered should be added the possibility that the victims of domicile could share directly in the benefits of project construction. The creation of the Columbia River Authority discussed in Chapter Five suggests the possibility of creating benefits for those who were most affected, although this is not likely to occur. Certain practical difficulties may be encountered. For example, the benefits of project construction may take many years to realize, are often difficult to estimate, or may never materialize. Nevertheless, the challenge to determine the magnitude of such a sharing of benefits is not unlike the challenge presented by social-cost accounting and could create a bench mark by which to measure the effect of loss of home.

6.4 Conclusions

In summary, an essential future measure of success in dealing with the victims of domicide should be the degree to which their needs are recognized and accommodated in the process which leads up to a decision to go ahead with a project and, where projects are to proceed, the degree to which uncertainty and loss are minimized. Improvements to public meetings and hearings as well as to social impact assessment are suggested. Clearly, this is an area which would benefit from further research.

However, it is also recognized that domicide will inevitably occur. Thus the planning process which is undertaken to assist those who would lose their homes becomes all important and must involve those most affected. Learning from those who provide counsel to the dying and the bereaved, I recognize that the victims of domicide must go through both processes. At first there are the stages of dying: denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance and then the characteristics of mourning, tempered perhaps by the existence of a new home. These include: the desire to escape from everything connected with the loss, which many people in the Arrow Lake did; a deterioration of physical health, also frequently experienced by those who lost their homes; and finally, a refusal to surrender the dead. During the Kootenay Symposium meeting in Nakusp which was described in Chapter Five, someone told me of a woman who refused to leave her home and thus was transported with it to a new site. An understanding of dying and bereavement brings out the importance of building on the future within the context of the past, and the importance of "softer" approaches to the victims of domicide.

Two adjunct means for assisting the victims of domicide to come to terms with their fate, and thus, to prevent "memoricide," were examined. The collection of life histories ensures that what is left behind is recorded and

interpreted through the eyes of the victims. The use of "victim stories" shows some promise in helping to evaluate what has been lost. Each method suggested above provides greater recognition of the feelings and needs of those who would lose their homes and thus places the victims of domestic violence on the second set of rungs on Arnstein's ladder (Chapter Four).

Several techniques to assist planning processes were also examined. These processes place the victims of domestic violence on the upper rungs of Arnstein's ladder and in greater positions of power. In particular, the strategic change management provides guidance about ways in which victims of domestic violence might be engaged in building a new future. This approach recognizes that people do not resist change, they resist loss. Therefore the emphasis in change management is on envisioning a new future, recognizing the threats and positive means of getting to that future and establishing a firm program for implementation. In addition, the lessons to be learned from the use of community advocates, environmental dispute resolution and participatory research. Finally, the notion that victims who lose their homes should share directly in a project's benefits is introduced.

No single measure discussed above provides a sufficient answer. Some would be problematic where very large numbers of people must be removed to new homes. However, given the significant impact that loss of home has on its victims, such recommendations should provide a more positive response than is currently available.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

Intellect does not attain its full force unless it attacks power.

Germaine de Staël (1766-1817)

Influence of Literature upon Society

7.1 Introduction

Eliot's words which revealed the rose garden at Burnt Norton, for the first time, as the garden of childhood innocence are remembered at the end of this search for the nature of home and domicile. The search for the meaning of home has provided the essential setting for a description of the deliberate destruction of home and, through the use of case examples, an exploration of the belief that that which is lost is not only the physical place but also the intangible essence of home, the centre of our being, and significant aspects of self-identity. It is also appropriate because, as will be explained later in this chapter, during the preparation of this dissertation I returned after a long absence to my chosen career as a community planner. These concluding remarks will, then, following a review of the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology used in the creation of this dissertation, move to a brief summary of the dissertation findings. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of some emotional overtones of this research, the effect of this research on my career directions, as well as some suggestions for the work of planners. Directions for future research will also be explored.

7.2 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Methodology

In many ways the methodology selected for this dissertation has served the writer well. Given my professional, family and employment responsibilities, it was necessary to select a topic which would permit the maximum of desk research. As well, my position with the Water Management Program of the B.C. Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks gave me access to people and records which likely would have remained fugitive or by their nature would have been so fragmented as to prevent study. When it came to attendance at the Kootenay Symposium (described in Chapter Five), being on the inside allowed me a special insight. I was aware of government expectations and political reasons for the Symposium, the

need to turn negative feelings about the past into a situation where future government financial allocations to the Kootenay Region would be seen in a positive light. I was also able to observe how genuinely moved the politicians attending the Symposium were by the plight of the victims of the Arrow Lakes projects while at the same time being aware of the difficulties they would face through setting a precedent by giving compensation for something which happened in the past.

The particular method chosen for use in preparation of this dissertation provided a number of strengths. The overall approach whereby I began with certain generalizations, and then allowed the material I found to support or deny these generalizations, provided a framework for the discussion. The generalizations were, overall, supported. The use of numerous small case studies allowed me to demonstrate how various events and actors contribute to the creation of one phenomenon – domicile.

Review of the literature about "home" and the examination of written accounts of people's reaction to impending loss of home permitted reflection on their situation without the rather intrusive circumstance of questionnaires or interviews. I have come to believe that to request any "victim" to re-live their experience for the benefit of the creation of a dissertation may cause unjustifiable pain. This must be balanced, however, with the possible benefit to persons who would have their feelings aired in print. I must also say something about the method used for the creation of Chapter Three. This chapter frequently relied on the investigation of a multitude of secondary sources to create a picture of domicile. This approach, while perhaps less reliable and less objective than a small number of detailed case-studies, seems justifiable given the fact that I was trying to determine whether domicile is a general and geographically widespread phenomenon.

The chosen methodology also caused certain difficulties. In retrospect, I have wondered if the nature of home would have been better described had I narrowed my sources to fiction and poetry thereby taking advantage of their articulate nature and ability to crystallize experience. Secondly, my employment with the Province of British Columbia prevented me from interviewing residents of the Arrow Lakes and the South County of British Columbia at this time, and therefore, despite my misgivings regarding the use of such interviews, that richness is lacking. Finally, I can only contemplate the difficulties which the introduction of British Columbia's *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* will cause future researchers. Although I had collected much of my material prior to the introduction of this Act and had intended to focus on a number of individual "stories," I have attempted to act in its spirit during the creation of this dissertation.

7.3 A Brief Summary of the Dissertation Findings

This dissertation can be seen as an inevitable progression, starting with the need to establish the nature of domicile through first understanding the nature of home. While much has been written on this subject from many academic disciplines and in both fiction and poetry, Chapter Two provides a wide array of sources on which to base an evaluation of "home." The meanings derived from these sources are discussed within the five part framework which I developed: definition and history of home; spatial and physical aspects of home; symbolic aspects of home; psychological and social aspects of home; and exile or homelessness. Most importantly, it is necessary to recognize that home can mean many different things: outward-looking with a focus on centre including refuge, freedom, possession, shelter and security, and inward-looking with a focus on identity including family, friends, community, attachment, nostalgia and memory. All of these aspects of home interpenetrate and home is thus a spatial, psycho-social, symbolic

centre wherein resides at least a portion of an individual's, or a group's identity. These r any meanings can also coexist, without contradiction, within any individual. As well, these meanings provide the basis on which to suggest key factors which may characterize domicide: permanent destruction of home and surroundings; loss of security/ownership; restriction of freedom; erasure of the home of memory, dreams, and ideals; a memorial and nostalgia; de-centring; destruction of the home of acculturation; threat to family; loss of community values; loss of roots/history; loss of identity; and destruction of place of attachment and refuge.

Given these meanings, the scene is set for a discussion of domicide, the destruction of homes by human agencies whose actions are deliberate in pursuit of their goals, who frequently employ planning or similar processes in their actions, and who cause suffering to their victims who lose their homes. The subject of domicide has, until now, lacked a complete conceptual framework and Chapter Three was created to fill this gap. In so doing, a five-part framework is suggested: spatial scale and time; motive for domicide; proponent of domicide; type of victim; and degree of protest and remediation. Of these, the motives and goals of domicide appear to provide the most effective overall framework for discussion.

Domicide is found to have occurred throughout history at many geographical scales, on all continents and in most regions of the world. At the scale of the single home, what is lost is not only the physical manifestation but sense of place, meaning and social fabric which is the setting for that home. At larger scales of domicide, there are a more complex set of land uses and landscapes lost; a wider identity and a greater sense of belonging. Domicide will continue to occur given that the technological capacity for such actions continues to improve. The motives for war-time domicide include: revenge or leverage against another government and the

destruction of the identity of a hated foe. In peace-time these include: socio-economic improvement; protection of the environment; racist/ideological reasons; jurisdictional reorganization; the assertion of sovereignty and the acquisition of space for settlement. Each of these motives is justified by a common good rationale and some by a profit motive. Domicide is generally initiated and carried out by powerful elites; elites who may become major beneficiaries either in terms of consolidation of position, achievement of an ideological goal, or financial gain and who may be within a country at war, may be religious fanatics, a government entity, part of a local business interest group or a multinational corporation. These elites are often led by one individual having extraordinary power and may carry out their mission through the creation of a special authority with designated staff, laws and regulations, and special euphemisms to describe their functions and activities. Most often the victims are poor and/or disempowered and their voices are not heard in discussions of their ultimate fate. Their loss is as defined in Chapter Three but in particular they lose past history and future dreams, identity, property values and rights associated with property, security, social networks, and a sense of attachment and refuge. Some will become ill or die. The argument which justifies the destruction of home is frequently based on a belief that people will be better off following the destruction of their home because they are in some way disadvantaged at present or that greater advantage to others outweighs their needs. Resistance often occurs, but just as often it is ineffectual, and compensation may be given but this is not always the case. Having survived through long periods of uncertainty, the victims must then adapt through a significant process of change, often without help.

The findings of Chapters Three suggested that there was a need to review the variety of means by which the victims of domicile could be helped, given that domicile appears an inevitable circumstance of the future.

Chapter Four therefore reviewed the kinds of resistance to domicide which have occurred, from limited to major resistance, and the range of measures presently used to plan for or mitigate the impact of domicide. These measures, such as public meetings and hearings, social impact assessment, planning, and expropriation and compensation all have a place but could be improved by greater acknowledgment and respect for the lives of others, on the part of the powerful.

To further explore the theme of domicide, including reaction to it and remediation, two examples caused by the creation of hydro-electric storage reservoirs in the Arrow Lakes and South Country regions of British Columbia were described in Chapter Five. A significant degree of congruence with the findings of Chapters Two and Three is shown through these more in-depth case studies. Home was found to mean identity, emotional bond, family, community, freedom, escape, refuge, territoriality, rootedness, and security as well as being regarded as a marketable commodity and a source of livelihood. Home as a source of memory or nostalgia was less frequently mentioned given that most of the material I gathered dated from prior to the time of destruction.

The process of domicide described in Chapter Three was also found in the case study areas. The motives for reservoir construction included the perceived need to uplift the socio-economic circumstances of the people of the region, particularly those people in the United States. The construction was justified as being in the public interest because of the flood control provided, hydro-electric power which would be generated, and the concomitant boost to agricultural and industrial development. The victims who were to lose their homes suffered through years of uncertainty and were never really consulted in a meaningful way before the Columbia River Treaty was signed. While there was some resistance to the Treaty, people in the area

continued to believe that the project was too big to fight and that their politicians would protect them from their inevitable fate. For many, this belief was maintained over a period of twenty years while senior politicians negotiated the treaty, "planning blight" set in, and land values fell in the area to be affected.

In the end, construction of the project caused many people to leave the area. Of those who did stay, many had great difficulty in obtaining the compensation which they believed would be adequate and it was this focus on private property rights which became the centre for their resistance. This situation was particularly poignant for those who had worked the land and who saw a modest but bright future for the valleys. Some suffered serious health problems as a result. Most of those who stayed developed a strong hostility to government, particularly to the crown corporation which undertook the reservoir construction. The chapter closed with a brief discussion of those who benefitted from project construction be they economic interests, political interests, or those involved in planning the project who enjoyed enhanced self-esteem. This dissertation was not written to find fault with these interests or individuals nor to tell their story (which has been done better elsewhere (e.g. Swainson 1979)). To do so would show ignorance of the context from which these people came, the lingering impact of the depression years (Tester and Kulchyski 1994, 11), and the perceived need for economic prosperity, and as well would deflect from the story of those most affected.

Review of the experience of those affected does, however, lead to a reconsideration of the definition of the term "common good."

The old communities are disappearing, the old associations are gone and a leisurely way of life is dead. For this there can be no compensation in kind or in money, and to this extent the people of the Arrow Lakes are the victims of the common good (Hazlitt in Wilson (1973, 53).

The above words, written by a Vancouver Province newspaper reporter on May 19, 1966, serve as an adequate description of the "common good" as it is frequently used to signify all that is encompassed in the concept of public interest. What is apparent in all the case studies examined, as well as in the general literature, is the predominance of the bureaucracy as well as middle and upper-class interests in the definition of "public interest" (Porteous 1977, 316) and the absence of those most affected. As Blowers (1980) points out:

Participation as presently practiced leaves out of account the least articulate and most materially disadvantaged groups in the community...Occasionally, when their interests seem directly threatened, opposition may be aroused, though it is frequently too late to alter the decision. Unable to mobilise and organize in their own defence, they are particularly dependent on the ability of politicians to articulate their grievances for them (p. 33).

Following this empirical study, Chapter Six therefore suggests new measures by which the needs of the victims of domicile can be recognized and accommodated. Decision-making processes prior to the final decision that domicile should occur require improvement, including changes to public meetings and hearings and the use of social-cost accounting techniques as part of social impact assessment. If the decision is made to undertake a project where domicile will result, then several new techniques are suggested to soften the blow: involving those most affected through counselling as is now done for the dying and the bereaved; collection of life histories; and the use of "victim statements." Integrating the results of social impact assessment into subsequent planning processes, the use of community advocates from within the community, and the use of strategic change management and dispute resolution techniques are also suggested. Finally, the notion that people might share directly in the benefits of project construction is introduced.

7.4 Suggestions for Future Research

During the preparation of this dissertation, it became apparent that there were a number of areas where further research would have been useful but which seemed to merit separate study. These include the following:

- 1) Home in literature and poetry: Chapter Two included a number of references to home from biographies, fiction and poetry. It would be useful to devote a separate study to such literary images of home thereby extending the work of such writers as Gurr (1981), Mudge (1975), Porteous (1990) and Tindall (1991).
- 2) Meaning of home to women, men and to family: Discussion of the meaning of home to women has gained importance through the focus of feminist studies, and in turn this suggests the need for a review of men's construction of home. The importance of home to family is now receiving revived attention through the current political establishment in the United States, and to a lesser degree in Canada.
- 3) Home as vying with nature as the post-Romantic or postmodern replacement for God: Such a discussion would undoubtedly provide an interesting debate. However, I believe that it would be more productive to see the two themes coming together, as Rowe does:

Nature is where we come from and where we belong in our earthly existence. Nature is Home, with the responsibilities for care and affection and aesthetic concern that the word implies. To be at home means asking ourselves about our intentions of staying on, about care of the furnishings and their maintenance, about sympathy for other occupants and their welfare – all matters with power to initiate a fundamental revolution in the practice of our arts and sciences, in time becoming our second nature, as we prepare to minister to the natural Home Place (Rowe 1990, 157).

- 4) Domicide in developing countries and among Native populations: Chapter Three, in defining domicile, touched on many examples of domicile in developing countries and on a few examples involving First Nations' people in Canada. Much more work needs to be done on the impact of domicile, and on its remediation and compensation, by a researcher with a deep understanding of the special meanings of home to these peoples.
- 5) Social-cost accounting: Chapter Six briefly discussed the emerging field of social-cost accounting as a new method of taking into account all values, including those which are intangible, in determining the impact of large projects. Extending this field to include those aspects normally accommodated through social impact assessment is suggested as an important area for further research.
- 6) Successful public protest: Of all the examples of domicile surveyed, only a few were identified where the planned course of action was modified or reversed; for example, construction of the Third London Airport at Cudlington. A separate study of the key elements in a successful protest is suggested.
- 7) Limits to growth: Many local governments are now looking at mechanisms for limiting growth. Recognition of the value of home and community would appear to provide strong arguments in support of such initiatives. To date, limits to growth have been primarily based on measures to protect the environment or limits to the number of building applications accepted.

7.5 Closing Statements: Emotional Overtones and Thoughts for the Planner

Throughout this dissertation we encounter the cry for recognition of the importance of home as expressed by the victims of domicile. To some degree this is convenient, for it serves to validate this researcher's concern. But it is also very real. As I was writing these conclusions, I had a meeting with a successful Victoria real estate agent who was a teenager living in Nakusp at the time of the creation of the Arrow Lakes project. With no prompting beyond my brief description of my thesis topic, he spoke of the emotional loss which he felt from that experience and a feeling of injustice which has stayed with him (Taddy 1994).

I have come to the conclusion that loss of a loved home causes all the overtones associated with loss of a spouse through divorce or death. To begin a new life on this basis requires the same process of "disengagement and disidentification" and such victims have the same "expectations, norms and identity of an ex-role [which] relates not to a current situation but to expectations of a previous role" (Ebaugh 1988, 3). Coming to recognize this distinction is important because the past is the basis on which the future will be built. "[T]he past is not only recalled: it is incarnate in the things we build and the landscapes we create....Deprived of an intimate living history, we still need tangible reminders of things we have done, places we have been, views we have seen" (Lowenthal 1975, 6, 9).

This knowledge also leads to a focus on who, ultimately, holds the power to change the way in which the common good is defined and the manner in which the victims of domicile are treated – the politicians, the corporations and the planners. It is acknowledged that attempting to define the common good in ways which would recognize the interests of the victims of domicile is likely to be successful only if those who have political and

corporate leadership, as well as those responsible for planning, can be influenced. It is a challenge at which I can only tilt.

First, it is necessary to recognize the setting in which each of the players presently operates. It is difficult to imagine trying to influence the plans of an authoritarian government, particularly where "the heads of government have clung to power through a combination of brute force, manipulation of gullible opposition parties, bribery, crafty exploitation of ethnic loyalties and cosmetic constitutional reforms to appease Western donors who demand 'good governance' as a precondition for development aid" (Richburg 1995, 1). However, where such governments are absent, and particularly in developed countries, there may be some hope. Harman (1984, 7) predicts that:

Few informed people now doubt that technically advanced societies like the United States are undergoing a major historical transformation to some sort of transindustrial age. This will be characterized by diminishing dominance of industrial production as a social function, by increasing prominence of service and information-related activities, and by increasing concern with value questions related to quality of life. The differences among opinions lie in how rapid and extreme this change in values, perceptions, and institutions will be.

Harman's belief rests on the general premises that change is taking place rapidly and that the impact of modern communications media will continue (p.9). While economic downturn may have arrested the speed of change, the emphasis on quality of life, community and the development of individual potential is evident.

Into this arena emerges the politician, armed with lofty ideals:

Those pursuing political action must find means to assure themselves that the course which they follow, inquire into, analyze and seek limits to will dignify human life, recognize the playful and creative aspects of people while they embrace the objectives that the dominant spirit of politics ennobles and enhances the quality of human life. When such notions are made the basis of political action, the objective of liberation and reconstruction will not be either abstract, graceless, or sentimental (Raskin 1986, 8).

To this must be added reality. While there is a common view that politicians

are primarily involved in value judgements through the choice of various policy options, there is no doubt that the means to the end is often just as important (Blowers 1980, 2). Frequently, as a result of fickle electorates, the fatal reliance on "image" rather than substance, the means to the end becomes more important than the end itself. The goal of "progress" remains. This certainly was true in the case of the Columbia River Treaty discussed in Chapter Five and it is true to some extent today. Thus, the announcement of an economic package for the Kootenays is judged to have greater impact than revisiting the wrongs to individuals caused by a different administration. The goal of achieving a positive image accrues to the provincial government along with the substantive advantage from a return of the downstream benefits, to be shared in part by the people of the Columbia River Basin. It must be concluded, as I believe most environmental advocates have recognized, that influencing political decisions is often dependent on upsetting the "optics" of any given situation. This can only be more true in a world which is so influenced by media coverage. Surveying humanity's prospects at the end of the twentieth century, Eric Hobsbawm (1994, 10) predicts that this tendency will increase as the media become a more important part of the political process than parties and electoral systems, and as pressure groups pursuing single objectives increase.

Regarding the corporate elite, there may really be a remote possibility of persuading them to pursue lofty ideals in order to change their evaluation of the common good. Harman (1984, 14) suggests that this might involve a sort of "humanistic capitalism" in which "humane and social and ecological values predominate over short-term economic considerations, and in which there is a strong nonprofit and voluntary sector counterbalancing the profit-making sector." Such new values are now evident in small ways such as recent advertising of the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority which targets the urban audience asking that they save power so that huge reservoir

areas are no longer required.

Finally, all of this brings me to the planners involved with major projects, the need for such planners to be aware of the context for decision-making, and to the way in which the preparation of this dissertation has affected my practice as a planner. For myself, I believe that the preparation of this dissertation has caused a fundamental shift in both my career direction and the manner in which I would influence the work of any planning organization. While there were certainly other factors involved, writing about persons affected by domicide made it clear to me that it was time to return to my chosen career as a community planner after many years as a policy maker with the provincial government. When I was asked to apply for my current position with the Islands Trust, I was thus much more open to the challenge. Secondly, I know that in this role I constantly strive to encourage Gulf Islands communities to participate in the preparation of responses to development proposals and the preparation of long term plans.

For others, I would recommend that they recognize what Blowers (1980, 2) has identified as the contrast between the theory and the reality of their existence. While the theory suggests that all choices will be known and that it will be necessary only to recommend specific goals from among alternatives, and means to ends within a specified time frame, the reality is more incremental, coordinative and short-term. For example, in Chapter Three, loss of home through the construction of a parking lot was described. Alice Hambleton, who experienced this, has also described to me a recent situation which illuminates the reality in which planners work and the incremental manner of changes. Her parents had attempted to buy land in an area behind their home and had been told that it would never be for sale as it was in the greenbelt. Eight years later, the municipality of North Vancouver, in order to permit the construction of a shopping mall, expropriated six land

owners and gave them parcels of land in the greenbelt area behind Alice's home. After this the municipality gave their citizens two choices for the remaining seven hundred acres of forest; major housing development or medium housing development and a golf course. When Alice went to City Hall she found that the maps for the area had been redrawn, deleting any mention of the greenbelt adjacent to her home. An official at city hall said: "Look, that forest is gone." Now Alice must watch as the forest is cut down from the inside out:

In no time, favourite fir trees, ferns and huckleberry bushes, right behind my parents' house, were replaced with an ugly asphalt cul de sac, bordered by 6 vinyl-sided and pink stucco monstrosities. These blemishes on my beloved landscape were occupied by imperious and snotty beings who looked upon our 45 year old post-and beam home and 'wilderness' back yard with blatant disdain. Not only that, but now there was no way for me to gain access into the forest beyond. None of our so-called 'neighbours' would allow me to cut through their yards.

I suggest that planners must be open to the fact that "perfectly reasonable microdecisions currently are adding up to largely unsatisfactory macrodecisions" (Harman 1972, 12) and that they must challenge themselves to see the larger picture, to encourage those for whom they work to set an agenda with lofty goals rather than reacting to incremental pressures. As part of these goals, they must expand their definition of the common good to include all those who are planned-for, develop new ways to evaluate what is lost when new development occurs, learn new techniques to involve and counsel those most affected, and place a greater emphasis on planning for the successful implementation of the plans which they develop in consultation with their communities.

In closing, I return to the victims of domicide who are the most special case of those planned-for. Faced with the threat of domicide, the victims will fear loss more than they will fear change. They know that their home, which is their "embodiment of identity," will become only a memory surviving in

the mind's eye. For those charged with recognizing what will be lost and assisting the victims of domicile, it will not always be possible to provide adequate compensation or remediation. It may be possible only to soften the blow.

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 - Box 4
Comptroller of Water Rights Hearings records on Mica Creek, Duncan Lake and the Arrow Lakes (Sept. 18-Nov.22, 1961)
 - Box 5: 1961-1963

Jack Davis - Newspaper articles

Box 6

Letters (McNaughton-Ripley) 1964-66

Box 7: 1962-64

Engineering Contract and Record with Ripley's articles

Gen. McNaughton-Hon. Paul Martin correspondence (1963) (copies)

Box 8: 1962-64

National News Service Press Clippings on the Columbia River Treaty -
1962-1964

Sewell, D. Collection of papers and publications.

Swainson, N. Manuscript material collected during preparation of
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Williston, R. Collection of papers from period when Minister of Lands,
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Smith, S. (1991) "Floodplain Management in the Fraser Basin," pp. 115-132
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