Debunking the Civil City Myth:

Making *Invisible Bridgeview* BC Visible

by

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B.A., Trent University, 2000
M.A., University of Victoria, 2005

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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Stories about the civility through which diverse peoples have come to live peaceably in cities such as Vancouver are being used to launch Canada into the global urban future. The freedom promised by respect for privacy, mobilizing action for change, constructing our environments ethically, and improving our lots tends to be presumed as good. No need for politics, just planning. Mainstream, progressive, activist, and entrepreneurial focus on planning civil cities tends, however, to make the places where we live, places like Bridgeview BC – a neighbourhood on the fringes of Vancouver – invisible.

In a sense, this dissertation is an extended set of reading notes to a case study based on archival research and fieldwork that is presented in an Appendix entitled *Invisible Bridgeview*. It shows what of the case study is highlighted when we take what I call the "civil city myth" seriously. Each chapter: (1) explicates an influential iteration of that myth (as articulated by Jane Jacobs, James C. Scott, and Le Corbusier) and shows how it positions Bridgeview (as backwards, on the margins of society, as a local site of global struggles, and as economically dependent); (2) illustrates a civil city myth at work (dumping on, mobilizing, 'educating,' and exploiting Bridgeview); and (3) taking our urban romanticism seriously, undoes a key distinction shoring up the civil/barbaric one,

thereby rendering a civil city myth as an *urban myth* (that highlights Bridgeviewers' capacity to negotiate conflict and self-govern, practical knowledge and commitments, kinship-based cultural movements, and ruralesque urban way of living). Thus the thrust of this analysis is from planning civil cities to engaging in urban politics – including struggles over basic infrastructure, community development, activism, and entrepreneurialism.

Generous as it might seem to recognize Bridgeview (among all other places) as urban, it dismisses residents' own sense of the place as "a small town in the big city." So while taking the urban mythology as a point of reference, this dissertation concludes by crafting a mythology of intimate sub-urban politics – of gangs, affects, unintentional interventions, and squatting together. Seeking justice here, we are responsible in and to our relations, after all.

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Nourishing me as I struggled to draw out an analytical line or to see my way through the academy, for example, were dear friends including Corrine Michel, Becky Cory, Natalie McClellan, Bill Swift, the Munce family, and the Hernandez family. To these familiars I am happy to add those friends and colleagues with whom I am currently developing solidarities on Nipissing Territory, and who are too numerous to name here. My appreciation for the many generosities and sacrifices that loved ones have offered me in support of realizing this project runs especially deep vis-à-vis my family – who have shared their energy and enthusiasm for this project when I had none left.

Thanks for all of you!

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Bridgeviewers: To those who lingered with me in laughter, to the children who taught me new games, and the "old timers" who I never met. To all their exuberance in living however it is that they do, without feeling the need to justify it in civil terms. In addition to Bridgeviewers, this dissertation is dedicated to those people living, working or playing in the neighbourhood who informed this project. While these people inspired me to explore Bridgeview, the neighbourhood that they know may not be reflected in the pages that follow; I ask readers not to fault them for any shortfalls of my understanding, and to remember that this is ultimately a work of the imagination.

Introduction

(1) The emergence of urban Canada

At the turn of the new millennium, Canada emerged as an urban nation, at least statistically speaking. Headlines across the country announced: "We are urban, hear us roar" (Anonymous13 Mar 2002, B2); "Coming to our census: Canada's growing urbanity" (Anonymous14 Mar 2002, A10); "Urban centres blossom" (Lewington 13 Mar 2002, A6); "The horseshoe [around Toronto] is golden" (Nolan 13 Mar 2002, B2); "Our urban future" (Bramham 13 Apr 2002, B1); "Canadians gravitate to cities" (Baxter 13 Mar 2002, A1); "City Dwellers 'R' Us" (Lewington 12 Mar 2002, A17) and so on. Apparently it is a good thing that "Canada has become one of the most highly urbanized countries in the world" (Anonymous17 Mar 2002, A16).

The celebration of urbanization in Canada is striking, considering that in much of the world these days urbanization is tantamount to the proliferation of slums (Davis 2006), cultural segregation and violent clashes such as the 2005 riots in Paris' banlieues (Schneider March 2008, 133-159). The difference heralded is that Canadian cities remain civil. Even in the self-proclaimed bastion of civilization (*i.e.* Europe), civility seems to have given way to xenophobia in the face of "superdiversity" (*e.g.* Vertovec 2006) – as anticipated by academics (*e.g.* Modood June-Aug 2008, 84-88) and sealed by official declarations that "multiculturalism is dead" (Connolly 17 Oct 2010). Meanwhile, Canada's major cities boast high proportions of ethnic diversity, thriving gay villages, and vibrant cultural scenes. Applause for these civil cities' high quality of life (*e.g.* Mercer) and liveability (*e.g.* Economist Intelligence Unit 21 Feb 2011) has been noted and mobilized in efforts to re-imagine Canada as a model nation. For example, the long

standing national newspaper *The Globe and Mail* ran a much-acclaimed series entitled *The New Canada* that was published as a book in 2004; its introduction insists:

> There is a New Canada out there. If Canadians can't see it themselves, they certainly pay attention when others see it on our behalf. Thus, *The Economist* magazine captured our attention in the fall of 2003 when it put on its cover a moose in sunglasses under the headline "Canada's new spirit" and went on to laud our tolerance and cultural diversity and describe our major cities as vibrant, cosmopolitan places… The *Boston Globe* declared Canada no longer is a cold country; it is a cool country. The Prime Minister of France booked a trip to see how we pulled it off, saying Canada "incarnates the values of the 21st century." (Greenspon 2004, 1-14 , 1)

Through such re-imaginings a mythology is being developed about how cities in Canada have been made and recognized as civil. This responds to a problem identified by researchers as early as the 1950s: although Canadians have become city-dwellers "their institutions, their habits of mind and especially, perhaps, their mythology, have lagged behind" (Report of the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, (1957), as quoted in (Simmons 1974, 1). These days, the making of the mythology of Canada as an urban nation seems to be as simple as expressing ourselves as city dwellers. Artists are doing their part informing us of our urban condition by ushering in more urbane traditions. Challenging performance art is *en vogue* and some is even being practiced as "urban acupuncture" (O'Donnell 2006), seemingly anticipating more official practices of "urban acupuncture" as advocated by the ex-mayor of Curitiba, Brazil starting in 2007 (Worldwatch Institute). Academics are doing their part, re-working statist concepts into urban terms (*e.g.* Pierre Trudeau Foundation 2009). The notion of "urban citizenship," for instance, has been conceived as a kind of "belonging" among those who have migrated to the city (even though these migrants may not have attendant national citizenship, and likely identify with various communities) (Siemiatycki and Isin 1997, 73-102). Marketers are doing their part, using the urban to brand everything from household knick-knacks (at

The Urban Barn in Western and Central Canada, for instance), to coffee (at The Urban Café in North Bay ON, for instance), to condos (at Urban Condos in Vancouver BC, for instance). Consumers are doing their part, by buying these products – and so, presumably, refashioning themselves as urbanites of a sort.

This mythologizing would seem to be emerging from cities themselves, and may even seem to be challenging national visions. By contrast, in the 1970s, efforts to craft a mythology of Canada as an urban nation were nationally driven. A Ministry of Urban Affairs was established, which supported research into various dimensions of settlement, among other things. Federal policymakers in Canada began, in earnest, to define problems that are particular to the urban (as opposed to problems that happen to appear in cities, but could just as easily appear elsewhere) (Lithwick 1970). Significantly, this was at a time when there were broader conversations about "the urban problem" (*e.g.* Castells 1979 [1972]; Lefebvre 2000 [1968]). Despite the fact that urbanization was continuing apace, if not accelerating, this attempt to understand the challenges and opportunities of an urban society was abandoned along with other federally driven initiatives in the spate of neo-liberal downloading that followed on Pierre Trudeau's ostentatious rule.

Attending to the national interest in the urban was not so much downloaded, as offloaded. Journalists have taken a leading role in filling the vacuum left by academics and policy makers working on the national urban file. Perhaps this follows from the investment of national papers such as the *Globe and Mail* in fostering a national readership; significantly, in staving off the competition of local dailies the *Globe and Mail* has added a section on the local city in each of its major centres. Regardless, the

high profile work of journalists tends to celebrate civil cities as a product of Canadian history and as a way to launch the Canadian state into the global urban future.

Inspired in part by the depiction of Canadian society that emerged from the 2001 census, *The New Canada* supplemented census data with a survey (by *The Globe* with the Centre for Research and Information on Canada, and the Canadian Opinion Research Archive (Anderssen and Valpy 2004, 17), and some old fashioned journalistic work focused on Canadians in their 20s, the series presents snapshots of a "post-ethnic" urban nation. Each snapshot focuses on a particular dimension of this emergent urban way of living (*e.g.* education, fusion food, political activism), but overall this collection highlights how national initiatives made this new urban way of life possible. For one, having been raised by (or at least in a milieu with) immigrants who struggled for a *national multiculturalism policy*, and living in diverse cities (two of which, *i.e.* Toronto CMA and Vancouver CMA, boast populations whose visible minorities are already over 40% and are soon to be majorities [Statistics Canada]), this generation is presented as embracing diversity – marrying across ethnicities and within the same sexes (Anderssen and Valpy 2004; Philp 2004). As the series highlights: "As more young people consider themselves ethnically fractioned – half of this and a quarter of that – fewer will have a strong connection to an ethnic group other than Canadian" (Mendelsohn 2004, 60). No longer hyphenated (*e.g.* Chinese-Canadian), the series announces "the emergence over the past 20 years of a new ethnicity – simply Canadian" (Mendelsohn 2004, 60).

These "simply Canadians" are the first generation to have grown up under the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982), and so "are global thinkers, committed to issues of tolerance and social justice, led by the women" (Valpy, Anderssen, and Mitchell 2004,

254). Differently put, one of the key conditions of civil cities (in which people are tolerant of difference) was the achievement of properly civil government in Canada, by bringing the constitution home from the imperial heartland. The application of the Charter and multiculturalism policy can be seen as but moments in a long history in which Canadians have demonstrated a "genius of accommodation" (Greenspon 2004, 4). What is thus produced by this series, is a sense that Canadian cities became civil in the course of becoming properly Canadian – which implies a break from our imperial past. Once we had colonial outposts, and now we have civil cities. But there may be more continuity between the two than this series admits.

Focusing on the longer history of accommodation, journalist John Ibbitson celebrates the force of civility in Canadian cities. In *The Polite Revolution*, he roots civility in the Two Nations history of Canada (2005). Negotiating an institutional arrangement that suited both the English and French well enough (within the context of English dominance established in the war) required excessive politeness, according to Ibbitson, which has persisted over the years through mundane cultural practices. Although Canadians are disparagingly known for this politeness, he highlights how it has enabled people with different ways of life to encounter one another peaceably. If, for instance, two strangers bump into each other and both say "I'm sorry" then there is no need to agree on a general explanation of what happened because both people are taking responsibility for whatever offenses might have followed from the encounter. Importantly, each can walk away with her/his own ideas about what the bump meant. For example, if one person was a young Christian man and another was a married Muslim woman, then the touch could have been interpreted by him as a mere accident,

and by her as breach of Qur'an law. Whatever the particular interpretations, the important point is that potential conflicts are averted by preemptive apologies, among other such civilities.

Even a passing familiarity with conventional Canadian political history would throw this emphasis on accommodation into question, however. A particularly influential iteration of the imperial story was told by Harold Innis – a father of Canadian Political Economy, and in turn, Political Science. On his telling, British dominance was established in the midst of the fur trade (thanks in no small measure to the quicker sailing route that the British had via Hudson's Bay, an ability to leverage preferential British duties and to access more affordable British goods given the advancements of the industrial revolution there; Innis 1956 [1927]), and although the French would eventually be afforded a corner of the country in which to go about their business, Canadian political culture developed under institutions that were formed through trade with the British, such as centralized financial and federal systems (*c.f.* Hartz 1964). The lumber mills and mining camps that have been at the heart of this nation's economy were built with British technology, and the British Royal Engineers laid out the very parcels of land upon which most homes and businesses rest (excepting those laid out on the seigneurial system along the St. Lawrence in particular; Harris 1966). I suggest that civil cities have been informed by these longer-standing practices of British dominance.

For example, some fifteen years prior to the census-stimulated buzz about Canada's civil cities, Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggelton claimed: "Our British origins may have made us dull, but they gave us a tradition of civility" (As quoted in Artibise, 243). He celebrated this British tradition because practices of civility were taken up by

newcomers from more diverse countries (from the 1940s onwards), thus enabling Torontonians to mix peaceably with one another while retaining their ethnic cultures. To be clear, this British civility was not developed as a tool for multicultural integration, but it came to be used in that way. Analogously, the transportation routes developed for the fur trade were later used to carry wheat and lumber. Of course, the new uses of old infrastructures make us see those infrastructures in a new light – which can be blinding. This is what I suggest has happened in popular mythologies of civil cities in Canada; civility that was once clearly associated with an imperial project has come to be seen as though it were developed in the first to accommodate Others. In this historical revision, our colonial legacy tends to be egregiously downplayed, as in journalist John Lorinc's assertion that "Canada's cities, for the most part, haven't been afflicted by the viral legacies of slavery and colonialism" (Lorinc 2006, 11). The trafficking of indigenous women in particular, for the purposes of sexual exploitation (Sethi 2007, 57-71; Amnesty International Feb 2014), which is part of what has been dubbed modern "slavery" (Richard Nov 1999), suggests otherwise; as does the refusal of the Canadian government to respond to calls from indigenous peoples, international human rights organizations, and the United Nations to undertake a national review (Blanchfield 19 Sep 2013). This dissertation offers something of a corrective to such downplaying (including gestures toward reconciliation that do not include significant changes to settler ways of living; Thielen-Wilson 2012) by highlighting the modes of domination implicit in myths of the civil city.

(i) Hinterland and metropolis

In order to get some sense of the significance of obscuring this imperial history (among other things), I recall the more conventional Canadian political history in which Canada was *opened up* as a hinterland of European metropolises (Careless Mar 1969, 101-2), and arguably later transformed as a hinterland of American metropolises (*e.g.* Cameron and Watkins 1993, 320). Against the backdrop of being 'mined' for staple resources to be used for manufacturing in distant cities (and acting as a market for manufactured goods), positing Canada as an urban nation could be seen as a move to reverse the relationship, that is, to claim the position of metropolitan core. Although it might seem un-Canadian (perhaps even egocentrically American, if not imperially British) to treat Other places as our hinterlands, this would seem to be the move that is made in popular re-imaginings of Canada as a nation of civil cities. *The New Canada*, for instance, claims that Canada is becoming "the world's first 21st century nation" (Greenspon 2004, 10). Along the same lines, but in stronger terms, Ibbitson claims: "Sometime, not too long ago, while no one was watching, Canada became the world's most successful country" (Ibbitson 2005, 1; *c.f. The Best Country,* Das 2002) because "[w]e have discovered the golden secret of the third millennia: They who don't simply tolerate diversity, but embrace it, thrive" (Ibbitson 2005, 3-4). However accurate (or not) such claims to superiority might be, they clearly indicate the improvement that civil cities are thought to enable.

Following Richard Florida's (in)famous argument that economic prosperity has become driven by creativity, which in turn thrives in cities that are socially diverse (Florida 2002), the civil cities of *The New Canada* are being re-imagined as engines of economic prosperity (*e.g.* "among North American urban centres of its size, Calgary

places second to Austin, the model city of the Florida theory" [Anderssen 2004, 143]). I will trace his theory in chapter four, but for now it is enough to note that Florida argues that the knowledge industry is set to chase these *talented* and *tolerant* people to the city of their choosing, so long as the necessary *technological infrastructures* (*e.g.* university research centres) are in place. These "3 Ts" would seem to be in ample supply in Canada's civil cities, as affirmed by Florida himself choosing Toronto as his home. This might be cause to celebrate the coming prosperity and influence of Canada as a metropolitan core, but this optimism can be checked by reading between the lines of an article in *The New Canada*.

Opportunities for employment for highly educated people in the four metropolises in Canada (*i.e.* Vancouver, Edmonton-Calgary, Toronto, and Montreal) may be bountiful, but they remain limited as compared with metropolises such as New York. Hence, "brain drain" persists. The difference that readers are meant to hold onto is that unlike generations before, "*many of today's prodigal sons and daughters have every intention of bringing their new knowledge and skill back to their home and native land. Though their mailing addresses end in USA, their values and ideals, the lifestyles they aspire to, are proudly stamped Made in Canada*" (Valpy 2004, 214-227). Declaring these civil Canadians as "native" to this land erases those who are properly indigenous. The problem that follows, therefore, is not decolonization, but rather, how to get those civil "natives" back (to contribute to the colonial project).

In the hopes of actualizing Richard Florida's prediction that there will be a reversal in the continental brain drain, in *The New City*, journalist John Lorinc suggests that the propertied class could reconstruct cities so that they would attract creatives from

elsewhere (Lorinc 2006, 274). Whether ex-pats' intentions or Lorinc's philanthropic-cum-economic development plan will actually amount to return migration (and attendant gains in the Canadian GDP) remains to be seen, however. For now, in the continental competition for highly educated workers, cities in Canada do not seem to be faring all that well in spite of claims to centrality.

One might even use this marginal position to suggest that the nation remains a hinterland from which "the best-educated generation the country has ever produced, possibly the best-educated generation of young adults in the world" (Valpy, Anderssen, and Mitchell 2004, 254) is being extracted. This proposition, that creativity is the most recent resource to be removed from Canada for the machinations of distant metropolises, is the inverse of the notion that Canada is emerging as a metropolitan core whose civility is to be emulated. I will explore the underlying core-periphery framework in chapter two. For now, my point in reversing the relation (again) is merely to unsettle the claim to Canadian centrality, and to draw attention to how it has come to be claimed.

With most of its population living in cities, Canada may or may not have progressed much in the development from hinterland to metropolis on the global map. Differently put, civil cities may not be launching the Canadian state into the post-ethnic global urban future. Accepting this frees us from the unifying drive of national narratives, which suggest that urban ways of living have been made possible by national policies, documents, and institutions. We can then turn our attention to the *more substantial "progress" from rural to urban* that is implicit in claims to having become an urban population. This statistical shift is inscribed in the following headline: "Population growth in last century shifts nation's fabric: Canada's population in 1901 lived mainly on

farms and in villages of seven provinces. In 2001, just 20 percent was living in rural or small town areas" (Anonymous13 Mar 2002, A6). But as noted earlier, just because people are living in cities does not mean to say that they have developed an urban mythology. Even though such migrants might wake up in a high-density development and commute to work in another high-density development, they might continue to see themselves in terms of the myth of Canada as a rural nation – as folks who are friendly with their neighbours, enjoy hockey, and have an affinity to the wilderness (even if they rarely get out in it).

Myths provide us with "traditional" stories that help us navigate our everyday lives – whether by taking us on journeys from which we can draw lessons to guide our decisions, or by offering explanations about how the world as we know it has come to be or why it works the way it does. The Canadian mythology has long been a rural one. Great Canadian art works adorning museum walls depict landscapes in which there are but occasional traces of human activity (*e.g.* a canoe overturned under a pine tree) (McMichael Canadian Art Collection). Prints of the works of the Group of Seven, for instance, decorate countless homes and offices, and similarly composed images are used to market Canada as a tourism destination (*e.g.* a couple kayaking in the shadow of a massive iceberg is the image that greeted me at the Canadian Tourism Commission). The vision of the ideal Canadian settler written into national policy at the turn of the last century by Clifford Sifton was: "A stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, and a stout wife and a half-dozen children is good quality" (as quoted by Timlin 1960, 517). Distant as this image might seem, almost a century later, the marker against which all Other-Canadians (*e.g.*

Chinese-Canadian, Sudanese-Canadian, etc.) are measured has been shown to be a *white* ruralite, *i.e. Canadian*-Canadian (Mackey 1999).

This implicit sense of Canadian-ness is increasingly being made explicit, and even caricatured and celebrated – as, for example, at the Redneck Games in Langford BC, Minto ON, Medicine Hat AB, Major SK and the rodeo in Surrey BC that have been developed out of and alongside agricultural fairs across the country (drawing inspiration from very polished, if one can use such a word in this context, events such as the Summer Redneck Games in East Dublin GA and the Redneck Circus in Fort Pierce FL). In the campaign leading up to a federal election, the leaders of the two major parties tried to shake their reputations for being uptight by appealing to *Canadian*-Canadian images. Conservative Calgarian Stephen Harper donned a Team Canada hockey jersey, and his losing Liberal rival, Michael Ignatieff, recorded a speech wearing casual clothes in the forest. So despite claims that we are already an urban nation, not all Canadians have conceded (let alone integrated) this apparent fact.

(ii) Gun registry debate

The struggle over defining Canada's mythology as urban versus rural is generally latent, but every now and again an issue arises that brings it to the surface of the popular imagination. Take the federal gun registry, for instance. Responding to a Conservative MP's proposal to abolish the gun registry (Bill - C-391), urbanites claimed that the registry was needed in order to curb gun violence (as exemplified by the Montreal massacre), and that it was useful for better preparing police when responding to house

calls (informing them in advance whether a gun had been registered at that address; *e.g.* Bagnall 10 Nov 2009, A 14).

Ruralites argued that this was just urban ballyhoo, based on a lack of understanding about the distinction between *handguns* – which are for the most part used to shoot people in cities, and so, could rightfully be tracked by government officials – and *long-guns – i.e.* shotguns and rifles that are generally used for hunting animals in rural areas, at a distance from people. This confusion was said to lead government officials to unnecessarily breach ruralites' freedom to live as they choose, by forcing them to bear the costs of making treks to distant centres to undergo the safety training and testing required to register their hunting "tools" (or the costs of not making those treks, as the case might be); a breach of freedom endorsed by urbanite Chiefs of police, alongside mandatory fingerprinting, surveillance cameras, and wiretapping (*e.g.* Gunter 18 Nov 2009, A20).

In response, urbanites argued that if long guns were not to be registered, they would become the weapon of choice for criminals who shoot people in cities – an eventuality that should be obvious to any thinking person (*e.g.* Biderman 18 Nov 2009, A26). Ruralites, in turn, called urbanites on their snobbish stereotyping of people who live outside cities as "unthinking, knuckle-dragging, cousin-marrying rubes" (*e.g.* Gunter 13 Nov 2009, A22). Cleverly, some supposed "hicks and hillbillies" explained why the gun registry has not actually worked to curb gun crime by drawing an analogy between guns and cars – which are transportation tools that are registered and nonetheless kill many more people per year than guns. Although the private member's bill (C-139) was narrowly voted down, an amnesty for long-gun owners was established in 2006 – and

extended for the fifth time just before the 2011 election campaign – so although the registry existed, it was not being enforced (Lilley 25 Mar 2011). After achieving majority, the Conservative government abolished the gun registry in April 2012 (Bill C-19).

On first blush it may look like ruralites have won this round in the battle over the national imaginary. But reflecting on debates over the gun registry, more nuanced positions on the issue could be found in the editorial pages; for example: "I'm living proof that it's possible to be a New Yorker reader and a long-*gun registry* debunker" (Robertson 12 Nov 2009, A19). Similar breaches of the urban/rural divide could be found on the floor of the House of Commons, where some rural MPs – such as Alex Atamanenko, MP for the Southern Interior of BC (who was not bound by the NDP to vote one way or the other) – voted against the bill, much to the dismay of some of their constituents (Leggett 18 Nov 2009).

According to Keith Martin (then ultra right-wing Canadian Alliance, and later Liberal, MP of Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca) the majority of Canadians – urban and rural alike – were concerned about the extraordinary costs of the registry. Auditor General Sheila Fraser's scathing 2002 report identified the $858 million cost overrun for taxpayers, as well as the secrecy shrouding it (Anonymous4 Dec 2002). It was because of these costs that Martin voted in favour of abolishing the gun registry. He claimed that the urban/rural divide is "artificial," "and it preys on old mythologies of people in rural areas being hewers of wood and drawers of water, whereas 'urban' people are more sophisticated and higher educated" (MacGregor 9 Nov 2009, A2).

Thus, evident in the gun-registry debate is the assumption that progress from barbarian to civil is inherent in urbanization. So the movement from rural to urban areas is not simply a matter of relocating, but of developing from *barbaric rural* ways of living to *civilized urban* ways of living. As can be expected, ruralites in the debate refused or defied caricatures of them as "hicks and hillbillies"; but strangely, rather than dismissing the progress from rural to urban, they went on to reinscribe it.

Ruralites exposed the thin basis of the claim that 80% of Canadians live in urban areas, by drawing attention to how the statistic is based on a definition of urban places as those with a population of 1,000 or more people. Contributing to the maligning of this statistic, however, ruralites tended to gloss over the density requirement, of 400 persons per square kilometer – which has been in place since 1981 (Statistics Canada), and means that places like Sparwood BC with a population of over 3,500 (and what it claims is the largest truck in the world) does not meet the density requirement for an urban centre (Statistics Canada).

Re-defining urban areas is easy enough to do, considering that Statistics Canada tracks a continuum of settlement forms and administrative units (Puderer 2009). Using 2006 statistics, the dividing line could have just as easily been drawn at centres with a population over 100,000 (in which case 59% of Canadians would be counted as living in cities), or at centres with a population over 1 million (in which case 31.7% of Canadians would be counted as living in cities). Whereas the former would have the effect of showing that even on a stricter accounting most Canadians live in cities (and so Canada can well be regarded as an urban nation), the latter would suggest that according to a more globally appropriate scale, less than a third of Canadians live in cities (and so

Canada remains a rural nation). Wherever the line is drawn, however, there is a shared sense that there is development from rural to urban; it is just a question of how far we have come, and how far we should go.

The *conservative* move is to romanticize aspects of (barbaric) rural ways of living (*e.g.* tradition, community cohesion, proximity to nature), so as to stall progress and maintain Canada as a rural nation. This rural romanticism is haunted by shame of the less savory aspects of its associated barbarism, and this shame is used as fodder for the *progressive* move of trying to move beyond parochialism (read: barbarism), by ushering in Canada as an urban nation (*c.f.* parochial self-government; Magnusson 1981, 61-86). Of course our habits and traditions cannot be fully purged, and so the drive to make cities civil is haunted by shame of the many barbarisms that persist and upon which civil ways of living depend (Freud 2003 [1919]). In both conservative and progressive approaches, then, elements that are barbaric in a shameful way tend to be buried. This hiding makes it difficult to appreciate how we are actually living together, and to what effects. So rather than assuming that many of us are already living in civil cities, this dissertation aims to get at the implications of approaching cities in Canada as though they are (or could be) civil.

(2) From statist progress to the evolution of civil cities

Although my focus is on Canada, the drive to make cities civil is much broader. It builds in complex ways on a much longer history of efforts to establish, maintain and develop self-governing cities (vs. peoples governed by tradition), as well as on more recent scientific discoveries. Recognizing that this myth functions through domination

associated with colonialism – by recruiting Other places as destitute, in need of help, sources for resources, and economically dependent – is difficult because it does not rely on the progressive logic that seems to have informed British imperialism, for instance. As I will sketch in this section, the notion of a neat line of progress from barbaric to civilized was fitting of states, with their neat and abstract boundaries and laws; whereas a more sophisticated theory of change, *i.e.* evolution (as conceived by Darwin, as a process of natural selection), has come to inform understandings of the complexity of cities. Without an appreciation for this sophistication, those of us who are committed to challenging our colonial inheritances are at risk of unwittingly replicating well-worn modes of domination by turning to the civil city. In the case of decolonizing Canada, for instance, it is not enough to shift our identification from British expansionism to multicultural cities. We must also consider how to stretch our political imaginations beyond the evolutionary logic of survival of the fittest (*e.g.* Graff 2009).

(i) A history of the civil city

An influential rendition of the story of the progress of civil society was offered by Emmanuel Kant in 1784, entitled "Idea for a universal history with a cosmopolitan purpose." With a focus on the constitutions of states, Kant examined Greek, Roman, Barbarian, and other peoples' histories in succession, and claimed: "we shall discover a regular process of improvement in the political constitutions of our continent (which will probably legislate eventually for all other continents)" (Kant 1991 [1784], 52). To emphasize, the expectation that Kant bracketed – *i.e.* that Europe would eventually become the centre of an emergent order of federated republics – followed logically from

his assumptions that "improvement" is so consistent that it can be discovered through the exercise of reason, and that Europe was further along in that process of improvement than other continents. Against Hume's empiricism, Kant argued for a self-centred understanding of the world (literally), in which things (including time and space) are but our structured perceptions (Kant 1998 [1787]).

Kant's conception of the subject has informed political theories for improvement ranging from Hegel's history (which has informed revolutionary theories such as Marx's communism), to Heidegger's being (which some relate to Heidegger's involvement with Nazism). Even those theories that seem to radically diverge from the subject, such as Deleuze's immanence, assume the condition of the subject's possibility posited by Kant, *i.e.* sensibility, and have been mobilized for improvement projects of various sorts (Whitehall 2007). While I do not want to overstate the point, informed by Kant's idealism, political theorists seem to have become abstracted from the complexity of how we have come to live together as we do. Much political theorizing is captivated by the legal structures that so interested Kant; even that which is not tends to be focused on similarly abstract notions such as subjectivity and the sublime. Political studies more generally have followed in tow, by focusing on rights, policy, identity, and so on.

To be fair, around the same time that Western political theory and studies were becoming abstracted, the state seemed to be achieving dominance as a political form. Kant himself witnessed the rise of the Prussian state under Frederick the Great. The state is fitting of Kant's idealism (and related political theories) because it is abstracted. Every day, its sovereign power shows itself to be limited, however, with decisions made within silos that are barely connected to one another, let alone mundane business. Every day, the

law shows itself to be a tool/weapon of last resort, with hardly any mundane decisions being made with constitutional principles, for example, in mind. But it is convenient – for the political theorist in particular – to imagine that sovereignty, law, and other such abstractions matter more than they do. For example, in order to demonstrate the existence of a continuous line of progress that he had imagined, Kant read the state backwards into the Greek *polis* and Roman *civitas*. Both would be much more accurately described as civil cities, however. This suggests that civil constitutions were in the first, urban, not statist. As I will demonstrate below, the change from one form of constitution to another has been anything but "regular."

Under the Roman empire, self-administering and self-ordering cities came to be defined explicitly as civil; *civitas* referred to the cities and citizenship of the Roman empire. While cities drawn into the Roman empire, governed by imperial law (as inscribed in the codex and applied by the praetor urbanus), benefitted from imperial protection and an expanded market for goods, they also faced challenges to conventional ways of doing things and ever increasing taxes. In short, it was not necessarily an improvement to become a civil city. Non-Roman cities were deemed to be non-civil, in much the same way that those outside of the self-governing Greek polis were considered "barbaric" – subject to some patriarchal authority or another, and otherwise to base drives. Fittingly, in the popular imaginary Greek and Roman cities tend to be treated collectively as "the Greco-Roman world," the origin of western civilization, as opposed to barbaric tribes. As the story usually goes, darkness descended across Europe with the "barbarian invasion" and the ensuing fall of the Roman Empire (Gibbon 1947 [1776]).

After centuries of functioning largely as places for local farmers to trade, markets in Europe would eventually come to thrive again. The usual way of explaining this change is that the light of the Greco-Roman world came to shine again through the rediscovery of Latin literature, with its stories of civilly governed cities, for instance. But some historians have been attentive to how the merchant class mobilized for freedom to make their way in the market (as opposed to being bound by feudal ties), and to take care of the civil government of market cities, while generally accepting ecclesiastical and monarchical authority (Pirenne 1939 [1925], 169-171). However one explains it, the process by which European cities had been made civil (again) by the twelfth century – as signaled by the well-known German proverb, "The air of the city makes free" "*Die Stadtluft macht frei*" (Pirenne 1939 [1925], 193) – was neither linear nor neat. Authorities of various sorts overlapped, competed, and sometimes collaborated with one another in these cities to support mundane business and to achieve monumental works.

This is a reminder of the much longer history of the notion that civilization involves governing ourselves within environments of our making. City building goes back more than four millennia in the Near East (and probably elsewhere); around the turn of the second millennium BC, there is thought to have emerged "a seminal city-centred civilization on an autochthonous basis, that lasted three millenniums until absorbed into the classical Graeco-Roman world that it had indirectly helped to stimulate" (Maisels 1993, 134). Thought on that timescale, the state has had but a momentary sway over our political imaginations. The trouble is, however, that Western political theory and studies seem to have gotten stuck in that moment. An upshot of this statism is that scholars of politics have largely failed to play our part in providing conceptual tools for making

sense of the seemingly sudden prominence of civil cities, such as those heralded in Canada. And so the meaning of these cities has been left to be determined by progressive common sense – as in the stories sketched earlier, which suggest that multicultural accommodation has developed along a single trajectory, from nation-building, to city-building. This dissertation offers something of a corrective by becoming attentive to the logics informing the drive to make civil cities.

While inheriting the binary distinction between civil/barbarian that was etched in the so-called Greco-Roman world, as well as those hung upon it (*e.g.* public/private, centre/periphery, urban/rural), the contemporary drive to make cities civil connects binary opposites through an evolutionary logic that emerged much later. While beginning with progressive common sense, Jane Jacobs – whose influence over the urban imaginary in Canada can hardly be overstated – engaged earnestly with the complexity of city life and so later developed a Darwinian story of urban evolution that has increasing purchase.

Jacobs' influential myth of the civil city follows in the tradition of an ecological approach to cities developed by the so-called "Chicago School" of urban sociology in the 1920s-30s. Influenced heavily by the model of succession developed by American plant ecologist Frederic Clements (Clements 1916), this school focused on the successive patterns of urban development – *e.g.* through radial expansion outward from the city core (Park et al. 1925). But the word evolution was not quite right for explaining how people adapt to their environments because they are much more responsible than other creatures for fashioning those environments. So instead, that process was described by one of the most influential Chicago school sociologists as "civilization" (Park May 1928, 890). To

emphasize, civilization is conceived not so much as a state, but as a 'natural' *process* by which humans adapt to environments of our making.

Making cities civil invokes ideas that I will explore in this dissertation about: respect for privacy that allows public identities to form (which is assumed to be more fit than neighbourly prying to city environments); liberal-democratic government (that is assumed to be more fit than authoritarianism to serve the interests of civil society); a modernist culture in which individuals are free to make their living (which is deemed more fit than tradition to the capitalist market); and an innovative city economy that generates urban (as well as rural) environments. Urban development has thus become connected in ways that are rarely acknowledged, to ideas about becoming more civil – publically-minded, liberal-democratic, capitalist, and innovative.

Underpinning the drive for making the city civil, therefore, is the assumption that *this* civil way of living is better suited to city environments than *that* barbaric way of living. By contrast with the progressive logic of the state, it is not that *this* is inherently or necessarily an improvement upon *that*. Acknowledging that barbarisms of various sorts might be better suited to other contexts (*e.g.* private relationships, a prostrate civil society, socialism or stagnation) contributes to the difficulty in recognizing the totalitarian impulses of the civil city myth.

(ii) Obscuring the civil city mythology

Since the change implicit in urban development has been influentially conceived as organic (*i.e.* natural and automatic)**,** it tends to be of little concern for those interested in politics – those who remain trained on the struggles underpinning votes, policies, and

judgments. While it generally goes unrecognized, the myth of the self-ordering city has come to inform assessments of civic culture (*e.g.* Almond and Verba's influential study posits a hierarchy from the "parochial" dimwit to the citizen (Almond and Verba 1963, 79), mobilizations of civil society (*e.g.* Putnam's framework for mobilizing American "social capital" to develop the networks of trust, reciprocity, and habits of co-operation that are crucial for democratic government; Putnam and Feldstein 2003; Putnam 2000), and so on. In the study of politics we invoke urban ideas of civilization, civil government, citizenship, civility and civic that derive from these terms' common western heritage.

Ironically, we may struggle to be aware of the civil city mythology because we have so thoroughly bought into its evolutionary logic. Adding to this trouble of not noticing our noses (which we always see) is that evolutionary ideas have been bound up with the progressive logic of the state in complex ways. Behind the story that Rome fell to barbarians in an international war of sorts (in which one nation triumphs over another), is the more nuanced suggestion that Rome had been collapsing for a long time prior; *i.e.* it was becoming *less fit* as its economy was stretched thin with imperial expansion through a professional army (Ward-Perkins 2005). In either case, the Roman civil city is presumed to be extinct.

At the same time, the statist logic of progress recruits the civil (city) constitution as the origin of the state, and the state is presumed to be the governmental form *fit* for a globalized world. Assuming that states are the basic and ultimate political unit, the globalized world is conceived as inter-national, and the declining influence of states is confusing indeed. But remembering that the "cosmopolitan" purpose of that world

derives from the urban (as the global, *i.e.* "cosmo," city, *i.e.* "polis"), we can begin to make sense of it. For a moment, states appeared to have been the form best adapted to the global urban (having supposedly subsumed cities), but transnational corporations seem to have superseded states (Friedmann 1989). On a progressive logic, many scholars jumped to the conclusion that states were withering away, making room for another governmental form that is better in some way (Van Creveld 1999). But evolutionary common sense seems to offer more convincing explanations of what is going on: the function of states is changing; they are adapting, if you will.

Some states may be becoming parasitical upon cities to survive (if not thrive). As noted earlier, the progressive logic is being used to position the Canadian state as the fount and upholder of civil cities, to invigorate *this* independent diverse urban Canada while leaving behind *that* colonial homogeneous rural Canada, and thereby launching the state into the global urban future. Yet like the British imperial government before it, the Canadian state is trying to foster cities that are civil (*e.g.* economically prosperous, as in the Virginia "cure"; R. G. 1662), but not too civil (*e.g.* self-governing like Boston, and so difficult to subordinate); in short, the aim is to establish cities capable of self-administering with the right mix of people (echoing Edward Gibbon Wakefield's model of selecting different classes with mutual obligations to settle western British North America; Ormsby 1979, xi-xcix). Thus civil cities could run themselves in line with national or imperial interest.

But when we strip away such centrist stories, we can see that in addition to being parasitical upon cities, states may also be coming to function as them (Magnusson 2011); or more specifically, as urban planning agencies, as I will explore further in chapter

three). In sum, it is common sense that certain forms of government are better suited than others to certain contexts, but that has become bound up with statist progressive thinking in complex ways.

With sudden awareness that urban contexts are significant (*e.g.* Khanna 2010, 120-26; 126-8) scholars of politics from across various fields, even lofty international relations, are looking to the city as a possibly progressive alternative to the state (*e.g.* Shapiro 2010). But most fail to appreciate that: (1) the urban has always already been significant in the West, both locally and globally, and so too that the state's influence has been overstated; (2) the civilizing mission continues to inform our approaches to city-building, which leads to an overemphasis on planning; and (3) an evolutionary logic is at work, whose 'natural' processes obscure the domination involved in making ourselves 'at home' in cities. In short, they tend to miss the civil city myth.

Even those few scholars who recognize the persistent influence of civil city myths tend to try to leave them behind. One particularly prominent academic move is to overemphasize the distinction between the civil and the civic, by burdening the former with individualism and making the latter precious with a sense of community (*e.g.* Taylor's chapter entitled "Cross-purposes: The liberal-communitarian debate"; Taylor 1995; responding to Rawls 1993). The self-interested part of our inheritance might thus be left in a civil past while we retain the notion that a group of free people can pursue the good together. Unfortunately, change is not so simple as this progressive, statist, logic suggests.

When we winnow progressive from evolutionary explanations of the relationship between civil and barbarian, for instance, we can come to appreciate the vestiges of

barbarism in civil ways of living. Barbarisms associated with the process of civilization – such as violence, paternalism, exploitation, and storytelling – have survived. Britain may no longer be the primary centre to which we are oriented, but we continue to send staples (*e.g.* oil, lumber, skilled workers) elsewhere. Furthermore, settler relations with indigenous peoples have not fundamentally changed; settlers claim title to land that indigenous peoples are literally *of*, and so have prior relations with and attendant claims to. In drawing attention to such complexity, I do not mean to downplay the civil city myth's powerful distinctions between *this* and *that*. In each chapter of this dissertation I will explore ways that the primary civil/barbaric distinction is shored up by others (*i.e.* public/private, margins/centre, global/local, and rural/urban) through influential iterations of the civil city myth.

3. From civil city myths to urban myths (roadmap)

While myriad forces, practices and so on have surely come to inform the drive to make cities in Canada civil, the figure with the most apparent influence over the stories we tell about urban life in Canada is Jane Jacobs – as I will highlight in the introduction to chapter one. Thus, this dissertation will begin by sketching a civil city myth drawn from her *Death and Life of Great American Cities*. It will highlight that myth's distinction between barbaric ways of living organized around private relationships (as in the inheritance of one's career from one's parent), and civil ways of living in which respect for privacy allows numerous and different strangers to live, work, and play in close proximity to one another, and enables a "public identity" to flourish in cities. A

formula for planning diverse cities has been derived from this civil city myth and expanded upon.

In addition to well-meaning planners, would-be activists have mobilized Jacobs' myth of the civil city. Chapter two traces how James C. Scott has taken Jacobs' civil city myth as a cry from the margins of civil society for attentiveness to diversity and complexity, as a progressive response to the authoritarian mode of imposing simplified visions on society from the centre – which he describes as *Seeing Like a State*. I will clarify the implicit intellectual gymnastics by which Scott opens up a social plane with a centre and margins, and show how abstract markers such as class and race are used to navigate on that plane. Reaching out to the margins to mobilize them for action, we tend to adopt this abstracted mode of navigating social relations, and so unwittingly end up imposing visioning processes upon them.

Recognizing the patriarchal potential of the drive to realize the civil city opens up space to see how Jacobs' enemies contributed to the same mythology as she did. Chapter three begins with a sketch of the global civil city myth conceived by her nemesis Le Corbusier, *i.e.* the Radiant City. This modern city was envisioned as being able to meet everyone's basic needs (with the efficiencies of industrial production), which would mark progress upon the cities built on the tradition of individual pleasure seeking (which lead to major disparities in material wealth). The trouble, as noted by Jacobs (and following her, Scott, among others), was that the plan for the Radiant City was to be imposed from on high across the entire world. But Jacobs' myth of the civil city ultimately invoked a conception of the global civil city similar to her nemesis's – one that is produced through

the free play of the capitalist economy and urban planning that attends to people's needs. The difference is that Le Corbusier had a stronger ethical commitment to social equality.

In her second book, *The Economy of Cities*, Jacobs offered a corrective to the progress from rural to urban that she assumed in her earlier work, and offered a Darwinian evolutionary story that consists of the continual unfolding of the city (thus treating barbarians as proto-urbanites). While seeming to liberate us from the rural/urban distinction, however, she reinscribed it between vital cities and the rural areas that are made to serve urban needs. Privileging innovation thus, this iteration of the myth of the civil city has been especially attractive to those with an eye to urban economic development.

Taken together these civil city myths provide us with a sense of the city as a place where diverse people come together in streets where they organize themselves in ways that exceed simple visions and are more productive than is generally recognized, adding up to a global civil city in which we can all be free to improve our lot in the market. The trouble is that given the distinctions implicit in this mythology, it also positions Other places as mired in personal business, paternalistic, parochial and stagnant. The civil city mythology imparts a problematic, because naturalized, way of inscribing the differences between *this* civility and *that* barbarism. *This* is better not because it sees itself as inherently better (and so is distanced from the moral superiority of previous colonial efforts). Rather, *this* is better fit to a complex urban world.

This naturalized difference is a virtual license for civil urbanites to dominate barbaric places in myriad ways: colonialism redux. Rather than replicating the progressive logic of the state (*e.g.* by providing alternative trajectories to the urban), I

endeavour to do the analysis required to de-civilize civil city myths. By showing how these distinctions are undone within the stories that we have inherited, this dissertation will render civil city myths as *urban myths*. By using this terminology my aim is to make their conjectural status more explicit. We 'moderns' continue to tell stories, and while those stories say something about our ways of living together, they hardly capture or constitute reality.

In advance, chapter one will pull apart the remember Jacobs' political point: that cities are self-governing and that the structure of city government around certain silos (especially planning), rather than through neighbourhoods, gets in the way of that government. Thus pulling apart the public/private distinction it renders the urban myth of self-government. The urban myth to be drawn from Scott's text in chapter two is his attentiveness to practical knowledge – which as it turns out is not only the purview of those on the margins, but also those at the centre. In relation to Le Corbusier's myth of the global civil city, chapter three will draw attention to the struggles that he was engaged in as part of the vanguard of the modernist cultural movement responding to the arts and crafts movement – struggles among cultural movements that constitute the global city as political. Finally, chapter four will demonstrate that creative capacities spread beyond urban bounds into rural areas as well. In order to trace the particular relations between places, therefore, attentiveness to histories is called for – it is precisely the rewriting of dominant history that Jacobs herself undertook, after all.

Having clarified the mythologies of interest to me, in order to properly flesh out what they highlight and obscure I needed to identify a site of study. In the following section I will trace my journey from a would-be civil city, to its dark corners, and to its

fringes. Then I will briefly explore the implications of studying the civil city myth in and through a suburban neighbourhood, as well as how I would approach it.

(4) A methodological journey

(i) From Vancouver to Bridgeview

In order to develop an appreciation for the implications of taking the civil city mythology too seriously, I sought the detail and richness of a case study. But which city to look to? The standard move in urban studies in Canada has been to look to central cities. For example, in 1988 Alan Artibise published a study that offered broad, institutionally focused histories of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. On the assumption that other areas of the country are influenced by the three big cities, he argued: "By examining the economic development, the population, the cityscape, and the cultural life of these cities, one can discover what values many Canadians share" (Artibise, 239). Suffice it to say that he presented an impression of an urban nation whose civil cities would be better able to function as such if their municipalities were more empowered. A similar argument has been made more recently by Alan Broadbent, a renowned urban activist in Toronto, in *Urban Nation: Why we need to give power back to the cities to make Canada strong*. Recognizing that constitutional renegotiation is not a viable option in Canada, this book advocates for the appropriate provinces to negotiate individual charters with Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal that would afford these cities the powers of provinces (Broadbent 2008, 98-100). While acknowledging the broader need for municipal empowerment, Broadbent focuses on these three cities because they "are bigger," "have complex economies," "are an agglomeration of towns and cities that

have grown together," and "are where immigrants settle, at scale" (Broadbent 2008, 188-9). He outlines a number of specific measures that could be taken to make "big-city region" governments more capable of responding to citizens' needs and wants – *e.g.* increasing their fiscal capacity through tax shifting and the ability to issue municipal bonds, widening their scope of authority by providing a specific and narrow definition of what these cities cannot do (as opposed to what they can do), and allowing them to develop government structures that are appropriate to their scale. The question that the book leaves readers with is whether or not the relevant governments will have the political will and initiative to "liberate" big cities, so that the Canadian government might be made to suit the diverse urban society that has developed in Canada since after the Second World War, and furthermore, so that Canada, as such, can "compete in the world" (Broadbent 2008, 229). In sum, studies of central cities have been undertaken as a way of getting at the values and fortunes of the nation.

The City of Vancouver's *Project Civil City*, which was released just as I was starting my research, seemed to provide an ideal site for examining what happens when we approach a city as though it could be civil. With an eye to cleaning up the city for the 2010 Olympics**,** then Mayor Sullivan and Councilor Capri (an ex-cop) were trying to recruit city workers, *e.g.* garbage collectors, to enforce codes of civil behavior – even where uncivil behaviours were perfectly legal (Sullivan and Capri Nov 2006). In order to get a sense for how commonplace (or not) such an imposition of civility in the city was, I dove into the archives. For one, I found that efforts to make the city civil were present from the very early days, in reformers' efforts to establish town-planning, for instance, in

civic education pamphlets (*e.g.* Point Grey Town Planning Commission 1927; Vancouver Town Planning Commission 1931; Vancouver Town Planning Commission 1943).

Furthermore, I found that the municipality was preoccupied with perceived incivilities for much of its history. South False Creek was the downtown neighbourhood where such incivilities were targeted for much of the last century; during the Great Depression of the area became known as "Shantytown" because thousands of men (mostly out of work loggers and fishermen), built themselves shelters and combed the creek for firewood (Nicol 1970, 168). These days the target is the Downtown Eastside (DTE), as in *Project Civil City*. Hence I found my site of study becoming more geographically narrow than I had initially imagined it.

I began by spending more time in the Downtown Eastside (just a couple of major intersections from my home at the time), talking with people on the streets to get a feel for the neighbourhood. At a town hall style meeting responding to Project Civil City (Davies 22 May 2007), I heard a series of claims to having a community in which residents look out for one another, and vilification of outsiders taking that surveillance work upon themselves. Such talk made me weary of becoming yet another cause for residents' complaints about how they are and have been disenfranchised and oppressed. Yet at the same time, with invasive initiatives such as Civil City, there seemed to be a role for outsiders to play in advocating for the neighbourhood. Looking around the meeting, however, I noticed how many social service providers, politicians, academics, and others were already trying to find ways of doing that advocacy work with respect for residents' concerns. This hints at how common this progressive move, of looking to the dark corners, is.

Geographer Nick Blomley has done an exceptionally responsible and thorough job of illuminating the dark corners of the Downtown Eastside in *Unsettling the City*. By thinking through the "cultural force" of the settler (read: civilized) conception of property on the ownership model, he shows how it has been used to disenfranshise and displace people, and furthermore, how it has been appropriated by those people (and others trying to act in solidarity with them, including artists). Multiple and ambiguous meanings of property emerge through Blomley's concise and well-informed analysis of myriad "enactments of property" (*e.g.* planting gardens that extend onto 'public' property, squats in buildings slated for gentrification, supplications of signs; Blomley 2004, 22). With attentiveness to the violences of property (Blomley 2004, 152). Blomley also provides a keen analysis of colonialism, and ongoing enactments of collective property by urban Aboriginal peoples. Throughout, he uses other meanings of property to complicate, or rather "unsettle", the ownership model's "promise of clarity and certainty" (Blomley 2004, 14). There was very little I felt I could add to his work.

Why not study the kind of place where most people in Canada actually live? Not the central cities that are implied by the fanfare that Canada has become an urban nation, but the suburbs where most supposed urbanites live (if not also work and play). As a relatively young woman with a taste for adventure (which has drawn me to guide people through "the wilderness" and to make art interventions in cities), the obvious answer to that question was: because the 'burbs are boring. Through my work as a research assistant examining immigrant settlement in five municipalities in British Columbia (as part of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada funded Major Collaborative Research Initiative on Public Policy in Municipalities headed by Dr. Robert

Young; Kataoka and Magnusson 2011), however, I had come to appreciate some of the excitement of Surrey – a booming suburb whose population will soon outstrip that of its central city, Vancouver (as evidenced by the rebranding of the City of Surrey from "The City of Parks" to "The Future Lives Here" in 2008). By this I do not mean the drive-by shooting kind of excitement that has made Surrey locally infamous, but rather, the forum theatre kind of excitement through which people in Surrey are facing up to and building upon the challenges of a booming city.

In trying to get a feel for the ways in which the municipality was being made civil, I attended numerous fairs and celebrations, read local newspapers and histories, went to movies, famers' markets, and so on. Civilizing efforts seemed to be everywhere, which was overwhelming, given the size of the municipality. Spread across 317 km^2 of land in relatively equal parts are: (1) six town centres and housing developments ranging from trailer parks to monster home communities; (2) parks; and (3) agricultural reserves. One way to make this site of study more manageable would have been to focus on the new mayor's efforts to make the place more civil, but I was concerned about overestimating the role that politicians or policies play in informing how we live together – a pandemic mistake in contemporary North American political studies (which can be understood as produced by "statist thinking" (Magnusson and Walker Summer 1988, 37-71).

So instead, I decided to focus on a small neighbourhood in North Surrey that is geographically contained, called Bridgeview. In the course of my research I had seen a National Film Board of Canada documentary about the neighbourhood's struggle to get sewers installed in the 1950s-60s, and was curious about how such attempts to make the

neighbourhood a more sanitary (read: civil) place to live had played out. Before diving into fieldwork, however, I took a moment to reflect on how the research I had already done might bear upon Bridgeview.

(ii) Approaches to the suburbs and the civil city mythology

By virtue of changing sites of study while retaining the same focus on the myth of the civil city, I seemed to have positioned my project in a complicated way vis-à-vis common sense. Surely the civil city myth pertains to proper cities, whereas some other mythology must anchor suburban studies. But in reading across influential studies of suburbs in North America, I found that myths of the civil city were key reference points. As I will explain in this section, there are four influential approaches to suburban studies, each of which is haunted in a particular way by myths of the civil city. First, are those that value the freedom and public identity of civil cities, and so see the suburbs as homogenizing and individualizing places. In response to this vision of white middle-class suburbia, a second approach draws attention to marginalized suburbs, and in turn, to their diversity and complexity (which is usually associated with the civil city). Third, are those that explore global suburbanism, which invoke a notion of the global civil city. Finally, are those that advocate planning environments and economies in which self-government can thrive, but against the civil city mythology's assumption that space must be afforded for the natural evolution of city economies, they advocate for localized and planned economies. These four approaches – and the civil city myths around which they are oriented – have come to inform the structure of my dissertation, as will become clearer.

First, are studies that demonstrate how suburbs are bad. Most prominent are those that are primarily concerned about the loss of individuality associated with living in cookie cutter houses. Despite having been written as a manifesto of sorts to mobilize individuals to resist organization (in whatever form, be it a union, a corporation, or a community), William Whyte's *Organization Man* became a touchstone for suburban studies in the 1950s (Whyte 1956). The final part of that book, entitled "The New Suburbia: Organization man at home", provides a textured analysis of the "communities made in his [*i.e.* organization man's] image" (Whyte 1956, 267). Having transferred from home to college to corporation, and then to whatever location the corporation needs him in, the organization man seeks a place to put down roots (for now). Wherever he is transferred, he is sure to find other young white middle class families like his in "the great package suburbs that have sprung up outside our cities since the war" and so that is where he heads. Focusing on Park Forest, on the fringes of Chicago, Whyte demonstrated how the place became a "hotbed of Participation" (Whyte 1956, 287) – where neighbours shared everything from lawn mowers to silver table settings, and filled up their days and nights with meetings about everything from diapers to local government issues. Most families aimed to transfer to more affluent suburbs (making room for a new "cadre of young, middle-class organization people" (Whyte 1956, 304); but while in Park Forest, Whyte reported that they tended to conform to material norms there. "The job, then, is not to keep up with the Joneses. It's to keep *down* with them" (Whyte 1956, 313). The apparent "classlessness" that resulted meant that suburbanites were among their own kind, and so, ostensibly, could be friends with any of their

neighbours; Whyte observed adult friendships having been formed on the basis of things such as the direction a stoop faces, or following the patterns of their children's sociality. So important was the role of children in informing wider social patterns that Whyte coins the term "*filiarchy*" to describe it. (Whyte 1956, 342). In addition to developing a sense of belonging and togetherness, many residents described how they became more "outgoing" through these webs of friendship. The downside, however, was a loss of privacy (Whyte 1956, 350-2).

> In the battle against loneliness even the architecture becomes functional. Just as doors inside houses – which are sometimes said to have marked the birth of the middle class – are disappearing, so are the barriers against neighbors. The picture in the picture window, for example, is what is going on *inside* – or, what is going on inside other people's picture windows. (Whyte 1956, 352)

With neighbours peering in, suburbanites tend to behave in ways that are in line with neighbourhood norms – including adopting right-wing political views, and going to a Presbyterian church. As Whyte keenly observed, this conformity has complicated impacts: "The group is a tyrant; so also is it a friend, and *it is both at once*. The two qualities cannot easily be separated, for what gives the group its power over the man is the same cohesion that gives it its warmth. This is the duality that confuses choice" (Whyte 1956, 361). His point is that what is good for the group is not always good for the individual, and in order to know when there might be tensions between the two, education is required to shake up the "Social Ethic" through which individuals' needs are subsumed in an organization society. Then individuals might be able to resist organization. By no means did Whyte call for individuals to go it their own, however.

Whyte asserted that rugged individualism of the Protestant Ethic had not delivered on collective happiness through hard work (Whyte 1956, 15), and so turned to a

more civil model of freedom. He insisted that through a humanities "education" people could be "taught to reach" (Whyte 1956, 403-4). Rather than focusing on training well-adjusted scientists, for instance, space could be opened up for scientific discovery. Looking to a couple of corporations that had managed to exceed mediocrity in their research, Whyte noted: "They care not a whit if scientists' eyes fail to grow moist at company anthems; it is enough that the scientists do superbly well what they do" – which in the end profits both the scientist and the corporation (Whyte 1956, 403). Differently put, these corporations do not look through scientists' "picture windows" and judge their behavior according to values that everyone in the group is meant to share; instead, a blind eye is turned, opening up space for scientists to go about their research. Differently put, by remaining strangers to one another (which is a virtual necessity with so many different people living cheek by jowl in cities), each is free to make one's own way in the market. This freedom is the promise that has been held out by the city since medieval times, when it was said: "The air of the city makes free." While feudal chains were the concern back then, more recently, limitations on freedom have been imposed by communities bonded by shared values. With Whyte's commitment to teaching people to exercise the freedom afforded by urban ways of living, I would argue that the myth of the civil city was a crucial, if not the primary, point of reference of his seminal study. For example, "[a] portrait in urban civilization" was offered along similar lines as Whyte's, which emphasized how tensions in the city produce all manner of creative and civic engagement, whereas those in the suburbs (*e.g.* longer workdays for men, housewives playing chauffeur to kids, etc.) are largely unproductive thanks to a "sense of futile conformity" (Goldston 1970, 148-51).

Currently, perhaps the most influential iteration of the civil city myth in Canada is Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Published some five years after Whyte's *Organization Man*, her description of the freedom afforded in vital city neighbourhoods is written in similar terms. Jacobs famously showed how turning a blind eye to what is going on in private (*e.g.* not looking through one another's windows) creates trust among city neighbours that they need not worry about prying eyes, and so feel comfortable looking out for one another in public (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 35). Investment in the vital public realm that can develop through such neighbourly watching, underpins the other broad way that suburbs have been made out to be bad.

Another approach that denigrates suburbs burdens them with the loss of community. James Howard Kunstler's influential *Geography of Nowhere*, for example, follows on the likes of Lewis Mumford, who made apocalyptic predictions about what would follow from post WW II suburban development, in which "the end product is an encapsulated life, spent more and more either in a motor car or within the cabin of darkness before a television set" (Mumford as quoted by Kunstler 1993, 10). This compartmentalized suburban life is associated with a "fetish for extreme individualism" (Kunstler 1993, 275) – which is caricatured variously in popular media. (For an overview of the history and meaning of suburban movies in America, see Muzzio and Halper 2002, 543-73). This individualism is denigrated as *privatizing* and *homogenizing,* as compared to the *mingling diversity of public life*. An echo of Jacobs' diverse and complex civil city cannot help but be heard here.

Rather than following Jacobs to big cities (where buildings of varied "age and condition" "mingle" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 187), however, Kunstler addressed this third

condition of diversity by looking to the "small town" for a model of how streets have "developed organically over time, and included both the new and the old, the high rent and low rent"(Kunstler 1993, 120). While his focus on how to plan a "community" might seem to harken back to a way of living prior to the growth of cities, Kunstler conceived of community as "a living organism based on a web of interdependencies – which is to say, a local economy" that "expresses itself physically as *connectedness,* as buildings actively relating to one another," for example (Kunstler 1993, 185-6). More traditional ways of establishing such interdependencies are thus implicitly dismissed. Rather than through the *private* mechanisms that would have made the shoemaker's son a shoemaker in historical small towns, for instance, Kunstler asserted that these days it is through the "public realm" (Kunstler 1993, 273) that people develop "a sense of place: the idea that people and things exist in some sort of continuity, that we belong to the world physically and chronologically, and that we know where we are" (Kunstler 1993, 118).

The notion that it is through meeting in vital public spaces that people come to look out for one another (both in terms of security and support) and so too develop a "public identity" (*i.e.* "a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighborhood need") is one of the key features of Jane Jacobs' description of the civil city (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 56).

So despite turning away from the big city, much that Kunstler wrote about what makes the small town work – such as the need for a diversity of uses in a walkable area with clearly defined public spaces – would seem to reiterate Jacobs' study of vital city neighbourhoods (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 150), as would his criticism of modernism as

killing the vitality of places by separating out uses (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 16-25); which I will explore further in chapter one. While seeming to retell her myth of the civil city in the register of the small town (*e.g.* with additional emphasis on "the vast distances between things." (Kunstler 1993, 117), Kunstler's influential work did not cite *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Whatever the reasons for this oversight, it has the effect of exaggerating the conceptual distinction between the small town and big city – both of which are considered urban, after all.

Although Kunstler assumed that people become "depressed by their city apartments" (as by "their suburban bunkers"; Kunstler 1993, 185-6), and much of what he talks about seems to be anathema to cities, the small town that he heralds is not a (barbaric rural) community of the past, but is, rather, a civil city of the future. This is evidenced by the examples of good development that Kunstler celebrated towards the end of the book. First among these is Seaside – a master-planned community built with an eye to reviving "the local North Florida building traditions", with a distinct town centre and houses close to one another (Kunstler 1993, 253-4). It was designed by architects Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, who "had become obsessed with classic town planning of the early twentieth century, especially as practiced in England by Raymond Unwin and in America by John Nolen" (Kunstler 1993, 254). This approach became known as "the City Beautiful movement," and although Jacobs was very critical of such master-planning, Seaside might be forgiven for not having grown up organically because features to invite diversity were designed in, such as carriage houses (read: small suites) out back that could be rented at a relatively low price "to promote an income mix of residents so that not everybody had to be an orthopedic surgeon to live there" (Kunstler

1993, 256). In short, the architects adhered to the principles of "new urbanism" – which were articulated in a Charter the same year that *The Geography of Nowhere* was published (Congress for the New Urbanism). This planning movement can be understood alongside others that strive to progress the evolution of the civil city, as described by Jacobs, (*e.g.* Morris 2005, 108-113), by re-scaling it to or re-designing it around pedestrians (and so too, making it transit friendly; *e.g.* Greenberg 2001), such as "smart growth" (*e.g.* Bullard 2007). Despite having opposing concerns, *i.e.* the loss of individuality vs. the loss of community, these two broad criticisms of the suburbs are complimentary.

A sense of how they work together can be gleaned from Jacobs' myth of the civil city. Respect for privacy creates space for individuals to go about their business as they will, and *also* ensures that in public space neighbours feel safe from prying eyes, and so they feel comfortable looking out for one another there; by contrast, suburban neighbours peer through one anothers' picture windows and so tend to feel guarded wherever they are. Dobriner similarly identifies "codes which help them [*i.e.* city people] maintain a certain insulation from each other" as opposed to: "*The visibility principle* [which] is a characteristic suburban feature: suburbanites can observe each other's behavior and general life style far more easily than the central city dweller" (Dobriner 1963, 9). Absent vital public spaces where a sense of "the common good" can develop (*e.g.* on sidewalks, Kunstler 1993, 118), suburbanites are thought to remain focused on their individual interests, driven by consumer choice (as exemplified by more success for right-wing national political parties with neo-liberal policy programs in North America, as the suburbs have come to constitute the majority of the population; Dale 1999).

Ironically, conformity ensues because the choices themselves tend to be determined by "mass merchandising" (Kunstler 1993, 166-169). So whether the emphasis is on the loss of privacy in which individuals might realize brilliant ideas (*e.g.* about how to build urban environments otherwise), or on the loss of spaces in which a public identity can form, both criticisms can be understood as invoking the same myth of the civil city as a place where people are free to make their own way in the market, and where they can form a neighbourhood community – as I will explore in chapter one.

Second, are studies that challenge the dominant view of suburbs as bastions of the white middle class, which has emerged from the kinds of studies examined above. Although fears of racialized others, social degradation, and property devaluation (*e.g.* through the nearby construction of social service buildings, lesser quality houses, industrial factories, and whatever else) have been written into restrictive covenants or deed restrictions on properties in many suburban developments (*e.g.* Fogelson 2005), many other such developments have been made home for a diverse range of people and buildings. Profit is not so discriminating, according to scholars attentive to political economy.

A general articulation of this position has been made under the rubric of Marxism. For example, David Gordon's important chapter, "Capitalist Development and the History of American Cities," argued in 1978 that the development of suburbs around the turn of the century was driven by big corporations that had resulted from mergers (Gordon 1984 [1978]). These companies had sufficient capital to flee central cities with their intense labor activism, and to construct factories outside city boundaries. Workers

are said to have followed in tow, and with the power of the companies, annexation was effectively resisted (unlike in earlier residential suburbs). In addition to sidestepping central city taxes, these companies wielded significant influence in new, relatively autonomous, suburban municipalities. Thus, Gordon argues, the form of the "Fragmented Metropolis" was in place by the Second World War, and has only been elaborated on since then (Gordon 1984 [1978]).

While arriving at similar conclusions about the "polynucleated" character of the urban landscape, and companies' privileged positions within it (*e.g.* leveraging "tax holidays and cheap services" from competing suburban municipalities"; Harris 1996, 54), geographer Richard Harris provides a more fine-grained analysis of the political economy that produced it. In his influential study of suburbs built around Toronto in the first couple of decades of the 20th century, Harris draws attention to additional factors pushing factories out of central cities (*e.g.* big companies' need for more land to extend their production lines, coupled with rising downtown property prices), and more significantly, to how workers often preceded companies in the exodus – by their willingness to build their own houses (based on an ideology of co-operation that immigrants brought from Britain), ability to do so (heightened by balloon frame construction and house kits), and readiness to commute to work in the central city in order to have a place to call their own (made all the easier by improvements in transit). While providing a balanced view of the anticipated benefits of decentralization for companies and workers alike (which is to say nothing of "the reality"; Harris 1996, 52), and so not focusing on class conflict, Harris' account is similarly attentive to class, and change.

Most obviously, that change has been wrought on suburban studies itself. Like Marxist analyses, Harris' drew attention to class divisions. In his words:

> I believe that if working-class suburbs have been largely invisible it is because North Americans have not wanted to see them. To define them as working-class is to challenge the American myth of classlessness in ways that *immigrant tenements* does not. To acknowledge their character as suburbs challenges the notion… of suburbs as the reward for social and economic success. Even the best blue-collar suburbs were less than ideal; the worst could appear mean and ugly. They were not likely candidates for myth making. (Harris 1996, 286)

Unlikely as they may have been, such working-class suburbs are the very sites from which Harris draws "practical inspiration and spiritual sustenance"; more specifically, he identifies a set of "values" *i.e.* "thrift, mutual aid, and self-reliance" that could be used "as we try to think our way out of current problems – of homelessness, vacuous materialism, debt" (Harris 1996, 286; emphasis added.). This is not proposed as a magic bullet solution, but rather as a way of initiating "renewal" of our ways of living together, which implies gradual change. In contrast, Marxist analyses have looked to the formation of working-class suburbs as driven by big corporations, and so as yet another example of the need for revolution, that is, for mobilization to change the mode of production and, in turn, urban development. Whether profits have been seen as shared or held primarily by corporations, the working-class margins of urban development in the early decades of the 20th century have already been used to effect change in the scholarly perception of suburbs; no longer are they seen as simply middle class. The more dramatic change that is hoped to follow (*i.e.* renewal and revolution, respectively) seems to have been mandated from comfortable places, however, and so it is unclear how much uptake there will be.

As a well-worn critique of Marxism goes, the revolutionary vision is seen from the ivory tower; and as Harris' analysis anticipates to some extent, the values for renewal

that he identifies with a working class suburb could, instead, be taken as British. Along that line, one might think: "thrifty British immigrants were making proper homes in the suburbs while Jews and Italians with inferior morals happily crowded together in city slums" (Harris 1996, 266). To counter the "racist undertones" of this view, Harris highlights some details revealed through his study (*e.g.* "the fact that British and Canadian-born families had no qualms about taking in lodgers"), and offers "home ownership" as a condition that encourages thrift (Harris 1996, 266-7). Challenges to this sort of conditioning have been offered by studies of home ownership within apparently middle class suburbs, which show that class influences behavior and values more than owning a home in the suburbs (Dobriner 1963; Berger 1971). Counter-intuitively, perhaps, in some instances thrift has even been found to discourage home ownership among the middle classes, so that investments can be made in things that promise to accrue value more quickly (Sies 2001, 327). In provoking questions about the role of home ownership vis-à-vis thrift, I do not mean to reassert the force of Marxist analyses, so much as to open up some space to take seriously the possibility that culture, ethnicity, and race matter in some ways, in which case it matters that the working class suburbs that have been the focus of most studies in political economy have been white (understood as the invisible 'norm' against which all other races are made visible; Malik 1996). Working class suburbs are treated as having been marginalized in and by the myth of affluent suburbs, and on that logic, they have been central insofar as they have been white. Taking lessons of whatever sort (*e.g.* revolution or renewal) from white places and applying them more broadly would seem to echo the imperial and colonial histories of this continent.

The racialized margins of suburban studies became especially apparent to scholars in the 1970s, with the increasing rates of so-called "nonwhites" moving out to the suburbs (by about 40 per cent between 1960 and the early 1970s) relative to white people (by about 27 per cent during the same time), even though the absolute numbers were not very significant (Masotti 1974, 8). Much work has since been done on the histories of black suburbanization in particular (*e.g.* Wiese 1993; Wiese 1999, 1495-1524; Johnson 1984, 264-70), and there is an increasing interest in the shift "from ethnic enclaves to ethnic suburbs" (*e.g.* Li 2006). Contributing to that shift is "a pattern of immigrant suburbanization" that geographer David Ley has observed happening in British Columbia since the mid 1980s. He attributes this pattern to "the gentrification of old inner-city neighborhoods plus the suburbanization of jobs" as well as to the increasing numbers of "economic class" migrants coming to the province (Ley 27 Mar 2000). So in addition to becoming home to many racialized groups, the emergent "ethnoburb" – a term coined by Wei Li "meaning multiethnic suburb" – is also a hub for ethnic communities and businesses in the global economy (Li 2006, 74-94): *c.f* "a South Asian ethnic enclave economy" that has developed around agriculture in the Vancouver region (Ley, Hiebert, and Pratt 1992, 254). While ethnoburbs are sometimes newly built, it is often the case that racialized people's migration lands them in previously white suburbs. Encounters between white people and Others can erupt into conflicts, despite shared economic class positions, as has been well-documented in the case of the influx of people from Hong Kong into the affluent white Anglo suburbs of Vancouver BC (Mitchell, 162-179; Mitchell 2004; Smart and Smart 1996, 33-46). More mundane conflicts and relations between racialized people and the white affluent people that they serve in the suburbs

have been far less examined (although there are studies of the service class as such (*e.g.* Cohen 1991, 197-215).

In looking to the metaphorical "margins" of suburban studies (*i.e.* working-class or ethnic suburbs), these analyses have the effect of recentering the myth of the white affluent suburb – as noted by Mary Corbin Sies in her reconsideration of North American suburbs (Sies 2001, 313-346). In order for the margins to appear as margins, they must be marginal to something on certain terms. When attention is put on social markers (*e.g.* of class and race), white affluent suburbs appear as the centre against which the working class suburbs are flung outwards, the racialized working class suburbs even further out, and the racialized service class almost out of view. As I will clarify in chapter two, this social plane is distinct from geographical space – in which white affluent suburbs are sometimes the farthest flung among the bunch.

While trying to make those margins visible does not de-centre the white affluent suburb, it contributes to developing an understanding of the diversity of suburbs. In the study of suburbs, diversity tends to be noticed between, rather than within, neighbourhoods. While described as "segregated diversity" (*e.g.* Harris and Lewis 2001, 262-292), there may be functional connections between industrial suburbs and their affluent residential neighbours, or black and white middle-class suburbs, if only, for instance, through the production and consumption of goods, or working relationships at 'the office,' respectively (but Katz, for instance, argues for a stronger "connecting fabric which makes the region vital and inclusionary" (Katz 1994, vi). These connections draw attention to the diversity *within*, as opposed to simply between, suburbs.

A number of influential scholars have argued that in order to understand the suburbs we must look beyond the activities of white middle class residents (and perhaps even beyond its less affluent and more racialized residents), to the activities of sanitation workers, nannies, swimming pool maintenance workers, newspaper deliverers, and so on (*e.g.* Harris 2010, 16; and Historian Andrew Wiese as cited in Sies 2001, 315). The practical knowledge that these workers develop in the course of their jobs is, as readers of James C. Scott would be familiar, what makes abstract plans or visions of a place work (Scott 1998). Differently put, in order to appreciate how a suburb actually works (as opposed to how it might appear through the experiences of residents and those in charge), one must consider the activities of even the most marginalized people.

In sum, in response to the suburban myth – of homogenizing and privatizing white middle class suburbs, which has been produced through comparison with the myth of the civil city – some scholars have drawn attention to the more complex and diverse suburban margins – which can be better understood through that civil city mythology. Alongside this, a myth of the global civil city is gaining influence (again?).

The social plane (marked by class and race, for instance) is ultimately global, which edges us towards the third way in which suburban studies have been informed by a myth of the civil city. Settlements and people across the world can be gauged in terms of social indicators, and on this scale, the Global North is the centre against which the Global South is posited. Harris provided a comprehensive overview of the English literature on suburbanization, in which he described bringing "the experience of the Global South to bear upon our conceptualization of the suburbs" as a way of "challenging

theory with diverse realities" (Harris 2010, 20). As the implied theory was articulated in the first major history of the development of the American suburb:

> suburbanization can best be seen as part of an urban growth developmental model. The spatial arrangement of cities depends less on ideology than on economics, less on national idiosyncrasies than on industrial development, technological achievement, and racial integration. Thus, American cities are not so much different from those of other countries as ahead of them, and we might expect cities elsewhere to follow the 'North American' pattern just as soon as they have enough automobiles, highways, and disposable wealth to make it work. (Jackson 1985, 303)

By posing the question of the plural "meanings of the suburbs" (Harris 2010, 38), Harris and other contributors to a collection entitled *Suburbanization in Global Society* set aside that "developmental" story in favour of a global frame of reference. "[W]hether it is useful to consider elite and middle-class suburbs, squatter settlements, exurban villages, edgeless cities and the like, in relation to one another," as interconnected suburban forms, remains an open question (Harris 2010, 37). But however these forms might be considered, the sense that they are all within a global society seems to have been settled.

That society has been most famously conceptualized as a product of an information technology revolution that spanned the globe, and thus as consisting of networks (Castells 1996) – such as a network of world/global cities that act as the command and control centres of the post-industrial economy (Friedmann and Wolff 1982, 309-44; Sassen 1991). But scholars with an eye to the fringes of such nodes, I suggest, tend to come to the global from the bottom-up. Take, for example, one of the assertions with which *Suburbanization in Global Society* was introduced: "suburbanization must be understood increasingly as *global* in nature and consequences" (Clapson and Hutchinson 2010, 2). It has long been agreed that in order to understand suburbanization, it must be thought in relation to urbanization, as part of a metropolitan

system – which used to be understood as regional, but is increasingly thought of as global (Harris 2010, 15-50). A global urban system would necessarily include a wide range of built forms – which may seem counter-intuitive, but is nothing new. Some 40 years ago, Irving Kristol said of American life: "whether this life be lived in a central city or a suburb or a small city – or even in those rural areas where something like a third of our population still resides – is that it is *life in an urban civilization*" (Irving Kristol as quoted in: Rybczynski 2010, 166). Some sixty years prior to that, Le Corbusier conceived of a "cosmopolis" (literally a universe city) that included administrative hubs as well as Garden Cities, industrial zones, and agricultural areas (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928]). The advantage of thinking on global terms, he claimed (following on Diogenes), is that decisions can be made for the good of all, as opposed to in parochial interests – as I will explore further in chapter three. This global iteration of the myth of the civil city is implicit in efforts to grapple with suburbanization in a global frame of reference.

Finally**,** underpinning the three approaches to the suburbs sketched above (through which suburbs appear as bad, diverse, and globalizing) is an evolutionary logic that is particularly evident in one of the earliest sociologies of suburban America, *i.e.* the *Suburban Trend* – understood as "social separateness" that "increases with distance from the city both in terms of miles and "physical character" (Douglass 1970 [1925], 33). As the usual story goes, the third era in the "evolution" (read: civiliztion) of (North) American society, following on the rural and urban eras, is suburban (*e.g.* Schneider Jul 1992, 33-44). (For a more fulsome history of suburbanization in America, see for example: Jackson 1985; Wright 1981; Fishman 1987; or for a synthesis and update see,

Hayden 2003). But as Douglass notes, the suburb does not simply succeed the city; it is an outward growth *of* the city, *i.e.* "the city thinned out" (Douglass 1970 [1925], 3). On his estimation, the suburb "is the city trying to escape the consequences of being a city while still remaining a city" (Douglass 1970 [1925], 4). This is in line with "white flight" stories noted earlier, in which affluent families have tried to leave the crime and poverty of central cities behind them. The escape from the city (sought by stretching beyond its borders) is rural.

The particular rural imaginary that has come to inform suburban life is that of the "yeoman farmer" – the free person who cultivates (natural or God-given) virtues such as industry and honesty through the cultivation of land, and with these values participates in local self-government (as famously celebrated by Thomas Jefferson; Staloff 2005, 285–292). The suburbanite's connection to the land is developed through "his" activities as "a farmer on a diminutive scale" – even if "expressed merely in flowers and shrubs or in a vegetable garden" (Douglass 1970 [1925], 246). Douglass provided an insider account of how suburbanites self-select to live in single-family dwellings on their own plot of land because of their conservatism, that is, their belief "that the way to live in an urban situation is to preserve town forms, the small community, the single-family dwelling, and as much as possible of family privacy" (Douglass 1970 [1925], 225-6). This quest for privacy does not, however, mean that suburbanites are distant from one another (as suggested by Kunstler). To the contrary:

> The inherent selective forces which create suburbs see to it on the whole that immediate suburban neighbors are mutually socially acceptable. Accordingly the Villager, which is the original human nature in us and is closely akin to our inner selves, gets released in the suburbs as he rarely does in the city. The old-fashioned kindly curiosity and the deep-seated lust for friendly gossip re-assert themselves. (Douglass 1970 [1925], 188)

On this account, homogenization in the suburbs is not so much imposed (as in Whyte's account), as it is a function of suburbanites choosing to live in neighbourhoods where residents share broadly similar social status and taste, for instance. Within this social group "the Villager," who cares to know and talk about what is going on for his/her neighbours, flourishes. So the reach to the rural is backwards in time to "old-fashioned" cultural practices, as well as a stretch across space to farming.

But Douglass asserted that the suburbanite had not yet flourished as a yeoman farmer because suburbanization had not been planned. According to him, unplanned suburbanization had produced places focused on "the home and recreation" with attendant social organizations (which he described as "narrow and relatively unimportant"; Douglass 1970 [1925], 185), and so the space and motivation for civic activities were lacking (Douglass 1970 [1925], 220-1). An entire chapter is dedicated to planning the rational and scientific decentralization of the physical city (Douglass 1970 [1925], 271-303) – through which production and consumption would both be relocated to "single communities in which the responsibilities of citizenship may be exercised with respect to both" (Douglass 1970 [1925], 302). Significantly, this suggests that some measure of economic independence is called for in order to create space for meaningful self-government. Although suburban Main Streets could be built, and markets localized, the question of motivation haunted Douglass; in his conclusion, he wondered out loud "whether or under what conditions there might come along with it new zest for work." (Douglass 1970 [1925], 315). Even if people were able to work fewer hours at jobs they enjoyed more, how might their productive energy be carried over to civic activity? This

question posed by Douglass remains unanswered. Civic engagement has languished with ongoing ad hoc suburbanization.

But Jacobs' *Economy of Cities* suggests that the seemingly unplanned growth of rural places is actually produced by what is happening in the central city. She offers an evolutionary story that suggests hunter-gatherer cities evolved prior to and actually invented agriculture, for instance. Following that logic, the yeoman farmer is a product of the civil city, not an alternative to it. He is always already dependent on innovation in central cities, and so is not in a position to be self-governing. To the contrary, just as soon as the place where he lives ceases to serve its function for the central city, *e.g.* if satellite housing becomes unnecessary through effective downtown revitalization, the yeoman farmer's village will decline. It is precisely this dependency that Douglass attempted to reverse in his analysis, but ineffectively so. Important decisions that impact suburban life seem to be made in the civil city, albeit outside the framework of planning, in the market.

In sum, *the civil city mythology seems to have served as the primary point of reference of suburban studies,* and in turn the suburban myth. For one, such myths have been taken as the civil standard against which suburbs have been deemed barbaric, producing myths of the suburbs as homogenizing or individualizing. Attempts to counter that suburban myth have tended to reify it by using it to gauge what is excluded, and in turn, crafting an opposing civil city myth by mobilizing these more complex suburban margins. Even attempts to transcend such parochial banter by looking to suburbanization across the world, or to dig beneath it by returning more thoroughly to rural roots, have tended to presume a myth of the global civil city. The obvious thing for me to do would

be to try to debunk this civil city mythology (and in turn, the myth of the suburb), by getting at how Bridgeview actually works. But two attempts to reveal the reality of suburban life demonstrate the impossibility and implications of such a drive.

(iii) From suburban realities to sub-urban mythology

Attempts to get at the realities of suburban life – so as to value that life in some way – have been haunted by the suburban mythology that they attempt to leave behind. Some forty-five years after Douglass' influential study, journalist Scott Donaldson argued that depictions of suburbs as nightmarish homogenizing middle-class melting pots (*e.g.* Mendelsohn 1999, 93 min), and attendant valorizations of individuals struggling to break free from suburban conformity (as exemplified by Whyte's analysis), are "infected by myth" (Donaldson 1969, 2) – more specifically the "myth of the virtuous and healthy yeoman farmer, at once individualistic and altruistic, simultaneously at one with nature and with his fellow man" (Donaldson 1969, viii-ix). On Donaldson's analysis *The Suburban Myth* (after which he titled his book) is a straw man.

While the suburbs have not measured up to the "unjustifiable expectations" of the yeoman myth, nor have cities or small towns (even though they are not held to account for these failures). Following the likes of Whyte, however, scholars have slammed suburbs in particular for falling short of the American dream. By emphasizing how Whyte "continues to fish in the stream of American individualism," Donaldson argued that scholars enchanted by the yeoman myth undervalue social organization (1969, 183). But as I hope to have shown, social organization is the problem that most troubled scholars such as Douglass who mobilized the yeoman myth to advocate for proper

planning of suburban development. Thus I would suggest that while trying to debunk the suburban myth, to show how those who devalue the suburban places where most people live are informed by the yeoman myth, Donaldson himself appealed to that very same myth – albeit with an emphasis on social organization rather than individual freedom – in attempting to value the suburban places where most people live. The relative independence of the yeoman farmer is provided for through local self-government, which is a collective activity, after all.

Donaldson was not alone in imagining that through studies of the real world we could relieve ourselves of our mythological inheritance. Herbert Gans**,** for instance, took up a sociological method that purportedly "observes what people really do and say" (Gans 1967, vi). In addition to the usual host of surveys and interviews, he went so far as to live in a newly built suburb for two years; but as will become clearer, he simply traded one mythology for another that was similarly informed by the civil city myth. One of his primary findings was: "Given the declining influence on behavior of regional origin, religious preference, and ethnic background, the crucial source of variety in Levittown is *class* and *class subculture*" (Gans 1967, 24; see also: Dobriner 1963; Berger 1971, 49). So-called "white flight" to the suburbs had less to do with race than class (Gans 1967, 426), according to Gans, and with decreasingly affluent folks joining the flight, the suburbs became "the scapegoat and most convenient target for the fear and distaste that upper middle class people feel for the rest of the population" (Gans 1967, 180; 240). Thus, like Donaldson, Gans was concerned about the negative treatment of the suburbs (albeit for different reasons).

By showcasing lower middle class neighbours' capacity to work with one another on shared projects while exercising autonomy in their homes, Gans challenged this fear of lower classes (similar class diversity in "the suburban zone" and within the middle class was presented by Dobriner some four years earlier [1963, 27]). In other words, he showed how lower middle class surburbanites are civil, and in so doing implicitly expanded the notion of civility. For example, rather than respecting one anothers' privacy, neighbours in the suburbs learn to avoid speaking with one another about things upon which they are likely to disagree (Gans 1967, 167; *c.f.* Whyte 1956). To be clear, however, Gans did not argue that everyone is civil; he seems to have displaced the barbarism associated with lower classes onto a smaller portion of the population. The working class was depicted as using "the same moral measuring stick as the family" (with its notably heavy-handed approach to child rearing) to approach "political and other organizations"; this is but a slight improvement on the "amoral familialism" infamously described by conservative Edward Banfield a decade earlier (Banfield 1958). So although Gans traded in the suburban myth for class myths, he similarly invoked the notion of the civil city – albeit with an emphasis on the civility of the majority of citizens that enabled him to downplay the distinction between the central city and the suburb as "more imaginary than real" (Gans 1967, 288). Taking a more historical approach, Dobriner suggested that the distinction was being eroded with the increasing diversity in the suburbs (Dobriner 1963, 27). While agreeing that this distinction is imagined, I take issue with Gans' privileging of certain things by according them with status as "real" – class distinctions as well as the state, as I will explore further below.

Underpinning Gans' analysis of the real are the "personal judgments" with which he departed from the sociological method (Gans 1967, xxvi). He considered "the practice of democracy" to be "of higher importance than the Levittowners' standards", for example. This means that even though most (lower-middle class) Levittowners were not concerned that the working class was only capable of founding "a suburban substitute for the city's neighborhood tavern," rather than participating in formal politics, Gans was. Furthermore, he suggested we should be concerned about even the most engaged residents "because they are free and influential *only* at home"; although "their dependence on the national society ought to be obvious to them" it is not, and so "the real problem is that Levittowners have not yet become aware of how much they are a part of the national society and economy" (Gans 1967, 418).

This supposedly *real* problem assumes that with the rise of America a gap has been opened up between individuals (and families), and the broader political and economic structures through which decisions are made that affect their everyday lives. Concerned about this gap, influential sociologist Robert Nisbet argued that attempts to fill it can be understood as a "quest for community" – in and through which people try to make meaningful decisions about how we live together, even though those decisions do not connect up with the wider structures that inform our ways of living together (Nisbet 1953). Gans' critique of the limited nature of Levittowners' influence (*e.g.* "*only* at home") can be understood in terms of the quest for community. Given the presumed futility of such quests, Gans implied that lower middle class people ought to become more active participants in the national state and economy. So what Gans implicitly called for, then, is the realization of civil government at the level of the state – an

upscaling that rests on a reach back to Greek and Roman cities (as traced in the earlier discussion of Kant's conception of history). But to suggest that the state (which one cannot see/touch/feel) is more *real* than the city/suburb in informing our ways of living together, on the basis of "personal judgements," involves forcefully imposing abstractions so as to privilege one's own imaginings over others.

By drawing attention to the subjective basis of the problem Gans posited I do not mean to downplay the impacts of capitalism or the state, or to assert that the city/suburb distinction is more real than imagined. Rather, I want to challenge the real/imaginary distinction and to draw attention to the politics of making claims to the *real*.

Significantly, the distinction between real/imaginary was inscribed in the same Greco-Roman context as the civil/barbaric one. In Greek cities where gods lived just up the mountain and so were of the city, "[d]ecline of belief in the supernatural led to the explanation of nature in terms of natural causes. With the independent search for truth, science was separated from myth" (Innis 2007 [1950], 85). Science is the means by which civilized people gained access to the *real*. Furthermore, empirical observations came to be generalized, providing stories about universal experience that displaced myth and allegory (Innis 2007 [1950], 87). Rationality became the authoritative mode of explication, and political science was the highest of all the practical sciences in which it was put to use (Innis 2007 [1950], 89). So claims about what is real are authorized by one's capacity to use scientific rationality, which is one dimension of being civil. Fittingly, then, studies of the civil city claim to get at the *reality* of city life – whether it be the real complexity of city streets, practical knowledge, cultural production, or

innovation, as I will demonstrate in this dissertation. For now, lets turn to what this civil mode of analysis does.

Parading objectivity, claims to the *real* either discount their validity by relegating them to a mythological past (as in Donaldson's insistence that Whyte's analysis was stuck in the individualism of the yeoman myth) or subject other analyses by showing how they are captured by one's analysis (as in Gans' assertion that Levittowners' local influence was superseded by the *real* power of the state). Claims to the *real* thus position civil peoples as either having progressed beyond or as above barbaric peoples governed by myth, and so too as in a position to govern over those barbaric peoples. These colonial, imperial, and paternalistic moves obscure: (1) the mythological basis of the *real*; and (2) the insights or challenges of non-scientific myths.

First, as is now common knowledge, scientific study has not yielded definitive explanations of natural law. What is yielded, at best, is a consensus among scientists about what story best explains certain observations; furthermore, these stories and observations are continuously revised (Kuhn 2012[1962])). For example, Greek conceptions of a universe centred on the Earth were displaced by the Copernican universe centred on the sun, which in turn was displaced by a Big Bang theory of an expanding centre-less universe. While it is not common to think about these governing scientific rationalities as traditional stories, I suggest that they are better understood as customary ways of making sense of the world – *i.e.* as myths – than as true stories. This dissertation attempts to keep the mythological basis of scientific analyses in view by referring to studies of civil cities as myths.

Second, the supposedly barbaric myths that are dismissed by studies of the real often inform and could help reform our ways of living together in significant ways. For example, with her interest in the "suburban ideal" – which is informed by the yeoman myth – Sies asserted, "the perceived dichotomy between cities and suburbs virtually constitutes one's sense of reality." Myths associated with this dichotomy "have been coded into our cultural values, legitimized by social and cultural institutions, and are then experienced as empirical phenomena rather than as ideologies or stereotypes" (Sies 2001, 319. By focusing on people's "sense" or "experience" of the real, Sies effectively shifts attention away from debates over what is real/imagined and toward the implications of our mythological inheritances. In advance, what I find helpful about taking the suburban myth seriously is that it highlights persistent challenges that civil ways of living are supposed to have already addressed: how to foster meaningful political engagement in the places where we live; how to responsibly negotiate relations across gross inequalities; in what ways experiences here might be generalized; and how we might get some control within and over economic relations.

Thus I begin by accepting the civil city mythology that seems to have been crucial in conceiving the suburban nightmare, dream, margins, and globality. That does not mean I accept that inheritance as a limit, however. By focusing on a particular place, namely Bridgeview, my study had the potential to highlight some of what that mythology obscures. By hyphenating the sub-urban, I mean: to flag the relation between the suburban and urban (as traced in the previous section); that as "sub" the suburban falls short of the urban; and to open up space for highlighting the ways in which the sub-urban also exceeds the urban – as will be traced in the conclusion. But the question remains:

what approach might enable me to observe what tends to be missed when we take up certain civil city myths?

(iv) My approach

Although I had already concluded that it was not possible for me to get at the myth-busting reality of Bridgeview without invoking yet other myths, ethnography seemed to offer the most promise in terms of providing rich and detailed data. I had experience doing ethnographic research for my undergraduate thesis on the in-between position of young women in a Hmong village in Northern Thailand, but from that experience I learned that if I am not willing to properly commit to a place (*i.e.* on terms that make sense there) then I should not live/research in a way that suggests I am committed to it. Suffice it to say that I had been adopted into a clan, and unwittingly gone through a number of steps in a courtship ritual by the time I left (after four months of living in the village, and eight months of working with an indigenous-based NGO). While the clan clearly profited from my strong cabbage harvesting skills, the young women I studied gained some status through their associations with me, and an indigenous-based NGO library grew ever so slightly with my research contribution, I am not comfortable with many of the impacts that my coming and going had on the community (and I am surely unaware of a large portion of those impacts). As compelling a case study as I found Bridgeview to be, I have no intention of calling it home, and so could not justify, to myself, going to live there for a sustained period of time.

Given that the thrust of my research was to examine the implications of the ways that we approach places where we live, and as a student of political science, I thought it

appropriate to focus on what might turn up in a standard contemporary political science study of a neighbourhood. Thus, I focused my research on *formal neighbourhood initiatives* – which is in line with the disciplinary tendency to focus on governments and other authorities, rather than on everyday activities. Initially this brought me to the Bridgeview Community Association (BCA), which sits quite literally at the centre of the neighbourhood. The BCA graciously granted me access to its archives and included me in a number of its major events (planned and unplanned). The Board of Directors had recently become dominated by South Asian-Canadian residents, with but one *Canadian*-Canadian – fitting of the mythological ideal of the white rural Canadian noted earlier – acting as the Secretary of the Board. Since the former tended to operate in languages and cultural practices that I do not have facility with, however, it would have been nearly impossible for me to say much anything meaningful about their activities; by contrast, having gone to high school in a largely white small town north of Toronto, and lived for a couple of years in an even smaller one in rural BC, I was very familiar with white ruralite culture. Hence I decided to restrict my study to the *Canadian*-Canadian Bridgeview.

This white ruralesque Bridgeview was the one recorded in the BCA archives, and has drawn new residents from other areas of Surrey where the so-called "East Indian invasion" was supposedly more advanced (FW 5). Obviously, then, I would not be able to present a snapshot of Bridgeview as such. It is difficult to generate statistics for the neighbourhood because it is a small portion of a census tract. Fortunately for me, the United Way commissioned an interview based survey of about 400 residents that were able to speak for their entire household, which helped overcome potential language barriers; with an average household size of 4.2, this pretty well covers the population of

the neighbourhood which was marked at 1,524 people. (The accuracy of the findings are +/- 5%.) Based on that survey, 38% of Bridgeview residents have a "Canadian" background, and so (white ruralite) *Canadian*-Canadians made up the biggest group in the neighbourhood. The mainstream culture of the neighbourhood has been informed primarily by ruralesque white folks; to emphasize, this is a mythic culture that apparently once was, and that continues to be used to assert entitlement in and to the neighbourhood. As will become clear, however, not all those who have worked to protect (if not nourish) it are ruralesque white folks.

In this dissertation I will refer to those who identify with what I will show to be a ruralesque urban way of living in the neighbourhood as "Bridgeviewers." In doing so, I mean to draw attention to Bridgeviewers' sense of entitlement, rather than to delegitimize claims in and to the neighbourhood by East Indian and other racialized groups. The Bridgeview population includes the following proportions of ethno-cultural backgrounds: 29% European, 22% South Asian, 16% South East Asian, 9% East Asian, 8% Aboriginal, 7% Hispanic, 2% West Asian, and 2% Other (Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 12-15. Another study of the neighbourhood's significant immigrant (37%) and ethnic home-language populations (33%) (Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 36) would tell a very different story than the one in this dissertation.

While becoming acquainted with the neighbourhood, I also undertook textual research on its history at the City of Surrey archives – from mining histories of the municipality as a whole and old Reeves' letterbooks for gems about the neighbourhood, to combing through maps and directories to get a sense for the composition of the neighbourhood a century earlier, to reading through clippings files on the neighbourhood

and events related to it. This provided the background with which I went on to read through the BCA archives. Meanwhile, I tried to keep abreast of issues the neighbourhood was facing, and participated in a City Hall meeting, a community-organized Town Hall meeting, and protests, as appropriate.

Following conventional political science methods, I did open-ended interviews with "elites" or "*key informants*" (*i.e.* neighbourhood leaders, City of Surrey staff responsible for projects in the neighbourhood, and leaders of community development initiatives in the neighbourhood). In the course of these interviews, I developed a working relationship with the now retired Director of the Action for Neighbourhood Change pilot project that had been facilitated by the United Way in Bridgeview; she generously took the time to guide me through the project archives as she condensed the files, and spoke with me at some length about what she had learned through the experience. A number of social studies and surveys of the neighbourhood had been undertaken under the rubric of the project, which provided me with much precious data that would otherwise have been beyond my means.

Even with all this seemingly solid information, the more I learned about Bridgeview, the less certain I felt about my knowledge about the actual happenings of the neighbourhood. Earnest as those who shared their stories with me were, their stories often conflicted with other stories about the same happening. As a man forcefully warned his daughter (and was affirmed by a group of Bridgeviewer women) at the BCA: "Don't you tell anyone what I'm talking about! That's exactly how rumours get started around here" (FW 10). Happenings began to appear to me as informed by tangles of stories (told with varying degrees of suspicion, conjecture, embellishment, and so on).

As an outsider I only had a line in on a few of those stories – some of which may have been polished for my or my informants' benefit – and so even when I was "there" for a happening, I hardly had a sense of the complex meanings of the happening. How could I honour the generous contributions that individuals and organizations had made to my research, without overstating the significance of their stories or the extent of my knowledge about Bridgeviewers' Bridgeview (let alone the neighbourhood as a whole)?

I have long admired Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities*. Vignettes of cities are threaded along a narration of a conversation that may or may not have ever happened between Kublai Khan and Marco Polo – who may or may not have traveled widely across Emperor Khan's lands to cities such as those depicted in the vignettes. This form, with its poetic gestures, seemed to offer the possibility of simultaneously honouring research contributions and being honest about the limits of what I could make of those contributions. On one hand, it offered the creative space to convey some sense of the stories and images that I had gathered, rather than reducing them to examples in support of an analytical point. On the other hand, it offered a narrative framework within which I could present scenes of Bridgeviewers' Bridgeview as mythological (vs. truthful).

So I decided to write a series of vignettes drawing from my research that could be threaded along a dialogue that *never happened* between the Mayor of Surrey (Diane Watts, a powerhouse of a woman who seems to be turning the fortunes of the City around) and myself (a researcher who may or may not have grasped what has gone on in a neighbourhood in Surrey). The body of the dissertation, then, unfolds as a series of reading notes to *Invisible Bridgeview* (Appendix A). Throughout there will be references to *Invisible Bridgeview* vignettes, which are listed on the Appendix A table of contents.

Sadly, most urbanists tend to mine *Invisible Cities* for one or another vignette to illustrate or lend poetry to their point. I had committed to doing just that to *Invisible Bridgeview* by undertaking to show what might be illuminated by using four different myths of the civil city to approach Bridgeview. Getting at that which is obscured by these different myths is not so simple as pointing to the remainder of the scenes (which would provide lots of meaningless information). The usual method, as demonstrated above, is to adopt another myth. What has been generated thus, is a debate over and between mythologies; does the yeoman myth or class mythology or race mythology or global mythology better explain what is going on? But, of course, no single structure is determinative; liberalism, *and* class, *and* race, *and*… *and*… *and*… all inform everyday life (on post-structuralism and the urban question see, *e.g.* Kataoka 2009, 73-87).

So rather than shifting to another mythology, I take the urban romanticism that moves the civil city mythology seriously, and undertook the analytical work to de-civilize that mythology. Pulling apart the distinctions shoring up the civil/barbarian one, and accepting the complexity of our ways of living together, I draw an analytical line out of each myth tellers' work that constitutes an *urban myth*. Taken together, this *urban mythology* could provide a less pernicious point of reference for undertaking studies of the places where we live.

But because these places never quite measure up to urban ideals, this dissertation will conclude by suggesting they should be considered *sub-urban*. To reemphasize, this is not to posit an alternative explanation of reality, but rather to craft a sub-urban mythology in relation to urban myths (as opposed to civil city myths). Such mythmaking is intrinsic to sub-urban life, as is glaringly obvious in places like Bridgeview.

Given the tangle of stories I encountered in Bridgeview, I was especially cued to the difficulty of understanding what exactly was going on. Furthermore, I was developing an inarticulable sense of Bridgeviewer life. Analytical approaches privileging reason were unsuited to this fuzzyness and feeling, and so I turned, tentatively, toward aesthetic theories. While having been struck by a sense of Bridgeview that exceeded my rationalizations, and appreciative that feelings matter in how we negotiate our ways of living together, I remained unsure about what might be gained from aesthetic studies of sub-urban life. This says more about my own privileging rational modes of analysis, than it does about the possibilities of aesthetic analysis.

Reading through aesthetic urban political theories, it became clear that I was not alone in this struggle with our rational, scientific, civil inheritances. Some works mobilized aesthetic theory to explicitly shore up the myth of the civil city. Anton Zijderveld's *Theory of Urbanity*, for example, offers a "sociological theory of urbanity" as a sense of *civil city*-ness (Zijderveld 1998). On his telling, urbanity was ushered in, in large measure, by the burghers who freed themselves from feudal bondage through the use of rationality and weapons. So while being understood as typically "human," and as having a non-rational force (prior to good/evil), urbanity is a sense of the free city that has developed in western civilization (*e.g.* New York). While Zijderveld leaves open the possibility that Others might feel urbanity, he also notes the "religious-magical bonds" of the east (read: barbarism) – which would preempt the freedom that unleashes the creative force of urbanity. By rewriting the history of western civilization as the decline of urbanity as it had developed in Atlantic cities (*e.g.* New York, London, and Paris), Zijderveld ends up at fragmented "Pacific cities" (*e.g.* Los Angeles, Seattle, Vancouver,

Hong Kong and Singapore). While acknowledging that a new polycentric urbanity will necessarily emerge, he is attached to the notion that vitality will continue to stem from urban centres (as it has in Atlantic cities). It follows that his concluding prescriptions seem to echo those made by other urbanists focused on urban centres; for example: "It is not, in the first place, money that big cities in North America and Western Europe need from the central government, but sovereignty, power, authority, autonomy" (Zijderveld 1998, 175). Given such familiar conclusions, following on a history that works to reify conventional notions of western superiority, I took Zigderveld's study of urbanity as a cautionary note that there are no easy escape hatches from our inheritances.

Other studies of "sensorial urbanism" (Zardini 2005, 23) have more effectively resisted the fallback on civil city narratives. Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift's influential "reimagining of the urban" (Amin and Thrift 2002), for example, includes a chapter that mobilizes Deleuze's aesthetic theory to conceive of "the machinic city" – replete with a meditation on passions (2002, 78-104). But in the final chapter, they (self-consciously) fall back on relatively conventional political conceptions of "the democratic city" (2002, 131-156). More recently, Mike Shapiro published a book on the city that describes and mobilizes a method of studying "aesthetic subjects" (*i.e.* characters in novels and films whose sensations are rendered accessible to audiences) in order to undertake analyses of encounters. While I find the approach engaging and illustrative, the conclusions seem to be loose reiterations of common sense understandings of politics, *e.g.* that "Italy" is an imposition on a bunch of localities with their own ways of governing, for instance, is the basic story of that state's (dis)integration (Shapiro 2010).

In addition to making important methodological interventions – which focus on the texture of everyday life (vs. macro analyses) and the affects therein (vs. Ideas) – these texts cued me to the tension between aesthetic analyses and the disciplinary demand to make something of them. The question that we scholars tend to feel compelled to answer by way of conclusion is an instrumental one: What can be *done* with these analyses? Such questions lead to a reversion to planning for the civil city in some fashion or another. Out of a commitment to revitalizing studies of urban politics, therefore, the conclusion offered in this dissertation responds instead to the question: How might a sub-urban mythology *affect* our ways of coming together, feelings, response-abilities, and so on? This may leave some readers deeply dissatisfied because it is not prescriptive, but sitting with such discomfort is precisely what letting go of the civilizing impulse involves. Hopeful as I might be that such discomfort will enable us to become attentive to other possibilities for living together, it may be the case that they do not. That uncertainty, for me, is preferable to foreclosing those possibilities in advance by relying on well-worn approaches that (often unwittingly) condemn, exploit, impose upon, and disappear Other ways of living.


THE COLUMBIAN, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1974 3

Bridgeview planning committee member Alice Wilcox with "tourists," from left, Lorne Nicolson, Ernie Hall and Graham Lea.

Figure 1: *Bridgeview "tourists" then* (BCA archives)



Figure 2: *Bridgeview "tourist" now* (photograph by author)

5. Choose your own adventure

This dissertation is a set of reading notes to *Invisible Bridgeview* that demonstrates what is highlighted and obscured of that text when we adopt a civil city

myth, or an urban myth rendered from it. I make no claims to speak to Bridgeview as such or to the lives of people associated with it. They know better than I what is going on there, and while some have shared their reflections with me, I do not presume to be able to do justice to those reflections (much as I would like to, as a gesture of reciprocation for participants' many generosities). So when I use the terms "Bridgeview" or "Bridgeviewer" I am referring to my own conceptions of them – informed by research, as well as by my own sense of the place – as exemplified by *Invisible Bridgeview*. With this hopefully humble estimation of my analytical capacities, my aim is to use the vignettes of a Bridgeview that might have been to make an intervention into the civilizing tendencies of urban political studies and perhaps of political studies more generally (*e.g.* to lend rational order to messy relations). While I do offer my own interpretation in the conclusion, as a mythology of sorts that could guide a less pernicious approach to neighbourhoods, the aim is to provoke readers to experiment with getting a sense of the different modes of structuring, muddling, and lingering in the places where we live. Or again, it is to stretch our political imaginations so as to create space for more imaginings, rather than to provide an alternative framework or model to be adopted.

Each chapter in this dissertation follows the same structure: (1) sketches an influential iteration of the **civil city myth**, with special attention to how it inscribes a distinction between *this* and *that*; (2) shows the **civil city myth at work**, how that myth highlights and frames certain scenes of *Invisible Bridgeview*; and (3) does the analytical work to de-civilize the myth, **rendering an urban myth** that is more attentive to the complexity of everyday life, as demonstrated by taking it up to revisit Bridgeview. These

renderings challenge common framings of the neighbourhood as barbaric, marginalized, parochial, and rural.

Just as there are multiple ways of reading *Invisible Bridgeview*, therefore, there are multiple ways of reading this dissertation. One could read it from start to finish, cycling through the same analytical moves using different material, thus becoming familiar with the rhythms and breaks in the cycle afforded by that material. Or one could read through a single move. For example, reading across the civil city myths – from Jacobs' *Death and Life*, to Scott's mobilization of it, to Le Corbusier's global iteration, to Jacobs' *Economy of Cities* – the focus would be on the production of a series of distinctions shoring up the civilized/barbarian one, *i.e.* public/private, centre/margins, local/global, and rural/urban respectively. Or reading across those civil city myths at work, one would become familiar with various happenings in Bridgeview, from a struggle for sewers in the 1970s, to a community development project starting in 2005, to struggles over the construction of a freeway through the neighbourhood that peaked in 2009, and to struggles over transport truck parking in the neighbourhood that also peaked in 2009. Or finally, reading across urban myths one would become cued to neighbourhood self-government, practical knowledge and commitments, cultural movements, and histories. Or one could skim through the chapter introductions and conclusions to develop a sketchy sense of the project, and jump right to the conclusion. While I have tried to offer occasional gestures forwards and backwards through the dissertation for those who are committed to reading it start to finish, I have also tried to retain this modular structure so as to afford readers with options.

There are myriad reasons why a reader might not care to engage with the entire dissertation, not least of all being its length; but I have my reasons for having included what I have. Some might find the texts I have chosen to be out of intellectual fashion, but they continue to inform city building (*esp.* chapter one). Some might be bored by the intellectual work of highlighting and pulling apart binary distinctions, which has been done many times before, but clearly such work has not preempted the adaptation of such distinctions to an urban milieu and so remains to be done here (*esp.* chapter four). Some might find the details relating to Bridgeview tedious, but such details are the stuff of politics in the places where we live, and furthermore, with the increasingly technocratic nature of urban politics, engaging with even greater volumes of more fine grained detail is required in order to participate in many political processes (*esp.* chapter three). Some might find the urban myths I craft to be too difficult to apply because they afford for so much complexity, but everyday life is complex, and imposing simplified views upon it has been shown to be both violent and counterproductive (*esp.* chapter two). So while affording readers with options, I hope that those who engage with the entire dissertation will come to appreciate some of these reasons through the analyses along the way.

Among the many points that I make in this dissertation, each chapter makes one that I hope readers will engage with: (1) civil codes of politeness get in the way of being able to effectively negotiate conflicts or encounters, which sometimes requires a personal touch; (2) mobilizing civil society leads us to make well-intentioned interventions in places, but absent practical knowledge and commitment they tend to be irresponsible and have unintended impacts; (3) global civil intentions are ushering in a totalitarian technocracy under the sign of sustainability, and this ethico-politics obscures struggles

between cultural movements in and over the places where we live; and (4) evolutionary thinking naturalizes and rationalizes change, obscuring the mundane politics of re-creating our ways of living together and the contingency by which some places survive, thrive, or not. Attending to more intimate relations and contingency, for instance, challenges the scientific rationality and order that have enabled planning to come to dominate city building – a problem that Jacobs herself cautioned against. So rather than planning spaces of freedom (*i.e.* the civil city), this dissertation renders an urban mythology that advocates for the revitalization of urban politics.

Whatever routes a reader might take through this dissertation, however, all roads lead to the sub-urban. While approaching Bridgeview using urban myths highlights more of what is going on there than the civil city mythology, it would seem ridiculous to describe the neighbourhood as urban on most counts (*e.g.* density, infrastructure), not to mention Bridgeviewers' descriptions of the place as a small town in the big city. Bridgeview has a ruralesque sensibility. So by way of a conclusion I offer a sub-urban myth that draws attention to some of what I see as the more pervasive and persistent organizing and disorganizing impulses in the neighbourhood, *e.g.* gangs, disdain for The City, response-ability, re-creation and contingency. But as noted, this is ultimately a provocation, not a set of fixed assertions. How a reader gives audience to and is affected by this dissertation or *Invisible Bridgeview* is not for me to say. I just hope to have provided fodder enough to provoke ways of negotiating the places where we live otherwise.

Chapter 1

Streets: Urban myths of and by Jacobs

> Jane Jacobs was an urban legend.
>
> She was a writer, intellectual, analyst, ethicist and moral thinker, activist, self-made economist, and a fearless critic of inflexible authority.
>
> Mrs. Jacobs died this morning in Toronto. She was 89.
>
> An American who chose to be Canadian, Mrs. Jacobs was a leader in the fights to preserve neighbourhoods and kill expressways, first in New York City, and then in Toronto. (Gerard 25 Apr 2006)

The urban myth of Jane Jacobs is alive and well. Obituaries, such as this one from the *Toronto Star* on April 25th 2006, provide particularly crisp articulations of claims to her legacy.

Strangely, claims to Jacobs are often cast in statist terms. Jacobs was born one of Them, but in her words, when the military was turned against her and other citizens during a protest in 1967: "I fell out of love with my country. It sounds ridiculous, but I didn't feel a part of America anymore" (As quoted in: Gerard 25 Apr 2006). Instead, she "chose" to be one of us (albeit at a time when dual citizenship was not an option). And we chose her, as symbolized by the Governor General decorating her as an officer of the Order of Canada. Since Jacobs did not accept just any award – she had refused dozens of honorary doctorates before – we can take her willingness to don the pendant as Officer of the Order of Canada as an indication of our mutual affinity. But this award marked more than her service to the country; it also marked her service to humanity. As expressed in a CBC Online obituary: "We like to claim her as our own… But the fact is Jane Jacobs – author, thinker, urban activist, den mother, economist, cultural anthropologist and impish non-conformist – is one of those rare individuals, a true citizen of the world" (Sheppard 25 Apr 2006). This modest dismissal of claims to Jacobs as a Canadian was, however,

followed by reiterations of the validity of those claims; “most of her seven books were written here” (Sheppard 25 Apr 2006), for example. The tension between these global and national claims was resolved insofar as Canadian-ness has come to be informed by a civil city mythology that includes a vision of cosmopolis (as explored in the introduction).

Jacobs’ cosmopolitanism may very well have been part of what made her a great Canadian, and so some measure of her success can therefore be taken as a contribution to lifting Canada higher up the hierarchy of states on the international scene. Cosmopolitanism is not simply a hollow globalism, however; it has everything to do with cities (as will be examined in CH 3), and in the cities that Jacobs called home, impassioned claims have been made to her legacy.

> Jane Jacobs, the writer and thinker who brought penetrating eyes and ingenious insight to the sidewalk ballet of her own Greenwich Village street and came up with a book that challenged and changed the way people view cities, died yesterday in Toronto, where she moved in 1968. She was 89. (Martin 25 Apr 2006)

As this *New York Times* obituary made clear, Jacobs may have died in Toronto, but her most important ideas were generated in and through the streetlife of New York’s Greenwich Village – a fact that was eventually memorialized by renaming the street that she had lived on “Jane Jacobs Way” (Lee 13 July 2009). Roughly the first 85 per cent of this obit was dedicated to remembering Jacobs the urbanist. Key biographical details were threaded along insights gleaned from her most famous text, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.*

> Indisputably, the book was as radically challenging to conventional thinking as Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring," which helped engender the environmental movement, would be the next year, and Betty Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique,"

> which deeply affected perceptions of relations between the sexes, would be in 1963. (Martin 25 Apr 2006)

Jacobs "rocked the planning and architectural establishment" (Martin 25 Apr 2006). Her influence as an urbanist was described as more than academic, though. Attention was drawn to her role as an urban activist:

> In 1968, she was arrested on riot and criminal mischief charges for disrupting a public meeting on the construction of an expressway that would have sliced across Lower Manhattan and displaced hundreds of families and businesses. The police said she had tried to tear up the stenographer's transcript tape.
> The battle against that highway pitted Ms. Jacobs in an uphill fight against Robert Moses, the autocratic and immensely powerful master builder of that era. The expressway's opponents won." (Martin 25 Apr 2006)

Jacobs won. Eventually her fighting spirit would even be celebrated by City Hall, with councilors welcoming activists wearing Jane Jacobs costumes to the naming ceremony for her street in Greenwich Village. These protestors may have looked something like Jacobs, but by neither offending nor triumphing, they do not seem to have been effectively moved by her activist spirit (White 11 Nov 2008).

Against persistent attempts to enchant New York with Jacobs' urban thought or activism, there was an expression of interest in seeing her laid to rest. An obituary published in the "Critics Notebook" section of *The New York Times* on the first Saturday after her death, began:

> TIME passes. Jane Jacobs, the great lover of cities who stared down Robert Moses' bulldozers and saved many of New York's most precious neighborhoods, died last week at 89. It is a loss for those who value urban life. But her death may also give us permission to move on, to let go of the obsessive belief that Ms. Jacobs held the answer to every evil that faces the contemporary city. (Ouroussoff 30 Apr 2006)

No such blasphemies were published in Toronto. The *Toronto Star* obituary with which

this chapter began, asserted:

> Toronto was ripe for Mrs. Jacobs. She wasn't here long before plans were revealed to build the Spadina Expressway, which promised to cut a strip through the city, making it easier for suburbanites to commute in and out of the downtown. She wrote a newspaper article highly critical of city planners for their vision to 'Los Angelize' what she described as "the most hopeful and healthy city in North America, still unmangled, still with options." (Gerard 25 Apr 2006)

Her dedication to Toronto was vaunted: "Mrs. Jacobs scorned nationalism and … argued that some cities would be better off as independent economic and political units" (Gerard 25 Apr 2006). So although Jacobs was decorated and remembered by some as a distinguished Canadian, her more committed followers knew her as a Torontonian who sought greater autonomy for the city. One particularly dedicated follower (with strong promotion skills) even started an organization inspired by Jacobs' thought, called *Ideas that Matter* – which issues an annual Jane Jacobs prize, as part of its activities "to stimulate public discourse" (Broadbent). One of her many contributions was to argue for sovereignty of sorts for the city (Kennedy 12 Jul 2000).

Hence, whereas in New York Jacobs' tangible impacts were primarily theoretical and activist, in Toronto, they were far more wide ranging. As described in the *Globe and Mail* obituary, Jacobs was "[a] refugee who breathed new life into a civic identity battered by the onslaught of modernity, she became the guiding intelligence of Toronto, and we her most earnest disciples" (Barber 26 Apr 2006). This intelligence did not always guide in the way that she would have had it, *i.e.* through "control from below and support from above" (Jane Jacobs as quoted in: Barber 29 Aug 2009). Often, it guided through City Hall. As noted in the CBC obituary:

> her central idea that cities are "organic, spontaneous and untidy," not unlike the

> lady herself, have taken root in Toronto in – and she would hate this – an almost official way and leavened the campaigns of city leaders like David Crombie, John Sewell and the current mayor, David Miller. (Sheppard 25 Apr 2006)

While Jacobs' personal influence over city-building initiatives such as the St. Lawrence mixed-income housing development of the early 1970s seems to have been overstated, the influence of her ideas (as part of broader movements, *e.g.* environmentalist, traditionalist urban design) has been reaffirmed (e.g., White 2011, 114-138). In any case, she has been remembered as having a significant influence through her presence in Toronto.

In paying homage to Jacobs, Mayor Miller announced her birthday would provide an annual "opportunity for Torontonians to engage in what Jane Jacobs wanted, which is how to make your city the best possible place to live" (Globe Staff 7 Dec 2006, A15). Jane Jacobs Day in Toronto was announced within months of her death, and years ahead of the naming of Jane Jacobs Way in New York; furthermore, it was meant to invite a much more pervasive and persistent engagement with her thought. Her impact in Toronto would seem to have been proportionately much greater than it was in New York.

The apparent competition over where Jacobs made her most important contributions might say more about the Canadian/Torontonian way of creating a sense of togetherness by not being American/New Yorker, than about her contributions as such. By contrast to the nationalism (even if cast in cosmopolitan terms) and city-ism of the obituaries published north of the border, the first *New York Times* obituary was relatively clear about how differently her contributions were spread.

> In her last years, Canadians held conferences to honor Ms. Jacobs, and Maclean's magazine, the Canadian newsweekly, hailed her as "a lioness in winter." For New

> Yorkers, she lived on in the famous photo of her with a beer and cigarette in the White Horse tavern in Greenwich Village, as well as memories of her plotting municipal mischief at the Red Lion, another Village hangout. To generations of planners, architects and students of cities, Ms. Jacobs remains a seminal influence. (Martin 25 Apr 2006)

New Yorkers, on this account, do not seem to have been hoarding Jacobs' legacy. Implicitly, she was but one among many greats that have enlivened the city in some way or another, to be remembered in photographs and local lore, whereas she was one of the few bright lights in all of Canada. Regardless, Jacobs' influence on urban thinking and planning is immense, especially in Canada.

When we look beyond the claims made to Jacobs, we can see agreement across these obituaries that Jacobs was first and foremost, a *writer*. As put in the CBC obituary:

> "I didn't inherit a great wish to be an activist," she told me once, four years ago in an interview for a cover story in Maclean's magazine. All she really wanted to do was be a writer or a journalist. This is what she went to Greenwich Village for in the middle of the Depression. This is what occupied her time almost all her adult life, even well into her 80s, while she sat happily most of her days in her darkened upstairs study, bookshelves held up by concrete blocks, banging away on an old green Remington. (Sheppard 25 Apr 2006)

Or again in the *New York Times:*

> But fighting with government, even being arrested with Susan Sontag and Allen Ginsberg in an antidraft protest, was something she said she had repeatedly been forced into by "outrageous" governmental actions.
> What she hated most about those actions was that they took time away from her writing, which she said was her way of thinking. (Martin 25 Apr 2006)

Even the *Toronto Star* obit – which quoted David Crombie, once Mayor of Toronto, as saying "She really enjoyed the activist part" – clearly identified Jacobs as a writer first, and noted that she continued to use a typewriter throughout her life (Gerard 25 Apr 2006). Finally, the *Globe and Mail* obit began with the question: "Was any writer of her

generation as influential as Jane Jacobs?" (Barber 26 Apr 2006) Thus, there seems to have been a consensus that Jacobs was primarily a writer.

Finally, it is precisely the influence of her writing that the blasphemous *New York Times* obit identified as a problem. "Perhaps her legacy has been most damaged by those who continue to treat 'Death and Life' as sacred text rather than as what it was: a heroic cri de coeur" (Ouroussoff 30 Apr 2006). The particular target of that author's disdain was the New Urbanists – who are accused of having created "a superficial town formula that creates the illusion of urban diversity, but masks a stifling uniformity at its core" (Ouroussoff 30 Apr 2006). But the New Urbanists are not alone in having drawn a planning formula from *Death and Life*; so too have progressive planners in the heart of major Canadian cities, as I will explore further in this chapter in relation to Vancouver in particular. My suggestion is that Jacobs' text has been read in a prescriptive (if not dogmatic) way because the text itself provides a formula for planning for diversity, and in turn, the growth of a civil city. Like the Ten Commandments, this formula for diverse (and so too vital) cities seems to provide a concise iteration of the core principles underpinning the text as a whole, relieving readers of the necessity to engage thoughtfully with the remainder of the text.

In what follows I will first sketch Jacobs' civil city myth – including the urban romanticism that moves it, by zoning *public* spaces to which we should attend apart from *private* spaces to which we should turn a blind eye, as well as its formula for diversity and city growth. With that myth in mind, Bridgeview appears as a barbaric place with prying neighbours and sprawling development. Second, I will show the city myth at work. Since barbaric places are not the concern of the civil city myth, Bridgeview is

made invisible and attention is focused instead on the central city of Vancouver where that myth has been used to revitalize the city. Seemingly contrary to Jacobs' intention, the myth of the civil city has been effectively used to attract suburbanites to live/work/play in downtown Vancouver, because as I will show, the public/private distinction upon which her myth was founded is not as fundamental as it might seem. The more egregious departure from *Death and Life*, I will suggest, is the focus on city planning – which she argued could only be achieved through significant reforms to the structure and operation of city government. So third, the urban myth I will draw from her influential text is that of self-government. Revisiting Bridgeview with this urban myth in mind, I will sketch residents' struggles against City Hall's interest in making the neighbourhood a dumping ground for industrial uses that no longer fit in the revitalized central city. Amazingly enough, against all odds, Bridgeviewers managed to keep a toehold in the neighbourhood. It is precisely such political activity that is missed when we focus too much on urban planning.

(1) Civil city myth: Jacobs' eyes on the street

(i) Urban romanticism

In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs offered an explanation of civil cities as a complex social order. This argument was launched against "rural romanticism" – which, according to her, responded to the mess of early industrial cities by trying "to do the city in" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 17). Specifically, it killed cities by separating out their different functions (*e.g.* commercial, residential, recreational). Where some rural romantics envisioned quaint country towns (*e.g.* Ebenezer Howard's

quaint Garden City), others (most notably Le Corbusier) saw high-density modernist towers dangling with and among greenery; opposed as these two visions might seem, Jacobs argued that: "Although the Decentrists, with their devotion to the ideal of a cozy town life, have never made peace with the Le Corbusier vision, most of their disciples have. Virtually all sophisticated city designers today combine the two conceptions in various permutations" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 23). In either case, a plan was to be imposed from on high, in which industrial activity was to be given a zone of its own, away from residential buildings, commercial activity, and so forth.

Reasonable as this zoning might seem against the backdrop of London's fog of industrial smoke, according to Jacobs the uptake of rural romanticism was responsible for killing urban vitality in America – as exemplified by dull residential zones that we now know as suburbs, and Central Business Districts that tend to be dead at night. But by focusing on the separation of commercial and residential activity, Jacobs obscured how her vision of lively mixed-use city neighbourhoods also separated out industrial uses. In advance, my suggestion is that her urbanism implicitly relies on rural romanticism to fill in the blanks about how industrial activity should be organized and supported. For now, let's focus on what she actually proposed.

Jacobs looked to cities in "the real world" with an eye to how they work (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 13), and she argued that what rural romantics missed was the order underpinning the apparent chaos of cities, drawing on Dr. Weaver's notion of "organized complexity" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 422-423). In her now famous turn of phrase, the mixing of different functions of the city (*e.g.* commercial and residential) puts "eyes on the street" throughout the day and night, which form "an intricate, almost unconscious

network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves, and enforced by the people themselves" (Jacobs 1992 [1961]). There is, I would argue, more to this complex self-ordering of diversity than meets the eye.

The scenes of everyday life in Greenwich Village that Jacobs described seem *grounded*, what with all their details. Take, for example, this excerpt from her description of "the ballet" of everyday life on Hudson Street:

> When I get home after work, the ballet is reaching its crescendo. This is the time of roller skates and stilts and tricycles, and games in the lee of the stoop with bottletops and plastic cowboys; this is the time of bundles and packages, zigzagging from the drug store to the fruit stand and back over to the butcher's; this is the time when teen-agers, all dressed up, are pausing to ask if their slips show or their collars look right; this is the time when beautiful girls get out of MG's; this is the time when the fire engines go through; this is the time when anybody you know around Hudson Street will go by. (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 52)

This well describes the complex relations of streetlife. But her way of seeing city streets was informed by two *abstract* distinctions: one between private and public, which I will focus on in this chapter, as well as one between rural and urban, which I will address in greater detail in chapter four.

As she saw it, urbanites are able to live in close proximity to one another because they respect one another's' privacy; with so many different people living so close together it would be unreasonable to expect that neighbours in a city would share anything more than public space. By contrast, suburbanites buy into ruralesque *communities*, which are based on shared private interests, even if only in lawn-care, and so they tend to pry into one another's business (as noted in the introduction). Since they need not hide from prying neighbours, urbanites can trust that they will remain relative strangers to one another in public spaces, and so they feel free to look out for one another there. Through such respect for privacy on the street a "public identity" – a sense of

neighbourhoodness – can arise. Although she did not say so, with this shared identity, people go from being mere passers-by, to being part of an urban community.

Whereas the civil city myth imagines a community developed through the civility of strangers (*i.e.* looking out for one another in public and respecting one another's privacy), barbaric suburbs (or more properly rural towns) are communities imagined on the basis of a shared private identity that is policed through intimates' knowledge of one another. Hence, while Jacobs criticized "rural romanticism" for its zoning mentality, whereby different uses are separated out from one another, she used that very mentality (by separating out public and private, for instance) in conceiving how different functions mix productively in cities. Thus, her thought is exemplary of what I call "urban romanticism" – which is romantic in that it imposes on everyday life an abstract distinction between *that* private identity (*i.e.* a community) and *this* public identity (*i.e.* a neighbourhood).

To flesh out the implications of assuming the distinction between public and private, I will now turn to the key example that Jacobs offered of how "eyes on the streets" work.

> The incident that attracted my attention was a suppressed struggle going on between a man and a little girl of eight or nine years old. The man seemed to be trying to get the girl to go with him. By turns he was directing a cajoling attention to her, and then assuming an air of nonchalance. The girl was making herself rigid, as children do when they resist, against the wall of one of the tenements across the street. (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 38)

While pondering "how to intervene if it seemed advisable," Jacobs realized that she need not intervene because others were already on it: a woman who ran the butcher shop, Joe Cornacchia who kept the deli, "the locksmith, the fruit man and the laundry proprietor had all come out of their shops," a couple of men waited by the doorway of a bar, and

many others were looking out of their apartment windows (one of whom reappeared at the front door behind the man). "That man did not know it, but he was surrounded. Nobody was going to allow a little girl to be dragged off, even if nobody knew who she was" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 39). Nobody that was looking, anyways. As Jacobs noted, none of the residents living in the fancy new building were looking out their windows; they were presumably withdrawn out of fear of prying eyes, as suburbanites who happened to be living in the city. "I am sorry – sorry for purely dramatic purposes – to have to report that the little girl turned out to be the man's daughter" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 39). To emphasize, because the relationship between father and daughter is considered private, even when it plays out in public space, urbanites turn a blind eye to what is going on between the two out of respect for privacy. Although there does not seem to have been too much cause for concern about how this particular man treated his daughter, we cannot take for granted that if the relation between a man and a girl is familial, that no violence is involved. Family violence, including psychological abuse and incest, is a problem about which we should be concerned and into which we should be prepared to intervene.

Soon after Jacobs penned her most famous work, feminists began to highlight the pernicious implications of establishing private zones that are safe from scrutiny, and to claim "the personal [*i.e.* private] is political" (Friedan 1963). Jacobs' readers since then have nonetheless tended to miss the pernicious impacts of her public/private zoning mentality. I suggest that this oversight is not an effect of a lack of rigour, but rather is an indication of the force of reigning common sense. The barbarism of violent ways of asserting power over another person is something that we ought to tuck away – out of

sight, to the extent that it cannot be relegated to the past. In *Death and Life*, Jacobs assumed a relatively conventional understanding of the 'natural' process by which such things are left behind as America has "transformed from a rural and small-town country into an urban country" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 147). But Jacobs did not trace that trajectory in her first book because she was preoccupied with how to respond to the immediate attack on cities, under the sign of urban renewal. She would, however, go on to propose a more radical urban-centric evolutionary story in her second book, which I will engage with in chapter four. So rather than slaying the "straw man" of 'natural' seeming progress in Jacobs' thought, I will bracket the question of the development from *that* barbaric way of life to *this* civil one, and focus instead on how this distinction is shored up by others – public/private in this chapter and margins/centre, global/local in the following two. After undoing each of these distinctions, I will address Jacobs' sophisticated evolutionary conception of urban growth, and how it produces rural life. For now, I turn to the formula for urban revitalization that has been drawn from her most influential work.

(ii) *Formula for diversity & city growth*

Jacobs' primary focus in *Death and Life* was on urban planning (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 3); her stated goal in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* was "to introduce new principles of city planning and rebuilding" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 15). This focus made sense, given her political battle at the time, against Robert Moses – whose vision of towers in parks connected by freeways was imposed on New York from the 1920s-60s, from various appointed offices, including public housing, bridge committees,

and construction coordination. It is often forgotten, however, that Moses' interest in urban planning emerged out of a commitment to cleaning up politics (at a time when the corruption associated with clientist politics was the norm); he was trained as a political scientist, having earned a PhD from Columbia, and earned his professional reputation drafting legislation. Professional as Moses' approach might have been, Jacobs argued that the dominant theory of urban planning to which he and other planners subscribed, overestimated what rural romanticism could achieve. She seems to have won that argument, with Moses' approach fading from fashion. Jacobs made it easier for readers to let go of the notion that suburban development was an improvement upon the city, by offering a fallback that retained development from *that* barbarism to *this* civil city, which could be achieved by following a similarly rational set of principles.

For those who looked to modernist planning out of a drive to get beyond the messiness associated with corruption and clientism, as well as for progressives more generally, urban romanticism holds the promise of development from private to public identities, from barbarism to civility, from ruralesque communities to city neighbourhoods. In order to achieve that development, Jacobs argued that planners had to come to grips with the principles that underpin the growth of cities in "the real world," based primarily on her own observations.

Great cities are conceived as "incubators" of enterprise by Jacobs. They breed bold undertakings by connecting whatever is needed for such undertakings to develop and gain wider purchase, *e.g.* "ideas and money" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 165). She referred to "healthy" urban growth as a process in which "there is a constant replacement of less intensive uses by more intensive uses" (Professor Ratcliff as paraphrased in: Jacobs 1992

[1961], 166). Through this replacement, the city is continually displacing less intensive uses to its fringes, and so it stretches outwards.

Downtowns are downtowns because they are towns that grew up, and in so doing also turned out the big city. So people go downtown to be in the big city as such, meaning that when they go there, they are thinking big. Rather than getting stuck in "parochial interests" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 165), people downtown form networks that are capable of "producing something *greater*, socially, culturally and economically, than the sum of its separated parts" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 165; emphasis added.). Cities become great, then, when they come to produce a civilization that holds sway over a wide and diverse area. Jacobs described downtown as the "strong and *inclusive* central heart" of the big city. This centre is not (and cannot be) simply established by institutions such as City Hall, the head offices of businesses, the Central Library, the opera house, and so on. In fact, Jacobs advised against the creation of civic centres, for instance, which create zones of homogenous use that act as vitality-sucking borders wherever they are located; instead, she advocated for the distribution of major buildings throughout the city (Jacobs 1992 [1961]). The various functions of city government are thus conceived as being woven throughout the fabric of the city.

Each neighbourhood in a big city is comparable in size to a "little" city, on Jacobs' account. Like little cities (*e.g.* New Haven), big city neighbourhoods are small enough that they can be understood by individuals interested in doing so, *e.g.* municipal staff (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 411-412). The workings of all these neighbourhoods taken together, however, are far too complex to be apprehended by any one person. Thus Jacobs called for an overhaul of big city government that would begin at the

neighbourhood level (Jacobs 1992 [1961]). One cannot possibly know all the key characters and activities that make a big city work. In a big city one is necessarily a stranger to others. As strangers, people are free to explore the possibilities of coming together in some place or another. In smaller settlements where people are familiar with each other as full personalities, by contrast, their positions and relations tend to be informed by tradition. Some measure of tradition can inform neighbourhood life in a big city, as in the dominance of certain families in Little Italy, clan associations in Chinatown, and so on. But such neighbourhoods differ from smaller settlements in that their streets, restaurants and shops, and so on are presumably open to strangers; city neighbourhoods are not contained, economically or socially (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 117). This does not mean that urbanites from across the big city are drawn to such places. So while open, such neighbourhoods are not necessarily inclusive. Only one neighbourhood in the big city acts as the "social neighborhood of the whole," and that is downtown.

But rather than building up the bastions of civilization, by focusing on keeping the hearts of great cities healthy, following the Second World War, American investment and policies tended to privilege suburban-type development (broadly understood as residential zones, and so including massive social housing projects that happened to be located in central cities). Jacobs suggested that such development unwittingly creates spaces for barbarism. Moved by a "sentimentalization of nature" (that was made possible in the eighteenth century, when the city grew to be able to buffer urbanites from the vagaries of nature), suburban developments pave over nature in trying to get close to it, thereby creating "some insipid, standardized, suburbanized shadow of nature" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 445).

In addition to leading to the sacrifice of much nature, Jacobs asserted that this sentimentalization has led people to see cities (which are too close to fictionalize) as "sears of malignancy and – obviously – the enemies of nature" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 444). So people came to see the fact that cities are populated by strangers as a problem of anomie, for instance (see Wirth Jul 1938, 1-24), rather than as a key condition of their freedom to improve their lot. Suburbs were built to foster more 'natural' relationships based on the nuclear family in a community. Roughly speaking, children are meant to obey their parents, and parents, in turn, are meant to obey the community. Lawns are trimmed according to neighbourhood norms, for instance. So wave upon wave of migrants who saw themselves as climbing out of a dingy downtown, were actually crawling towards a barbaric sub-urban and sub-natural cave of sorts where they are bound to play certain roles. Behind them, these migrants left vital downtown neighbourhoods where children could have been integrated "into civilized society" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 82), and where parents would have been strangers to their neighbours, and so could have chosen which enterprises to undertake, with whom, and in what ways.

The availability of whatever might be needed for the bold undertakings that fuel urban growth is conditional upon diversity, on Jacobs' analysis. Differently put, in order to put things together differently, *i.e.* to form new ideas/relations/things, there must be different things to put together. Urban growth requires "a most intricate and close-grained *diversity* of uses that give each other constant mutual support, both economically and socially" (Emphasis added. Jacobs 1992 [1961], 14). Jacobs identified four necessary conditions of diversity: (1) multiple primary functions; (2) short blocks; (3)

buildings of various ages and conditions; and (4) a dense concentration of people (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 143-221). These conditions were meant to equip planners to "diagnose" an area lacking diversity (and so too peaceful vitality) (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 143-221), and have come to constitute a *formula* for planning urban growth. This formula for urban planning is easy to pick up and run with, as opposed to the thoughtfulness and creativity required to experiment with organizing political authorities (as will be addressed in the third section of this chapter).

I do not mean to suggest that readers have blindly adopted Jacobs' formula. Precisely because she provided the reasoning behind each of the conditions, planners have been able to adapt it to fit their cities and purposes. For example, she explained that "buildings of various ages and conditions" provide for rents of different rates, so mom and pop (read: entrepreneurial) shops can find/keep their footing in more affordable older buildings in a neighbourhood alongside tried and true establishments that can afford to pay higher rents in newer buildings. If diversity of income is the desired outcome, there are other ways of achieving it. Thus, in designing master-planned communities in which all buildings are of the same age, New Urbanists have been careful to integrate spaces with lower rents, such as "carriage houses" (Katz 1994). In the following section I will look more closely at an adaptation of Jacobs' formula in the revitalization of Vancouver, and then I will turn to the city government reforms that she insisted were necessary in order to realize proper city planning. But for now, lets pause to consider how Bridgeview appears and disappears when we take seriously Jacobs' myth of the civil city – with its code of respect for privacy, and formula for planning diversity.

(iii) Barbaric Bridgeview

With Jacobs' myth of the civil city in mind, Bridgeview would be cast as a barbaric place, as backward. Tucked in the shadow of three bridges (one rail, one car, and one pedestrian light rail bridge), and ringed by industrial activity, Bridgeview is the kind of neighbourhood that thousands of people pass by every day without ever noticing (Figure 3). It is nestled along the southern shoreline of the Fraser River across from Vancouver, in the suburban municipality of Surrey, which consists of about one third residential-commercial uses, one third agricultural uses, and one third parkland. Things are bit rougher here, than in neighbouring suburban municipalities, it seems (Read "Criminal Bridgeview. 2000s."). One might say that Bridgeview has big city problems, but the ways residents deal with those problems are much more intimate (Read "Neighbourly Bridgeview. 2000s.").



Figure 3: *Passing by Bridgeview* (photo by author)

It is significant that even in the "Criminal Bridgeview. 2000s." scene, both of the main characters are cast as "good guys", *i.e.* not the kind of people Bridgeviewers need to be afraid of. It is as though nothing has changed in neighbourly codes since the 1970s (if not before then), when a resident declared: "We don't condemn people [who live in the neighbourhood] for doing anything" (Stubbs 31 Jan 1973). Such openness is made possible, in large measure, by having heard stories about what one's neighbours have endured, which can be used to explain behaviours that might otherwise be seen as threatening. The youth that was apprehended for growing marijuana, I was told, lost his mother at a young age and so was forced into independence at an early age. While familiar with the relations among delinquents (such as the drunk driver and the guy on the motorcycle), cops lack this more intimate insider knowledge. With it, keeping the peace would look less like staking out and breaking into houses, and more like figuring out how to better support children whose lone parent is mourning and busy working to provide for their basic needs (BV 5).

Although those exciting encounters with outsiders are the ones that Bridgeviewers seem most eager to recount to an outsider such as myself, the minutiae of everyday life seems to be of interest among neighbours. By becoming familiar with one another's daily rhythms of work and play, family histories, individual quirks, and so on, neighbours are able to look out for one another by identifying things that are out of the ordinary. In order to flag a vehicle's movement for special attention (as in the "Neighbourly Bridgeview. 2000s." scene), for instance, neighbours must be familiar with the times and trajectories of one another's usual movements, in addition to being able to identify one another's vehicles. Such looking out for one another serves a similar security function as

Jacobs' "eyes on the street." But whereas the civil urbanite would turn a blind eye to what goes on in private, the capacity of Bridgeviewers to look out for one another is an extension of personal knowledge, and furthermore, is based on fairly personal care. For example, the majority of Bridgeviewers surveyed said they thought that their neighbours "would step in if they saw an older child bullying a younger child" (67% said yes, and 21% said it would depend on the situation; Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 25). Chances are that neighbours would be familiar with the children, and so have a sense of what kind of intervention might be helpful.

How might one explain this intimate mode of neighbourhood organization? One set of explanations is suggested by the suburban studies sketched in the introduction. Recalling the two different emphases in political economy approaches to suburbs, one might see home ownership as the primary factor influencing the development of neighbourliness (Harris 1996). The houses down in Bridgeview are cheaper than in most other parts of the region, and so home ownership rates are very high (79%). Lower middle class neighbours seem to develop close ties because they rely on one another to do things, such as shingling a roof (as in the "Neighbourly Bridgeview. 2000s." scene), that more affluent folks would hire someone to do. This could be seen as exemplifying the values of "thrift, mutual aid, and self-reliance" that historian Richard Harris identified with turn of the century self-built working class suburbs of Toronto. While lower middle class home ownership surely plays a role of some sort, with Jacobs' conditions of diversity in mind, another factor would seem to be more significant in fostering Bridgeviewers' neighbourliness.

Density was the fourth condition of diversity identified by Jacobs, and it would seem to be key to Bridgeivewers' relatively intimate relations. According to a neighbourhood survey, 63% of residents are likely to ask their neighbours "for advice about personal things… like raising children or finding a job" and the primary influence on the responses to this question was density (57% positive influence; Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 21). In other words, the "low density" of the neighbourhood is the most significant explanation for this personal touch – which was not as high in the other four neighbourhoods surveyed for the Action for Neighbourhood Change Project. At 333 people per square kilometer (Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 16-17), the neighbourhood would be classified as rural by Statistics Canada because it does not meet the agency's density requirement for an urban area; that is, of course, if Bridgeview were not counted as part of the urban area of Surrey, which had a density of 1,245.3 in 2006. (Statistics Canada). The way Bridgeviewers tend to put it, the neighbourhood is a small town in the midst of a big city. Many residents came from small towns, and others seem to have embraced their intimate neighbourly ways.

Interestingly enough, although the neighbourhood does not meet the density condition, it does meet the other three conditions of diversity identified by Jacobs in some way. It has buildings of various ages (see for example "Settlement of Bridgeview. 2000s."), short blocks, and multiple primary uses. Significantly, however, the industrial uses in the neighbourhood form a ring around the neighbourhood, where the few commercial activities, *e.g.* a convenience store, gas station, strip club, and lunch spot, are also located. Thus outsiders need not cut through the neighbourhood in order to access these businesses; instead, they are kept moving around the neighbourhood, as though it

were a roundabout writ large. Jacobs conceived of such walls of single use (including civic centres) as vacuums of a sort, sucking in vitality rather than connecting up different uses (Jacobs 1992 [1961]). So while the municipality of Surrey booms around it, Bridgeview's residential core is actually shrinking, for reasons I will explore further in chapter three and four in particular.

One of the upshots of having such an isolated residential core is that the distinction between insiders and outsiders is drawn sharply. By becoming familiar with and looking out for one another, within an isolated area, neighbours come to see themselves as Bridgeview community members. Residents with a wide range of ethnicities see their neighbours as happy to help one another out – albeit slightly more so if their neighbours share a similar background (80% as opposed to 71% if neighbours have different backgrounds), and even more likely to "strongly agree" if they are over 45 years old or members of neighbourhood groups (Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 22). From these numbers one can calculate that only some 13% of those surveyed who see their neighbours as willing to help out perceive ethnocentrism as affecting that assistance. Together, Bridgeview residents see themselves as capable of working together to protect neighbourhood assets. Some 87% of residents agree that their neighbours would likely work "together to stop closure of a school or recreation centre, for example" (Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 26). Such "collective efficacy" goes a long way in explaining how Bridgeview became home to a community school and community centre, as I will explore further in the course of this dissertation.

The extraordinarily strong sense of community in Bridgeview is celebrated by many of those who have lived and worked in the neighbourhood. Much to her surprise,

Penny Priddy – a politician who has served on the School District and City Council, as well as served as the NDP MLA and MP for Surrey – is lauded by many Bridgeviewers for having publically noted how kids in the neighbourhood score high on social measures because they are part of something (POL 1). This social facility and cohesiveness has been attributed in large measure to the neighbourhood being "a semi-rural area, cut-off from the urban centre, characterized by low density" (Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 16-17). In Jacobs' terms, Bridgeview residents have a shared private identity based on common interests, as opposed to a public identity formed among strangers who share space in a city. In short, they have formed a suburban community.

Jacobs was concerned about the impacts that the demand for sharing so much with your neighbours could have on those tasked with sharing a private identity with one another (Jacobs 1992 [1961]). A hint towards the impacts of Bridgeviewers' intimate form of neighbourliness was offered in an article depicting the tight-knit community fighting for sewers in the 1970s (as I will explore further later in this chapter): "'Some mornings you get up and see a neighbor. He chucks a rock at you and you throw one at him and you have a good time'" (Mr. Barkved a Bridgeview resident of one year as quoted in: Stubbs 31 Jan 1973). As far as I can tell, the literal practice of throwing stones at one another does not seem to have persisted, but the gossip certainly continues to fly. Contrary to the saying, "he who lives in a glass house should not throw stones," Bridgeviewers have fun together by throwing stones – by looking through one another's "picture windows," and gossiping with one another.

Significantly, I would suggest, the one indicator on which Bridgeview's semi-rural neighbourhood type did not seem to contribute to higher "collective efficacy," is the

trustworthiness of neighbours – which was pretty similar across higher density urban and suburban neighbourhoods surveyed, being counted at some 71% in Bridgeivew (Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 23). That a strong sense of community is found coupled with gossip and an average sense of trustworthiness in Bridgeview, suggests that Jacobs overemphasized the extent to which people withdraw to avoid prying eyes (as in her example of the struggle between the man and little girl, in which not one suburbanite living in the fancy building looked out to see what was going on). While helpful in terms of providing a counterpoint to the romanticization of the strong ties that bind communities together, Jacobs' analysis obscures the genuine enjoyment that some people (including many Bridgeviewers) gain in becoming familiar with one another, by telling or giving audience to stories about neighbours and neighbourhood life, for example (*c.f.* Butler 1993). That people sometimes get hurt in the flurry of all this stone throwing cannot be avoided, but it does not seem to affect trust much.

Barbaric is how Jacobs described intimate forms of organization such as this, in which insiders who are known to one another are cherished (as opposed to threatening strangers). The respect for privacy associated with civility, which allows a public neighbourhood identity to form, is not evident in Bridgeview. Instead, there is an intimate familiarity among neighbours who share an appreciation for a ruralesque way of living (which I will explore in greater detail in chapter four), and see themselves as members of a Bridgeviewer community. Although such barbarism can be found in the central city, it thrives outside it. As suggested by Jacobs' fourth condition of diversity, and the social survey, lack of density might go some way in explaining Bridgeview's personal touch-cum-barbarism. This supports Jacobs' notion that it becomes untenable to

pry into one another's private affairs when there are lot of strangers living in close proximity. But such prying seems to serve Bridgeviewers far better than Jacobs imagined it could, as evidenced by their having retained a hold on the neighbourhood in the face of bulldozers, as we will see.

(2) Civil city myth at work: Revitalization using Jacobs' formula for planning

(i) Big city centric: Metro Vancouver & Invisible Bridgeview

Interesting as the above analysis might be in terms of showing what would become apparent of a neighbourhood on the fringes if one were to look there with Jacobs' civil city myth in mind, such an analysis runs counter to the purpose of the myth itself. Jacobs insisted that big cities and smaller places are fundamentally different, and lamented that big cities have suffered under the wrongful application of ideas that have been developed through studies of "smaller settlements;" most notably, she was concerned about the treatment of big city neighbourhoods as "self-contained or introverted units" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 114). The civil city myth offers a corrective to such misapplication by focusing solely on big cities, which she understood to be the downtown areas of wider metropolitan regions. Thus when we take the myth seriously, places like Bridgeview (*i.e.* self-contained low-density housing developments on the fringes of a central city) become virtually invisible. In approaching BC's Lower Mainland with this myth in mind, it is Vancouver, the heart of the metropolitan region that comes into view.

Relatively standard relationships seem to have been presumed by Jacobs between the urban core and its stretching periphery. For example: "A Standard Metropolitan Area

includes a major city… along with the related towns, smaller satellite cities, villages and suburbs that lie outside a major city's political boundaries but within its economic and social orbit" (Jacobs 1992 [1961] 425). With the ongoing growth of the city, upward and outward, there are ever more people living in suburban and rural municipalities that depend on and travel to the central city for jobs, financing, major theatre and sporting events, shopping, and so forth. The trouble is that these commuters and tourists do not contribute to the tax base that supports such activities downtown because they pay property taxes in their home localities. Furthermore, they generate demands for public services that extend across municipal boundaries – such as transportation – that none of the local governments can effectively provide on their own.

While accepting the metropolitan problem, however, Jacobs rejected the commonly offered solution: metropolitan government, which is a federation of sorts of the various local governments in an urban region, which each retain their independence but contribute to this upper tier of government that is responsible for specific metropolitan-wide services. Despite the economic boon to central cities under such arrangements, Jacobs argued that this upper tier of government would simply replicate and amplify the "local helplessness, ruthless, oversimplified planning, and administrative chaos" that was already evident in big cities (Jacobs 1992 [1961] 427). I will get into more detail about her recommendations for reforming city government in the third section, but for now, suffice it to say that Jacobs was deeply concerned about the tendency to upscale problems rather than addressing the problem of dying central cities. For now, I will demonstrate how her myth of the civil city was used to address that problem in Vancouver.

Like many other central cities in North America in the 1950s, downtown Vancouver was slated for "urban renewal" of the sort that Jacobs opposed. But it was a place where, after having informed effective resistance to urban renewal plans, Jacobs' ideas came to be used to develop an official style of urban planning and development. In what follows, I will provide a sketch of Metro Vancouver, and how the civil city myth has been used to revitalize downtown. Later, I will examine some of the impacts of that revitalization with an eye to self-government that tends to be forgotten.

Metropolitan Vancouver has a number of names and attendant forms. One is the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) – a Statistics Canada unit (akin to the Standard Metropolitan Area in America), which is a continuously built up area in which 75 per cent or more of the population of each municipality is counted as living within an "urban area" (*i.e.* with "a population density of at least 400 persons per square kilometer" and "a minimum total population of 1,000" with a population of more than 10,000 and with an area-wide population of more than 50,000 (StatsCan as quoted in Sancton 2008, 72, 74). Vancouver is the third largest CMA in the country, with some 2,313,328 residents counted in 2011, following Montréal with 3,824,211 and Toronto with 5,583,064. Its population growth rate is pretty well on par with Toronto's, at just above 9% from 2006-11, whereas Montréal's is only 5.2% (Metro Vancouver 2012). The CMA's share of the total provincial population is significant and increasing, from 51.5% in 2001, to 52.5% in 2006; the region can thus be seen as *the* urban centre of British Columbia. The boundaries of the Vancouver CMA are coterminous with those of the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD).

One of 29 districts formed by the province in the 1960s in response to the need for local government in booming rural areas (with natural resource-based economies), the GVRD acts as an upper tier of local government to deliver services that cut across municipal boundaries (BC Ministry of Community Services 2006). It is a confederation of sorts, whereby some officials elected in localities are appointed to serve on the regional board (with the number of representatives from each locality depending on population numbers). Based on what member localities have asked for and agreed to, the GVRD provides drinking water, sewerage and drainage, and solid waste management to 22 municipalities, one electoral area, and one treaty First Nation; as well as regional parks and affordable housing to "the public" (including part of the Fraser Valley Regional District). Regional planning was one of the key functions of Regional Districts when they were formed, but that authority was suspended in 1983, and was only reinstated as a voluntary activity in 1995 (under the *Growth Strategies Amendment Act*). The GVRD is one of six regions to have voluntarily developed a growth strategy since the early 1990s, and in 1998 it was afforded with regional transportation authority by provincial legislation (which will be examined further in chapter three), as well as slightly expanded authorities (including broad corporate powers) that were given to all regional districts at that time (BC Ministry of Community Services 2006). The regional district is also billed "as the main political forum for discussion of significant community issues at the regional level. It acts as a facilitator, convenor, partner, advocate, and a significant conduit for information and education to the community" (Metro Vancouver 2012), but such political activity is certainly not its primary function. The GVRD has been recently branded as Metro Vancouver, and has taken a more regulatory approach

(*e.g.* oversight of land use decisions previously the purview of municipalities) than Surrey and several other municipalities are comfortable with (Lamontagne 3 May 2010).

Within such metropolitan regions, what interested Jacobs was the "heart," *i.e.* the downtown core. This is in line with common usage. When people talk about "Vancouver" they do not tend to have in mind the parks in Abbotsford, or the farms in Delta, let alone the residential tracts that spread across the region; rather, they have in mind the City of Vancouver, with its high density condo towers, and central business area. Thus, I will use the term "Vancouver" to refer to the City of Vancouver and "Metro Vancouver" to refer to the metropolitan region (Figure 4). Vancouver is the largest municipality in the region in terms of population, with 603,502 residents counted in 2011 (Regional Development Division 2011, 1), and it is to that metropolitan core to which the myth of the civil city would draw our attention.

Nestled behind Stanley Park with its iconic old growth trees, on a point jutting out into a protected inlet of the Pacific Ocean, the grids of Vancouver streets angle this way and that, following the shoreline of the ocean to the north and west, and the Fraser River to the south; all against the backdrop of the Coast Mountains to the north. Bridges and tunnels have been key to connecting downtown Vancouver with its neighbourhoods to the south, and to surrounding municipalities in the region. But the centrality of Vancouver is suggested by much more than transportation patterns (which will be explored in greater detail in chapter three). Vancouver is home to the BC Place Stadium (with the world's largest air supported roof, and a less vaunted Canadian Football League team), many regional and provincial government offices (which is especially significant considering that the city is not the provincial capital), large opera and film houses, as well

as many significant art and performance schools and venues (*e.g.* the reputable Emily Carr University of Art and Design), the province's most reputable university (*i.e.* University of BC) as well as countless training schools of various sorts, a shopping district that draws customers from across the world (*i.e.* Robson Street), not to mention Granville Island and other tourist destinations. As a big central city it has distinct governmental needs and challenges, as recognized by the 1953 Vancouver Charter, which afforded the municipality with more self-government authority than others in the province. While it does not share Toronto's status as a world city according to conventional measures such as financial institutions (e.g. AT Kearney and Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2012), Vancouver has been on the world stage as the host of Expo '86 and more recently, the winter 2010 Olympics.

As I will explore in the remainder of this section, Jacobs' myth of the civil city is key to understanding how the fate of Vancouver has been turned around from that of a declining port town on the edge of the country to a liveable city with its own celebrated styles of art (e.g. Jeff Wall, CBC News 8 May 2012) and architecture (e.g. Arthur Erickson, Martin 21 May 2009). Its role as part of the continental Gateway to Asia within a global network of exchange will be examined in chapter three.

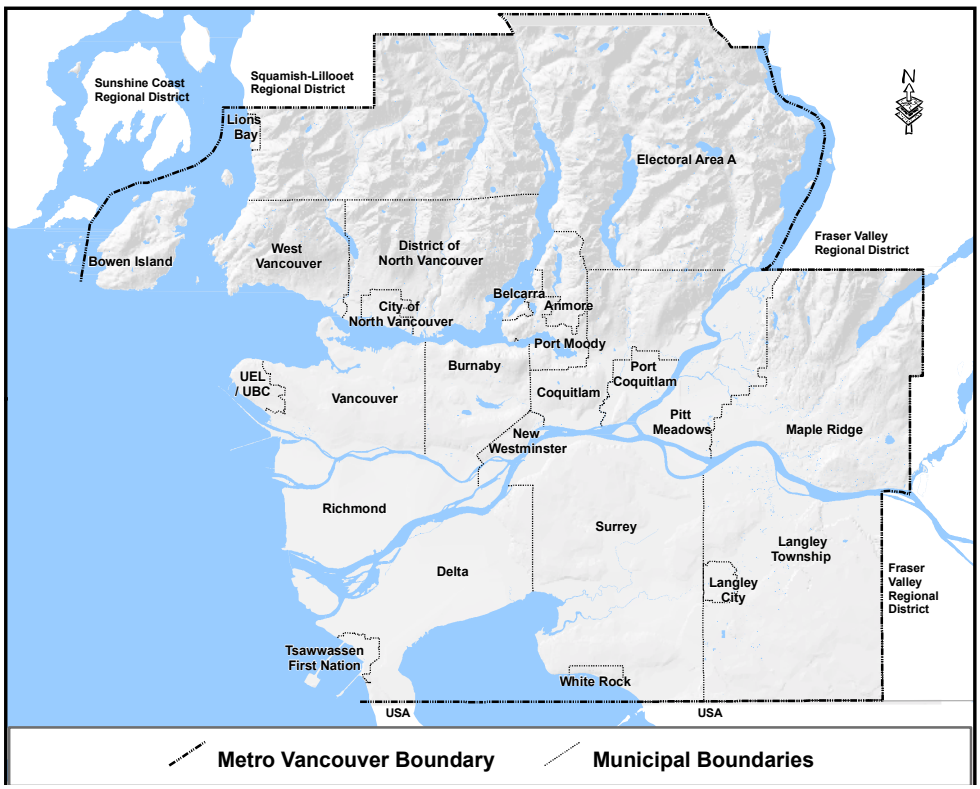


Figure 4: *Municipal Boundaries* (GVRD 2010)

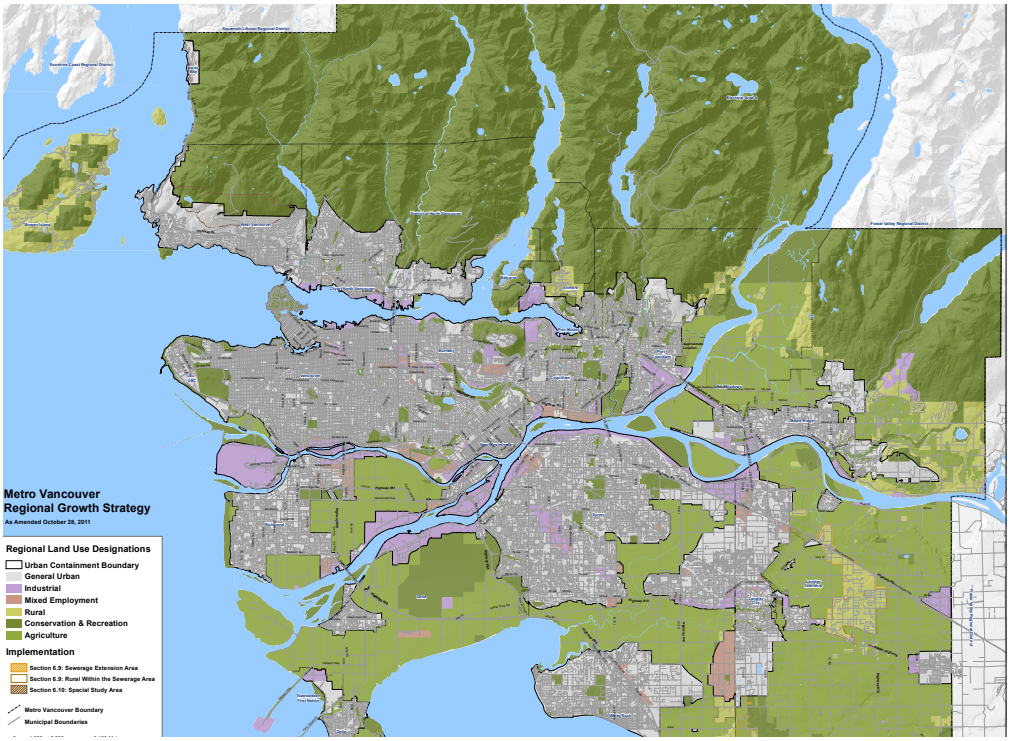


Figure 5: *Regional Land Use* (GVRD 2010)

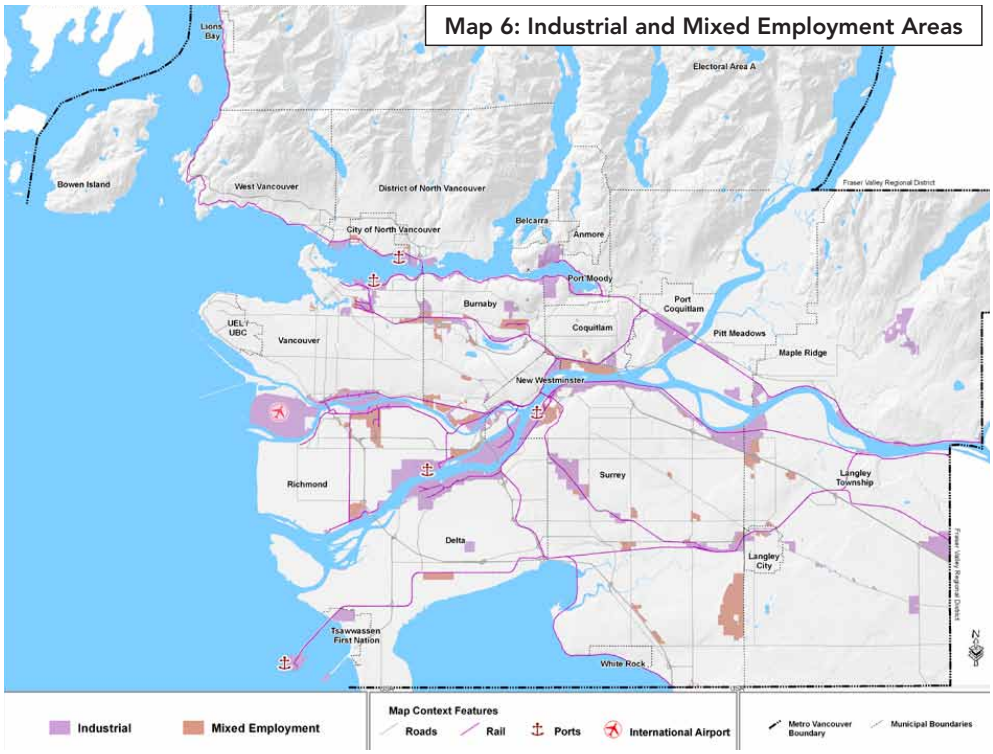


Figure 6: *Industrial Areas & Transportation Routes* (GVRD 2010)

(ii) The livable community: South False Creek

Vancouver as it is known today has been built on a long-standing notion that "Vancouver is the place to live" – as confirmed by King George VI when he and "his Elizabeth" visited "the belle of Canadian Cities" on May 29th, 1939 (Nicol 1970, 188). With the ocean spreading westward, palm trees and evergreens growing side by side, and the stunning mountain horizon, the "spectacular natural setting" and mild climate of Vancouver has made it "a highly desirable place to live" (Leo and Anderson 2006, 169-189, 174). But this emphasis on liveability is in part a result of struggles that played out over the redevelopment of downtown in the 1960s-70s.

In its early days, Vancouver was known as the Terminal City, because the rail line crossing the country from Eastern Canada ended there. A Canadian Pacific Railway hotel that opened in 1888 was among the first significant buildings in the city (as well as

the first in a long line of hotels developed, constructed and operated by railways across the country). Much of the industry that followed involved processing the goods that came on and off the rails (*e.g.* lumber mills). But by the 1950s the industrial zones linked to the railways and harbour, to the north and south of downtown, as well as the West End (between downtown and Stanley Park), were declining. Following a modernist vision associated with Le Corbusier (and so too Jacobs' nemesis in New York, Robert Moses), a forest of tall spindly apartment towers sprung up in the West End. But the development was much criticized for cramming too many people into too small an area with too few amenities. By the late 1960s, it was increasingly clear that the other declining areas would have to be redeveloped in some other way.

The old port and rail lands that had been so vital for decades had become obsolete for the purposes of modern industry in Vancouver, as elsewhere. The question was whether those lands should be: (1) repurposed for the new ways that goods were produced, warehoused, and distributed; (2) converted into commercial or residential zones; or (3) developed in a more mixed fashion. Suspicious of schemes that might be forced upon them, local residents in the areas concerned (or in adjacent areas where workers lived) felt threatened. There were also concerns about "heritage preservation" (Denhez 1978). It was in this context that Jane Jacobs' name came to be associated with what was claimed to be a new approach to urban development, taken up by a new municipal party, The Electors' Action Movement (TEAM), which challenged the long-reigning Non-Partisan Association (NPA) for control of Vancouver city council (See Appendix 2). UBC professors moved by her myth of the civil city played a key role in forming and running for TEAM. In classic Jacobs' fashion, they also effectively

mobilized residents to quash the construction of a freeway that would have run over a neighbourhood.

Jane Jacobs' formula for planning diverse neighbourhoods is evident in the functional "bottom line principles" of the effort to redevelop South False Creek, which "were ultimately refined and redefined as development policies" (Rodger Dec 1976, 6).

In line with Jacobs' first condition of diversity, the neighbourhood was to include recreational and commercial uses in addition to residential uses (Ley 1980, 238-58, 254). The aim was to meet the full range of residents' needs – including social, recreational, entertainment, and aesthetic needs (Rodger Dec 1976, 6). Furthermore, the residents themselves were to come from diverse income groups, age levels and household types. The household mix was meant to be "most responsive to demographic trends and social and economic constraints," *e.g.* including a mix of families with children (25%), mature and young couples (25%), the elderly (15%) and singles (35%). But in regard to income mix the decision was that the development "should not attempt to redress the imbalance in the city by becoming, in effect, a pocket of reverse imbalance" – which means to say that while space would be made for lower-middle class people (about one third $9,6000-14500), no space would be made for the hardest done by (*i.e.* those earning $0-9600).

Members and supporters of the Coalition of Progressive Electors (COPE) – a left-wing municipal party formed by activists, community organizers, and unionists in 1968 – argued that TEAM was elitist and disregarded the interests of the disadvantaged (Ley 1980, 238-58, 256), not least of which being residents living in nearby Fairview Slopes; in 1973 two citizens' groups formed to advocate for low cost housing in the area (Rodger Dec 1976, 4). Nonetheless, this middle-class dominated mix (with about two thirds

making $14,500+) was described as a middle road between those who "wanted only social housing on civic land and" those who "wanted some high quality market housing to set the standard for a high quality development" (Rodger Dec 1976, 10-11).

Such diversity was to be achieved in two ways. One was to subsidize people rather than units (Rodger Dec 1976, 28), by working with different organizations and programs focusing on specific groups of people (*e.g.* Kiwanis club for elderly people, the federal government for people with disabilities; (Rodger Dec 1976, 25), which was in line with Jacobs' "guaranteed-rent method" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 326). But whereas Jacobs' vital neighbourhood became diverse through the range of rents provided for by the organic process of buildings aging (resulting as well as the mix of building ages she identified as the second condition of diversity), this master-plan aimed to accommodate social diversity by creating "neighbourhood enclaves" of residential development – areas of about 500 feet separated from one another by parks, schools, commercial and other non-residential land (Rodger Dec 1976, 9). Significantly, these were not sprawling enclaves, but tightly woven ones, with short blocks (thus meeting Jacobs' second condition of diversity) and relatively high density (thus meeting the fourth condition of diversity). "Each enclave is then free to take on its own lifestyle and people can intensify their own particular way of life, unharassed by neighbouring cultures" (Rodger Dec 1976, 9). This was assured by not affording space for lower class people who are seen as always having cause to harass others, even if only for a quarter.

So while adhering in large measure to the formula for diversity laid out by Jacobs' myth of the civil city, the redevelopment's segregation of that diversity seems to exemplify the zoning mentality of rural romanticism. The principles developed in order

to achieve this segregated diversity in South False Creek were: "not mixing different types of tenures and certain household types; retaining the market principle of free choice or self-selection of the area by future residents" (Rodger Dec 1976, 28). The former principle clearly diverges from Jacobs' formula for diversity, but the latter one gestures towards the segregation that is implicit in Jacobs' wanting to create as much space as possible for individuals to make their way in their market. It is significant, I would suggest, that street-involved people only feature in her account of city streets as an indication of a problematic dead zone (*e.g.* when they gather together in parks; Jacobs 1992 [1961], 62-3). Although Jacobs did not admit the role that segregation played in making the diversity she described functional, those trying to use her myth of the civil city to market units to the masses were bound to because most people are clear that they do not want to rub elbows with people whose ways of living differ greatly from their own (as I will explore further in following paragraphs). Differently put, only small niche markets of people (*e.g.* bohemians) are actually interested in mixing with people ascribed lower socio-economic status, and even they may be more committed to socializing with one another, than with those who are really hard done by. So what appears at first glance as a misapplication of Jacobs' formula for diversity *can actually be taken as an application of it that takes seriously the gap between the civil city myth's focus on integrated diversity in public, and the actual enclaves in private where people choose to live, for the most part*.

Jacobs' celebration of city streets assumes that with vital streetlife there is no need for people to either seek more intimate forms of "togetherness", or to withdraw into themselves (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 62-3). But while vibrant public life makes "possible"

certain lively and unencumbered modes of sociality (whose virtues Jacobs extols), she does not demonstrate that it entirely satisfies people's social drives. As a "public character" – "in frequent contact with a wide circle of people and who is sufficiently interested to make himself a public character" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 68) – Jacobs' social life was especially consumed by/with the neighbourhood, but I suspect that many of her neighbours were both Greenwich Villagers and members of other communities. While it makes sense that there was not much space in her life for much else beyond connecting with and advocating for neighbours, she does not provide sufficient (if any) evidence to support the extension of her experience to the more general assumption that public and private identities are mutually exclusive. Her experience gestures toward Nisbet's theory that the "quest for community" has been produced by people's waning influence over our ways of living together, and so might be satisfied by (re?)gaining such influence (as noted in the introduction). Before diving into an analysis of Jacobs' political engagement, however, I will first debunk her assumption of mutual exclusivity by highlighting that South False Creek residents were afforded space to develop intimate communities *and* a neighbourhood identity.

While different lifestyles were to be segregated in residential enclaves in South False Creek, the neighbourhood as a whole can still be considered as diverse in that various segments of society were to share public spaces and resources (*e.g.* walkways and a school). There seem to have been efforts to create a sense of an overarching community. If the remaining principles that informed the redevelopment are any indication, environmentalism was to be shared by members of this community, which was built with an eye to: "the long-range environmental impact upon itself and the

region;" making sure that the Creek is pollution-free; and protecting views of the water, the mountains, and so forth (Rodger Dec 1976, 28). Thus environmentalism would seem constitute a set of shared values, which would suggest that the South False Creek community was being lent a private identity, much like suburban developments. But the particular brand of environmentalism described does not suggest some moral or spiritual relationship to the natural environment; it is concerned primarily with maintaining the cleanliness and beauty of neighbours' shared environment. It is precisely environments of this sort that Jacobs suggested neighbours share, although she called them public spaces. While Jacobs seems to have been happy enough to live without much greenery, many people are not (hence the flight from the city), and so the protection of viewlines to green features (*e.g.* mountains) can be understood as part of an urban neighbourhood environment in which most people can happily live. So whereas Greenwich Village was a *vital* city neighbourhood in Jacobs' analysis, Vancouver's South False Creek was being planned was a *liveable* city neighbourhood.

As had worried COPE and citizens' groups, "the project was so successful financially that both the middle- and upper-income dwellings soon came to be perceived as intensely desirable properties, and False Creek came more nearly to resemble a playground for the affluent than a mixed-income housing development" (Leo 1995, 27-50, 41). Again, while this might seem to run counter to Jacobs' urbanism, her critics from the left noted the tendency of her urbanism toward gentrification (Gans 2006, 213-5). In any case, while concerned about the plight of the less fortunate, progressives such as TEAM supporters were certainly not socialist. Their success was marked by lending order to the growth and redevelopment of Vancouver. Despite having been successful in

the popular terms of growth, TEAM would not maintain its hold on power through to the end of the decade. As elsewhere, with the threat of recession, the fiscal conservatism, free enterprise, and limits to government that TEAM had dismissed as "short-range financial considerations" became more valuable to voters than the long-range "social and aesthetic priorities" – which were seen as costly (Ley 1980, 238-58, 253). Hence TEAM fell out of power in 1978. Throughout the following changes in governing municipal parties, however, a similar style of mobilizing the myth of the civil city to plan and market downtown communities has persisted.

Whereas the focus in developing South False Creek was on making the city liveable, planners became more explicit about *who* it was being made liveable for, and so too of what exactly that liveability consisted. By 1986 Vancouver's share of the regional population was only about 23%, down from 35% a decade before and around 45% a decade before that (in the 1960s when the region was formed). So while Metro Vancouver was the fastest growing CMA in the country from 1991-96 (according to Statistics Canada census data), at a rate of 14.3% (adding some 230,000 people to the regional population count), Vancouver itself was only growing at a rate of 8.9% (with 42,164 more residents), while many of its suburban municipalities were growing much more quickly; taken together the surrounding areas accounted for more than 80% of regional population growth. Surrey, for example, was growing at a rate of 24.2%, more than two and a half times the rate of Vancouver, and its population also grew more in terms of absolute numbers (up 59, 304 residents). Thus in trying to attract people to live downtown, Vancouver planners saw themselves as competing with suburban municipalities, home to the bulk of regional growth. By fleshing out how Vancouver

planners catered to suburban tastes, and so provided a vision of (private) community, while adhering to Jacobs' myth of the civil city, I aim to demonstrate (*contra* Jacobs) that it matters very little whether the community that is informed by that myth is public or private. The important question, I will go on to suggest, is whether or not one sees oneself as capable of informing our ways of living together.

(iii) Vancouverism: North False Creek

Vancouverism is a term that has come to describe a style of urban planning, and its associated architectural form, that is fast becoming a global model for revitalizing central cities, to make them more livable (Kataoka 2009, 42-57; Punter 2003) – which two of its biggest proponents have acknowledged is a "similar to" (Beasley Apr 2000) or anticipated (Hardwick May 1994, 338-62, 341) New Urbanism. As traced above, the Vancouverism style of urban planning emerged during the heyday of TEAM, when it was sketched out in the 1975 "Livable Region Strategy" adopted by the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) (Hardwick May 1994, 338-62, 344-5), which included decentralizing jobs so as to reduce commuting traffic (Ley 1980, 238-58). More recently, it was enshrined in Larry Beasley's "Living First" approach, which was put into practice in Vancouver's 1991 Central Area Plan.

Taking seriously Jacobs' opposition to freeways, which was demonstrated as having local traction in the 1970s, this Living First approach refuses to construct freeways in order to make commuting to and from downtown difficult, thereby making congestion "an ally." Furthermore, the principles Beasley identifies invoke Jacobs' formula for diversity. Multiple primary functions are promoted through the focus on

developing downtown as a place to live, work, and play (with living coming first, as the title says) and developing "complete" neighbourhoods for pedestrians (replete with "third places" such as pubs and cafes; *e.g.* Oldenburg 1999 [1997]). Buildings of various ages and conditions are promoted by "insisting on a rich housing mix, including both market and nonmarket housing, mixed incomes, family and non-family households, special needs housing, and unique housing choices (such as, for example, houseboats and lofts)." No mention is made of "neighbourhood enclaves" of the sort that lent South False Creek segregated diversity, but just as I suspect would have been the case in Jacobs' New York, many residents appear to self-select to socialize with those who share their interests.

What has changed dramatically since the days of TEAM is that the discretionary authority of the director of planning has been reinstituted, and the commitment to situating planning within the context of a vital civic realm has declined, while consultative shows have become more elaborate. This pull back from putting planning in a political context had, in fact, begun under TEAM itself (Ley 1980, 238-58). Much has been made of "the cooperative planning approach" that links staff, politicians, developers and citizens: "Public consultation at every stage, with very wide outreach, is required, and it is undertaken in iteration after iteration. The public and private sector join forces around a table for the actual design exercise. Politicians decide policy, appointed officials handle development approvals, and for all practical purposes city decisions are final, with appeals being very rare. The result is that, even with the grandest urban development gestures, the rezoning process seldom fails, public hearings are relatively calm, and most citizens seem satisfied with the results" (Punter 2003). But even Beasley himself has noted that the discretionary authority of the planning department was key to his being

able to achieve what he did. In his words: "The approach is based on a highly discretionary regulatory framework, which emphasizes guidelines and incentives over hard regulations. This allows a great deal of ongoing learning and innovation" (Beasley Apr 2000). Thus, while similarly romantic in its impulses, the redevelopment of North False Creek stands in stark contrast to that of South False Creek (*c.f.* Ley 1987, 40-56).

After Expo 86 when it came time to build up the 204 acres on the north side, the province sold its (costly) role as developer along with the land, as a single parcel to Hong Kong developer Li Ka-Shing, but Vancouver retained its regulatory role. A "co-operative planning approach" and "participatory process" were adopted under the advice of progressive head planner Ray Spaxman, and with independent mayor (and later, NDP premier from 1991 to 1996) Mike Harcourt at the helm, but decision-making authority was retained by city officials. Through close co-operation with Spaxman and a couple of his consultants (including Johnny Carline, commissioner and CAO of Metro Vancouver for 15 years, ending in Feb 2012), and following the guidelines of the *Livable Region Plan*, local architect Stanley Kwok had been able to overcome conflict between the province (for whom he worked, as president of BC Place Corporation) and the City, winning unanimous council approval for a master plan for the site in April 1986; although that plan was shelved with the sale of the land, Kwok essentially picked it up again after he was hired as senior vice-president of the Li development company, Concord Pacific. With a new pro-development NPA mayor, Gordon Campbell (who was in that office from 1986-93, before he too became Premier from 2001 to 2011) – who had worked early on in his career for Marathon Realty (the real estate arm of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had owned the Expo lands prior to the province) – and in turn, a

new planning team that would eventually be headed by Larry Beasley, the City was ready to make the changes required to facilitate the development of False Creek North in the 1990s.

The City's influence over the actual development of what has been billed as North America's largest master-planned community (See for example: DA Architects & Planners 2011), now called Yaletown, was exercised primarily through design controls Beasley had laid down in the Central Area Plan. That the earlier plan for the site, crafted in close collaboration with Spaxman, was compatible with Beasley's Area Plan suggests a continuity of approach that can be explained, at least in part, by the ongoing influence of Jacobs' myth of the civil city. We can see this influence in Beasley's articulation of the principles that informed his approach, which he penned in 2000 under the title "Living First," for the American Planning Association's *Zoning News*.

For one, Jacobs' condition of a high concentration of people was to be met through extremely high-density buildings. "Design guidelines, enabled by the zoning, set the form. The guidelines emphasize thin towers with small floor plates, and the base of the tower is hidden behind a nicely scaled minimum three-story street wall. At street level, these towers almost disappear from one's perception."



Figure 7: *Yaletown* (photograph by author)

The densities achieved through this formula reached over 5,000 people per square kilometer by 2006, and cranes pulling up condo buildings continue to dot the skyline. By comparison, at that time the big cities of Toronto and Montreal had lower densities, of 3,972.4 and 4,438.7 respectively. In addition to tucking spindly towers out of view from street level, behind "pedestrian scale" bases, Beasley also used other design mechanisms to preempt the problems associated with high density that Vancouverites had previously witnessed in the West End redevelopment. One of his principles was to realize "a humane, domestic building form for high-density housing" through design that addresses "the negative externalities" of city life. By requiring numerous pedestrian cut-throughs and streetscaping, he expanded on Jacobs' condition of short blocks, and thus designed an interesting street level experience.

Furthermore, since Beasley was clear that the aim was to attract would-be suburbanites to live downtown, he seems to have anticipated that they would not likely follow city codes of civility – such as the respect for privacy required to create the trust

necessary for strangers to look out for one another in public. He required that the civil functions of the city be designed into the built form – as exemplified by the CCTV cameras that have their eyes on the streets of Yaletown, which have themselves been constructed with the principles of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design to prevent people from sleeping on benches, or otherwise detracting from vital streetlife (Nicholles 2010). Codes ensured that skyscraper windows would not be open to viewing or noise, for example, by demanding that glass used for windows meets certain standards of reflectivity and thickness.

So although the 1928 vision of maintaining Vancouver as a city of single-family dwellings – developed by a consultant from St. Louis, Missouri, Harland Bartholomew (Gutstein 1975, 144) – is a thing of the past, his implicit vision of maintaining it as a city of suburbanites has persisted. Hence, Beasley's insistence "that sidewalks must become the effective living rooms of the neighborhood" is telling in that it echoes the emphasis of vital streetlife in Jacobs' civil city myth, and at the same time provides that streetlife with a different character. Whereas she conceived of city streets as public, he describes them in decidedly private terms, as "living rooms", and so his metaphor gestures toward his interest in attracting a suburban crowd. Beasley's stated concern is the formation of a neighbourhood "community identity" and "community social life" that could be encouraged through streetscaping, including "open space and green linkages" that explicitly appeal to suburban tastes. While one might chastise Beasley and others who have informed Vancouverism for using Jacobs' myth of the civil city to market suburban ways of living, these planners ought to be recognized for taking seriously the tastes of the people they are trying to lure downtown. As they discovered, with greenery and the

automation and privatization of eyes on the street, Jacobs' formula for diversity is actually quite compatible with suburban ways of living. Differently put, diverse, high-density neighbourhoods with vital streetlife can be planned (and even master planned) to have a private as opposed to a public identity. It may be the case that part of what makes that compatibility possible is the thinness of that private identity, which is concerned with the shared environment as opposed to some deeper values.

Vancouverism thus promises to satisfy the drive to be "close to nature" without rolling over nature, and in this sense its livable communities deliver on the suburban dream in a way that the suburbs themselves cannot. Those who buy into Vancouverism share an affluent lifestyle that is moved by environmentalism. If the built environment is any indication of the behaviours associated with buying into "environmental sustainability" in Yaletown, residents are meant to prefer 'green' food (featured at local upscale grocery stores) and oceanside walks (along well groomed paths), over the big box food and driving associated with suburban communities on the fringes of city centres.

(iv) zoning out barbarisms

Even though the public/private distinction is not as crucial to Jacobs' planning formula as it might seem, the logic of zoning things out remains. While her myth of the civil city can be used to criticize some of the zoning that has happened in Vancouver, in addition to making places like Bridgeview invisible, Jacobs' myth positions them as dumping grounds for that which does not fit in the civil city.

In Vancouver, for instance, the mixing of different uses in high-density neighbourhoods has been coupled with the zoning out of drinking establishments and

extreme poverty. While Yaletown's live/work/play lifestyle includes healthy fun on recreational paths, through zoning mechanisms it excludes the debauchery associated with nighttime excesses; hence, the development of the Granville entertainment district – a couple of blocks zoned especially for nightclubs and bars (Boyd 2008, 47-8). A police sergeant who has worked in the area for decades described the strip as a "bomb that's ticking" (Eustace 19 Aug 2009); with young people from across the region flocking to the strip for intoxicated adventure, fights and date rapes are sadly a regular part of the rhythm. In addition to policing, private security and surveillance measures including scanning IDs of people entering clubs, the City is now attempting to decentralize entertainment by providing more resolutions in support of establishments seeking provincial liquor licenses outside the Granville strip area – so long as they garner support through costly public consultation processes (City of Vancouver 26 Jun 2012). But hangovers of provincial policies meant to curb the vagaries of the Wild West (and contributed to Vancouver's reputation as the "No Fun City") continue to restrict the City's attempts to spread fun outside the zone of debauchery (*e.g.* the Rio theatre finally winning an application to serve liquor at live performances, but only on the condition that it stop showing movies at other times; Lederman 6 Sep 2012).

More noted, perhaps, is how the "live/work/play" lifestyle excludes those who visibly cannot afford to buy into it**.** Few street-involved people are to be seen in Yaletown, in large measure because they are policed out of it (and other affluent neighbourhoods) in one way or another (Davis 1992 [1990]). By contrast to that "enforcement zone," the Downtown Eastside has become a "containment zone" where people are largely free to buy and sell sex and small quantities of illicit drugs (Culhane

2003, 593-606, 594). There, attention is focused on studying and developing responses to the "twin epidemics" of widespread intravenous drug use and the spread of HIV/AIDS – which led to the City declaring a public emergency in 1997 when the neighbourhood registered higher rates of HIV infection than anywhere in the "developed" world. Such open-air sex and drug markets are thus zoned out of Yaletown, where people can afford to tuck such activities away in private.

Such separation of different aspects of city life is precisely what Jacobs railed against, and her urbanism might cast the Downtown Eastside as precisely the kind of neighbourhood with the vitality required for urban growth – if only planners and the like would get out of the way and allow the mixing of diverse uses and people to work its innovative magic. Instead, in the lead-up to the 2010 Olympics, Vancouver's right-wing NPA government saw business as usual in the Downtown Eastside as consisting of "public disorder" and so endeavoured to institute civility through *Project Civil City* (as noted in the introduction). In addition to illegal activities, the project aimed to crack down on "nuisance behaviours" such as "aggressive panhandling." Anticipating the enormity of the task of 'cleaning up' the city, the project extended responsibility for enforcement from police and by-law enforcement officers to the likes of "sanitation engineers," thus creating a "public order enforcement continuum" (Sullivan and Capri Nov 2006).

By contrast to that enforcement mode of realizing the civil city, Jacobs' myth of the civil city has the advantage of helping outsiders see practices of civility in vital neighbourhoods that have conventionally been written off as declining or backwards. So whereas *Project Civil City* enforced the locking of garbage bins to prevent nuisances

associated with "dumpster diving" and endorsed one formalized "binners program," following Jacobs logic, one would allow entrepreneurial re-use and recycling efforts to flourish as part of the organic "un-slumming" process. With her civil city logic, we might also find civility among street-involved people in practices such as averting one's gaze unless invited to engage, which is a way of respecting privacy – a practice that, incidentally is often misinterpreted as shiftiness by those who tend to rely on the walls of their private spaces to do that respect work (Kataoka 2005). But I do not mean to overemphasize Jacobs' comfort with open-air sex and drug markets, the latter of which is noted in a number of her vignettes as a problem for neighbourhoods.

By highlighting the way that the myth of the civil city challenges conventional views of apparently blighted neighbourhoods, I do not mean to affirm Jacobs' assumption that all these neighbourhoods could raise themselves up to something approaching the middle class (which I will address more fully in chapter four). To the contrary, I am concerned about the structural production of poverty that has become centralized in the Downtown Eastside. Here, I only mean to suggest that if we take up Jacobs' myth of the civil city, the way that Vancouver planners have, the DTES appears as a precursor to development of the sort that we have seen in Yaletown and South False Creek. That trajectory is suggested by the redevelopment of the old Woodwards Department Store in the Downtown Eastside in Vancouverism style – with condo towers spiraling upward from a base of ground level commercial spaces and a university campus. While this neighbourhood might become "unslummed," it is safe to assume that despite "collaborative" resistance to gentrification, those whose are not valued will simply be displaced (Lees 2012, 151-171), given that neither full employment nor a guaranteed

annual income (nor some other measure for curbing structurally produced poverty) have been instituted. Whether another Downtown Eastside, or many little pockets of poverty will follow is an open question, but in any case, people living in poverty are not generally being raised up along with new developments. For now, I only mean to flag that while Jacobs' myth of the civil city advises including some of the things being externalized from revitalized Vancouver (such as entertainment activities), it similarly externalizes persistent poverty. Of particular interest vis-à-vis Bridgeview, is that her myth also externalizes lower intensity land uses, including industrial activity.

Jacobs' conception of city life included those who were happy to live in dense areas, and to do their recreational activities in pubs and such; it excluded those who prefer to live near parks and have some measure of insulation from the noisy bustle of the street. Furthermore, while her focus was on the mixing of multiple functions in the metropolitan core, on Jacobs' account, lower intensity uses such as industrial activity were continually externalized to the fringes of a growing city. The foothold of such low intensity uses in downtown Vancouver had been subsidized through relatively cheap long-term leases around False Creek, and so more intensive uses had long been prevented from moving in. When considering opening the area up to more intensive commercial and residential uses, in the 1960s, the projection was: "future industrial growth would be primarily in smaller warehouses and distributorships, which would tend to supplement existing industrial uses" (Rodger Dec 1976, 6). Functionally, however, most industrial activity has been displaced to industrial zones and parks on the fringes (where there is more space and tax incentives, which lured Microsoft, for instance, to Richmond), as predicted by Jacobs' account of urban growth. With the revitalization of downtown

Vancouver as a livable (read: suburbanite) city community, then, industrial activity had to be accommodated elsewhere in the region, as I will address more fully below.

The regional plan is in line with Jacobs' vision of the civil city in that it draws an "Urban Containment boundary" that is meant to encourage infill rather than sprawl. But what is not explicated by her vision is that the land beyond is reserved as "agricultural, conservation and rural areas, and provide predictability for locating urban uses, major regional transportation and infrastructure investment" (Greater Vancouver Regional District 2010, 9). Each municipality in the region is meant to provide a "Regional Context Statement" that re-inscribes the boundary locally and "demonstrate[s] how municipal plans will work towards accommodating the projected growth within the Urban Containment Boundary" (Greater Vancouver Regional District 2010, 14). Although Jacobs cherished a more organic process by which property values rise downtown (as will be explored further in chapter four), that process nonetheless involves pushing less intensive uses beyond city limits.

However industrial activity is externalized (whether through organic mechanisms by which public identities are formed or through regional planning), it has similar impacts on places where less intensive land uses are relocated. Hence in the Vancouver regional plan, it is noted that industrial uses can be compatible with "appropriate accessory uses" and "[l]imited commercial uses that support industrial activities" but "[r]esidential uses are not intended" (Greater Vancouver Regional District 2010, 9). Apparently there are some things that most people agree need to be zoned out of city life, away from the places where people live. The high density and diverse civil city therefore relies on areas that are less diverse given their accommodation of lower intensity uses

that are externalized from the central city. Jacobs did not address what those fringe areas might look like or where industrial workers ought to live, but in the regional plans developed in Metro Vancouver, housing nearby but not intermingling with industrial zones is afforded for, which is in line with the rural romantic model (e.g.Le Corbusier 1971 [1924]). While Jacobs' most famous text denigrated suburban places, even the properly civil city relies upon shadow suburbs to serve externalized industrial activity. Thus, I argue, Jacobs' urban romanticism implicitly relies upon the very rural romanticism she vilified.

I will examine some of the implications of this model of urban growth, in which lower intensity uses are externalized from the central city, by looking to struggles over industrializing in Bridgeview in the 1970s. But first, let us pause to consider some of the implications of letting go of the public/private distinction that underpins Jacobs' myth of the civil city, and to render it as an urban myth.

(3) Rendering an urban myth from the civil city myth

(i) Jacobs' myth of urban self-government

In taking Jacobs' civil city myth seriously, Bridgeview initially appears as a barbaric neighbourhood – governed by intimate modes of looking out for one another, as made possible by low density housing in a small isolated area – and so precisely the kind of place she neither cared for nor studied. Instead, her myth draws attention to Bridgeview's (among other outlying neighbourhoods) central city: Vancouver. There, Jacobs' formula for planning for diversity has been embraced and adapted to attract would-be suburbanites who value greenery and open spaces to live downtown. While

seemingly a bastardization of her myth (like that of New Urbanists), I take it as significant that in Vancouver the formula for diversity has worked well to create a "liveable" high-density and diverse community based on a shared private identity – rooted as it is in the environment, like Jacobs' public neighbourhood identity. This suggests the distinction she made between private and public identities is not as significant as her myth of the civil city implied.

The more operative distinction would seem to be between civil communities formed on the basis of the environment as opposed to barbaric ones formed on the basis of tradition or some other intimate thing. But it is hard to imagine a neighbourhood whose sense of community is not somehow rooted in the environment; a neighbourhood is defined by its shared physical geography, after all. Importantly, that land is commodified, and so it is not simply an environment that neighbours share; rather, they share a common interest in the value of their properties, and so will work together to protect and enhance that value (Molotch 1976, 309-32); this is evidenced by the dominance of NIMBYism as a mode of getting otherwise unengaged residents down to City Hall. Jacobs was involved in political engagement of this property-based sort, as evidenced by her emphasis on the economic growth facilitated by planning for diversity. Progressive scholars have criticized this obsession with growth for externalizing significant problems (*e.g.* the production of poverty) in favour of emphasizing other values (*e.g.* social justice). But it would seem fanciful to imagine that *en masse* people would rise up above their investments in a particular place; fittingly, academics are the key figures who have abstracted themselves thus, and to foment anti-growth movements (Molotch 1976, 309-32). So rather than simply reversing the privileged part of the binary

distinction between property and other values, I follow Magnusson among others in taking seriously that on, in and through property a wide range of relations and struggles develop, *i.e.* the stuff of urban politics (e.g., Sancton and Magnusson 1983). Recognizing the complexity of land-based but not limited politics, the distinction between property and other values ceases to be determinate.

Two key things follow from this undoing of the public/private distinction that underpins Jacobs' celebration of civil cities as opposed to barbaric places, as well as the one that seems to more functionally animate that celebration (*i.e.* property/other values). Most obviously, the basis for dismissing some places as barbaric (in order to elevate precious few as civil) is undermined; differently put, every place becomes recognizable as urban. This is in line with growing recognition of the world as urban (e.g., Magnusson 2000, 289-306), as will be developed further in chapter three. Even Bridgeview, as we will see in chapter four, can be seen as an urban place where different uses and people mix productively, and so too with its own particular live/work/play lifestyle. For now, it is enough to recognize it as an important place for urbanists to study. Furthermore, with the defining distinction of civil cities undermined, cities that have been labeled "great cities" (or some other analogue for civil) also become recognizable as but urban places among others; thus Jacobs' formula for planning for such places would seem vain.

In complicating and undoing the distinction that underpins Jacobs' myth of the civil city, I do not mean to dismiss her influential work. There is something about *Death and Life* that has inspired widespread devotion to it (especially in Canada), which I suggest is worth taking seriously. Jacobs described on the ground complexities of urban life, as in the Hudson Street "ballet" – in stark contrast to abstract, and so too simplifying,

scientific depictions (a contrast that has been succinctly analyzed by James C. Scott, as will be explored in the following chapter). Her appreciation of such complexities led her to defend urban neighbourhoods she was invested in, against master plans for demolition and reconstruction under the rubric of "urban renewal" – earning her a reputation as an urban activist (as noted in many of the obits sketched earlier). But strangely, given her high profile political engagement, Jacobs' conception of urban politics and significant recommendations for the reorganization of local government have been largely (if not entirely) obscured by the popularity of her formula for planning civil cities. In the remainder of this section, I will briefly sketch those forgotten aspects of her work in the hopes of drawing out an urban myth from her famous text that could be more helpful for making sense of the politics of the places where we live.

While the functions of streets that Jacobs observed, such as putting "eyes on the street," are oft noted, it tends to be forgotten that she considered them to be functions of "city neighbourhoods as mundane organs of self-government" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 114) (for an exception see, Magnusson 2011). Critical of "the ideal neighbourhood" that is "of sufficient size to populate an elementary school and to support convenience shopping and a community centre" and of focusing too much on physical infrastructure (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 113) – both of which have ironically become cornerstones of attempts to mobilize her planning formula in Vancouver (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 115) – based on her observations of city life Jacobs insisted "that only three kinds of neighbourhoods are useful: (1) the city as a whole; (2) street neighbourhoods; and (3) districts of large, subcity size" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 117). Each kind has its particular use for self-

government, and according to the economy of scale logic, certain services and activities best suited to it (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 421).

The first part of *Death and Life* focused on "the self-government functions of city streets," and Jacobs summarized her analyses in this way: "to weave webs of public surveillance and thus to protect strangers as well as themselves; to grow networks of small-scale, everyday public life and thus of trust and social control; and to help assimilate children into reasonably responsible and tolerant city life" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 119). Since these have been touched on earlier in this chapter, here I will simply highlight Jacobs' keen appreciation – expressed in her chapter on "Governing and planning districts" – for residents' grounded knowledge of the places (read: streets) where they live, and so too insights into the problems and possible solutions therein. This does not mean to say that she suggested "citizens" are always right, but rather that people on the ground are the only ones who have the crucial information required to make good decisions about a place – information that city officials sitting in their lofty towers lack (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 409-10). As an "addict of the Board of Estimate" public meetings Jacobs observed: "There is experience at living, responsibility and concern in abundance among the city's people. There is cynicism but there is also faith, and this is, of course, what counts most" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 407). The faith is that by participating in public meetings, by bringing their "expertise" in "locality knowledge" to the decision-making table, better decisions could be made.

But Jacobs also observed: "Nothing is more helpless than a city street alone, when its problems exceed its powers"; or again, "Nothing much ever happens when one helpless little street fights alone some of the most serious problems of a great city"

(Jacobs 1992 [1961], 123). Despite residents' impressive attempts at communicating the problems and possibilities of their street neighbourhoods, on Jacobs' analysis they face a city government that is structurally unable to hear them. She was critical of the vertically-organized silos that have developed in city government, each with their own horizontal divisions into different territorial units, *e.g.* school districts, health districts, police precincts and so on (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 410-11). As she put it, each of these sectors "is rational in its own terms, which is to say rational in a vacuum. Put them all together in terms of a big city itself and the sum is chaos" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 411). Jacobs did not point fingers at city officials, however. She insisted "[t]here is no villainy responsible for this situation…the villainy, if it can be called that, is a most understandable failure by our society to keep abreast of demanding historical changes" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 407). These changes include "an immense increase in the size of great cities" and "the immensely increased responsibilities – for housing, for welfare, for health, for education, for regulatory planning – which have been taken on by the governments of great municipalities" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 408). In the face of this increasing complexity, the silo system of city government has simply been adapted.

For example, planning commissions were established as "the grand administrative coordinators," but they are often unable to convince other departments, and more importantly, citizens, of the rightness of their plans (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 417). As she saw it, "almost all city planning is concerned with relatively small and specific acts done here and done there, in specific streets, neighborhoods and districts" and "[n]o other expertise can substitute for locality knowledge in planning, whether the planning is creative, coordinating or predictive" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 418). Through such

adaptations of the silo system, Jacobs argued city government had become "anachronistic," meaning that "[r]outine, ruthless, wasteful, oversimplified solutions for all manner of city physical needs (let alone social and economic needs) *have* to be devised" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 408). To emphasize, then, focusing on improving the work of planning departments is part of the *political* problem Jacobs associated with a city government structure in which crucial "intimate details" of street life are both overlooked and dismissed in making decisions about how to organize those streets.

Assuming that "[t]here comes a point, at increased levels of complication, when actual invention is required" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 415), Jacobs endeavoured to make an invention in and for city government. But surprisingly, given the criticisms just outlined, the city as a whole was not her target for change. As she depicted it, the city neighbourhood was already serving certain self-government functions. "This is the source from which most public money flows, even when it comes ultimately from the federal or state coffers. This is where most administrative and policy decisions are made, for good or ill. This is where general welfare often comes into direct conflict, open or hidden, with illegal or other destructive interests. Moreover, up on this plane we find vital special-interest communities and pressure groups" such as those of the arts (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 118). On her estimation, neighbourhoods were already being effectively formed out of cities as a whole (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 119). So rather than trying to trump city government with a metropolitan government – which she suggested voters are right to oppose because it would simply upscale the problems that already exist within big cities – Jacobs focused on the problem of learning how "to administer, coordinate and plan in terms of administrative districts at understandable scale" – knowledge that could then be

extended to greater metropolitan areas without amplifying the chaos currently associated with city government (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 427). The invention that Jacobs offered therefore aimed "to make coordination possible where the need is most acute – in specific and unique localities" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 418).

Based on her observations of places such as Greenwich Village, Jacobs conceived of "administrative districts," which could function as "horizontal divisions of city government… common to the municipal government as a whole. The administrative districts would represent the primary, basic subdivisions made within most city agencies" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 418). In contrast to the already functioning street and citywide neighbourhoods, Jacobs saw district neighbourhoods as "most weak" and where we "fail most disastrously," existing more in "name" than in "function" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 121). A model that she offered of this "horizontal administration" was settlement houses, which take "a piece of territory as their primary concern" and yet at the same time work together (*e.g.* for generating funds and ideas) (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 419). Importantly, Jacobs insisted that districts have a wide range of responsibility (as opposed to "a single 'kingpin' service, such as planning") and meaningful authority (as opposed to advisory functions) (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 420).

Within a properly empowered administrative district, each administrator would develop the "double knowledge" of "[t]he district, as well as his own service" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 419). In addition to staff dedicated to each district, Jacobs imagined "roving technicians and experts within a service, *under* the district administrator to whom they are assigned as needed" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 421). Such complexity in the "fundamental structure" of city administration was required, she insisted, "so it can *work*

more simply. The present structures, paradoxically, are fundamentally too simple" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 421). While "vertical city-wide service departments would still exist and would internally pool information and ideas among districts" more functional relations between departments and the different scales of neighbourhoods would follow from locating authority "in administrative districts at the only scale where planning for city vitality can be comprehended, coordinated and carried out" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 422). In sum, through decentralization of authority (especially that of planning commissions), knowledge of the "intimate details" of street life could come to inform the government of city neighbourhoods; and this, as noted above, is a political function.

On Jacobs' conception, "[t]he chief function of a successful district is to mediate between the indispensible, but inherently politically powerless, street neighbourhoods, and the inherently powerful city as a whole" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 121). In more detail:

> Districts have to help bring the resources of a city down to where they are needed by street neighborhoods, and they have to help translate the experiences of real life, in street neighborhoods, into policies and purposes of their city as a whole. And they have to help maintain an area that usable, in a civilized way, not only for its own residents but for other users – workers, customers, visitors – from the city as a whole. (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 122)

By virtue of possessing "real organs of information, recommendation, decision and action," once formed, these districts "would promptly begin to act as political creatures… [which] would be one of the chief advantages of the system" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 422). Jacobs even anticipated that "some elected official with a constituency corresponding at least roughly to the district would become, in function, a sort of local 'mayor.' This is what happens now wherever big-city districts are socially and politically effective" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 423). A ward might serve this electoral function, but Jacobs is clear

that much more than a political head and an administrative structure are required in order to form districts and make them successful.

Defining a district is not so simple as drawing boundaries around it, according to Jacobs, because it is defined through and by "cross-use and life… The fact of a district lies in what it *is* internally, and in the internal continuity and overlapping with which it is used, not in the way it ends or in how it looks in an air view" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 132). Thus, in order to understand how a district neighbourhood comes to develop "a character of its own and specialities of its own" – which "draws users from outside" just as its own residents are drawn elsewhere for other reasons (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 133), we must begin with Jacobs' assumption that "city people are mobile" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 116) and focus on how people move through and use particular places. On her analysis: "The cross-links that enable a district to function as a Thing… consist of working relationships among specific people, many of them without much else in common than that they share a fragment of geography" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 133). Hence while "a physical area with which sufficient people can identify as users" certainly matters (and can be facilitated in and through "centers of use"; Jacobs 1992 [1961], 129-30), and "a start of some kind" is required to bring people to work together (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 136), Jacobs emphasized that "Time" is necessary to build "trust, the growth of cooperation" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 135); and so "Time, in cities, is the substitute for self-containment" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 133). Thus knowledge of how relations have come to inform patterns of movement over time is crucial to understanding a neighbourhood.

While relationships of various sorts were of interest to Jacobs, those that she thought played a key role in forming a district "require people who have considerable

self-confidence, or sufficient concern about local public problems to stand them in the stead of self-confidence" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 135). Hence these "working relationships" tend to be formed "among people, usually leaders, who enlarge their local public life beyond the neighbourhoods of streets and specific organizations or institutions and form relationships with people whose roots and backgrounds are in entirely different constituencies, so to speak"; and so she called them "hop-and-skip relationships" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 134). Only a small fraction of an area's population need to be "hop-skip people," such as settlement house directors, in order "to weld a district into a real Thing" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 134-5). So a key condition of district neighbourhood self-government is "a continuity of people who have forged neighborhood networks" – which Jacobs identified as "a city's irreplaceable social capital" – "underlying any float of population" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 138). She took the formation of an ad hoc district-wide organization as a sign that a "strong network of these hop-skip links" is forming (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 136). In sum, while boundaries of administrative districts could be drawn relatively quickly, much "Time" is required in order to build up the networks required to make those districts work.

District neighbourhood character and networks seem to develop rather organically in Jacobs' conception, and so one might think that districts would end up being whatever size, but she considered the appropriate size for an administrative district at some length. Her analysis addresses Robert Dahl's influential consideration of the ideal scale for democracy: "A district has to be big and powerful enough to fight city hall" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 122), and as she later clarifies, "small enough so that street neighborhoods were not lost or ignored" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 425). The numbers she came up with roughly

coincide with Dahl's own conclusions of a city of between 50,000-200,000 (Dahl 1967, 953-70): ideally 30,000 to 100,000 depending on the size of the city as a whole (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 425), but no larger than 200,000 (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 131). Population size is "vital" on her account "because it represents, if most of the time only by implication, votes.

"There are only two ultimate public powers in shaping and running American cities: votes and control of the money" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 131). She noted how her political nemesis, Robert Moses, used "control of public money to get his way" but she also insisted that the "negating the power of votes with the power of money can be practiced just as effectively by honest public administrators as by dishonest representatives of purely private interests. Either way, seduction or subversion of the elected is easiest when the electorate is fragmented into ineffectual units of power" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 131). The problem would seem to be how to get street neighbourhoods, each with their own interests, to work together as a district, but Jacobs insisted "[d]istricts are not groups of petty principalities, working in federation" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 127). Instead of assuming segregated street neighbourhoods, based on the above noted assumption that street neighbourhoods are functionally interconnected such that they form a district with its own character, she posited that districts "work as integral units of power and opinion, large enough to count" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 127). Nonetheless, when one street neighbourhood benefits from the support of district-wide organizations, its "hop-skip" people are "under obligation, of course, to help other streets or aid more general district causes when help is wanted. If we neglect this, we may not get help next time we need it" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 125). So a certain give and take

between street neighbourhoods is required in order to maintain the trust that binds district networks.

How might we realize a more complex system of city government through the formation of administrative districts of an appropriate size, with a wide range of responsibilities and attendant authority, functional identity, and networks? Jacobs called for "a strong mayor with a convinced belief in popular government (the two usually go together)" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 422). This would seem to be out of step with her warning about how "an exceptionally influential citizen or an important institution" can afford a small neighbourhood (*i.e.* bigger than a street, but too small to function as a district) significant influence in the city neighbourhood: since residents "*are helpless also to teach him or influence him*" they benefit when their interests are aligned with "Papa's" and suffer when they do not (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 128). While the means of totalitarianism is the same in both instances, the difference, we are meant to believe, is that Papa operates on the basis of his own interests, whereas the strong mayor is primarily interested in "popular government." So Jacobs followed the likes of John Stuart Mill in assuming that totalitarian government could be justified so long as it delivers the end of self-government (Mill 1894). Since Papa and the mayor can both describe what they are doing in terms of interests of the whole, we must look to outcomes to determine whether their reigns have been justifiable. In the end, have institutions been established that enable "citizens" to inform decisions that affect their ways of living together? Given that there have been many a strong mayor in America over the last four decades and none have delivered on her horizontal system of district neighbourhoods with "responsible government powers of decision" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 126), Jacobs may have been overly

optimistic about the interests of mayors, and/or about her readers' capacity to rethink urban politics.

We have remembered Jacobs as an individual urban activist, but forgotten how she conceived the politics in which she was engaged. To do her memory justice, I suggest we would do well to honour her as one of the "hop-skip" figures who establish relationships across neighbourhoods, who help form a district that can effectively fight against City Hall for decisions based on familiarity with the "intimate details" of street life, that is, for what is best for city neighbourhoods. More troubling, perhaps, we have remembered Jacobs' formula for planning, but forgotten her proposed reforms to city government. She anticipated this eventuality and insisted: "Even should their ideologies of planning switch from Radiant Garden City Beautiful visions to *city* planning, they could not do city planning. They do not even have the means of gathering and comprehending the intimate, many-sided information required, partly because of their own unsuitable structures for big cities, and partly because of the same structural inadequacies in other departments" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 417). Vancouverism, on this analysis, is thus a chimera – imposing visions of a livable city from a centralized planning authority, while creating appearances of engaged city planning. City planning as such, requires city government in which city officials "know what they are doing... not in some generalized way, but in terms of the precise and unique places in a city with which they are dealing" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 409-10). Accepting that "[p]olitical action and pressure will always be necessary, and rightly so in a self-governing society, to battle and settle real conflicts of interest and opinion" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 414), I suggest that

the urban myth to be drawn from Jacobs' *Death and Life* is neighbourhood self-government.

Conceptually I have undone the public/private distinction that underpins Jacobs' myth of the civil city, and drawn out of *Death and Life* the urban myth of neighbourhood self-government. In the final section of this chapter, I will revisit Bridgeview in order to examine some of the actual implications of using Jacobs' formula to plan Vancouver as a livable city for the places where most people live, and to demonstrate that the very practices of and barriers to self-government that Jacobs observed in "great cities" can also be found in places on the outskirts. In short, I will take Bridgeview seriously as an urban place that is connected to and so experiences pressures from other places, and that is self-governing. In advance, just as Jacobs observed, efforts to build working relationships and to struggle against bureaucratic machinery, take "Time." And so while seemingly lengthy, what I provide here is but an abbreviation of a series of conflicts, collaborations and negotiations that played out over the course of decades.

(ii) Booming burbs as urban centres: Surrey

It is surprising that studies of local politics and planning in the region tend to focus on the central city, rather than the surrounding "suburbs," given that it only contains about 26% of Metro Vancouver's population (Statistics Canada 2011). A number of things are concealed by an excessive focus on the central city in discussion of these matters, let alone by a discussion that focuses just on the livable False Creek area or the potentially vital Downtown Eastside. The great majority of people in the Vancouver

region live outside the city proper, and what happens there in the way of planning and development is crucial. In a way, commentators slide into Jacobs' downtown bias, as prescribed in *Death and Life*, and forget about what is happening more generally. That said, ideas about a "livable region" have been articulated, for instance in a 1975 "plan" developed by the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD), and rearticulated in the 2010 Regional Growth Strategy; as noted above, these regional planning functions are now voluntary. In any case, visions of the livable region were premised on ongoing population growth and expanding economic activity that had to be accommodated somewhere. Despite the emphasis on residential development in Vancouver proper to reduce the amount of commuting, the bulk of the new housing, shopping centres, offices, and transportation routes would be out in "the suburbs."

If we are to understand how we negotiate our ways of living together, therefore, it would seem important to look to the places where most people live, and where future growth is to be accommodated. For instance, Surrey is the second largest municipality in Metro Vancouver (in terms of population). With 468,251 residents (about 78% the size of Vancouver's), and a growth rate that far exceeds that of Vancouver (increasing from 13.6% in 2001-06 to 18.6% in 2006-11, as compared with Vancouver's much less significant, and declining growth rate, from 5.9% to 4.4% in the same timeframes), Surrey takes the lion's share of population growth in Metro Vancouver (36.4% in 2001-06, and 37.2% in 2006-11) (Metro Vancouver 2012). Although Vancouver continues to lead all municipalities in terms of absolute numbers of dwellings (with 24,820 units), Surrey is not far behind (with 20,660 units, which is more than three times the number of dwellings in Burnaby and Richmond) (Metro Vancouver 2012) and given growth rates, it

is projected that Surrey will soon be the biggest municipality in the region. Hence the City of Surrey's motto, "The Future Lives Here," would seem to be well founded (Metropolitan Planning, Environment, and Parks Department 9 Feb 2012, 1).

As described in the 1975 regional plan: **"**Surrey is huge by comparison with any other municipality in the Region. Surrey's land resources could theoretically accommodate more than the entire population growth of the Region for the next ten years without encroaching on the Agricultural Land Reserves and without greatly changing the present single-family type of development" (Greater Vancouver Regional District 1975). Much of the land in Surrey was still agricultural in the late 1960s, and agricultural uses were supposed to be protected by the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) introduced by the provincial NDP government in 1973. The regional plan acknowledged the challenges posed by hobby farms scattered across a wide area, housing sprawl, decentralized services, and an incomplete road network – development that followed policies of the 1940s-50s. The challenges of focusing growth in particular areas through infill, establishing a "Regional Town Centre," and getting skytrain service to the municipality have, in large measure, been achieved.

While commonly considered a "suburban" municipality, Surrey's central hub – at the end of the skytrain line from Vancouver, and just up the hill from Bridgeview – is the only "metro centre" outside the downtown Vancouver "metropolitan core" identified in the regional growth strategy; seven other municipalities are afforded more local "city centres." Taken together, such "urban centres" are:

> intended to be the region's primary focal points for concentrated growth and transit service. They are intended as priority locations for employment and services, higher density housing, commercial, cultural, entertainment, institutional and mixed uses. Urban Centres are intended to emphasize place-making, an

> enriched public realm, and promote transit-oriented communities, where transit, cycling and walking are the preferred modes of transportation. (Greater Vancouver Regional District 2010, 9)

Within the regional Urban Containment Boundary, these urban centres are the places where the bulk (*i.e.* 40 per cent) of new housing is meant to be accommodated, and where new development is meant to be centralized. Surrey central is home to a gorgeous new Simon Fraser University Campus, a stunning new library, excellent recreational services, and shopping centres that serve residents of new condo developments nearby as well as the wider region.

In terms of industrial development, Richmond, to the west of Surrey, has been more favoured because it is where the Vancouver International airport is located; for example, it has recently attracted the Microsoft multicultural office. On the other hand, the northern part of Surrey, including Bridgeview, is on the south bank of the Fraser River, and hence on an apparently natural transportation corridor between the interior and the sea. It is home to a port, the end of a rail line, and a freeway. With the conversion of the old industrial lands in central Vancouver to other uses, north Surrey (including Bridgeview) might be one of the places where it went.

The City of Surrey has identified ensuring "an appropriate supply of serviced industrial land on an on-going basis" as the first strategic priority of its Economic Development Strategy (VannStruth 2008). This land is conceived of as "employment-supporting," and so is a means of addressing the one challenge identified in the 1975 regional plan that continues to loom large in the municipality: increasing employment. In 2001, Surrey's share of regional employment was only 10%, which translates into about 0.55 jobs per resident in the labour force; the objective identified in the Official

Community Plan is a one to one ratio (City of Surrey 2003). In addition to the environmental rationale of reducing commuting distances, which informed Vancouver's redevelopment as a livable city, having more free time "to spend in the community with their families" is identified as a key social benefit of increasing employment in Surrey (VannStruth 2008). Managing the supply of serviced industrial land is thus called the "Employment Lands Strategy" and is framed as a crucial part of developing "complete communities" with a high "quality of life."

In Surrey, the "industrial land base" is heralded as "one of the city's key competitive advantages within Metro Vancouver," holding promise of "a healthy future economy, including employment growth and a diverse property tax base" (VannStruth 2008). A total of 7,375 acres of land are currently designated for industrial purposes in Surrey. Of that land, 20 per cent (1,480 acres) is occupied by other uses (*e.g.* residential or agricultural), and some 19 per cent (1,416 acres) is vacant – not all of which "will necessarily be developed due to location, site constraints and other factors" (VannStruth 2008, 17); this means that 4,479 acres of land are designated and used for industrial purposes. Thus, the municipality has exceeded the target it set in 2003 of designating 4,571-5,066 acres of land for industrial development by 2021 (City of Surrey 2003, 283). So the focus of the Employment Lands Strategy is now on developing vacant industrial lands, and making "more efficient use" of lands already used for industrial activity – as encouraged by raising building height allowances and floor area ratios, for instance (VannStruth 2008, 17). Despite all these gains, recent consultation with industry "identified the lack of serviced industrial land as one of Surrey's most important barriers to economic development" (VannStruth 2008, 18).

Obscured by such calculations are the struggles that play out over the use of particular areas. In technical terms, industrial land designation targets are met "through access and service improvements to existing Industrial-designated land and through the addition of new workplace areas within the City" (City of Surrey 2003, 283). City Hall has long had its eyes set on Bridgeview as a "new workplace area." Struggles over the re-zoning of the neighbourhood for industrial activity, and attendant "service improvements" such as sewers, were hard fought in the 1950s-70s. In the following section I will sketch those struggles, and the messy compromise with which they concluded. In doing so I will also highlight some of the impacts of taking up Jacobs' myth of the civil city on the places outside the central city that tend to accommodate the lower intensity activities externalized from the would-be civil city, the places where most people live.

(iii) Bridgeview in action

Coincidentally, perhaps, alongside the movement to make Vancouver a livable community (that is, to replace industrial uses with more intensive commercial and residential uses to revitalize downtown), there was a push to relocate Bridgeview residents and to rezone the area for industrial development – presumably the "highest and best use" (Housing Research Committee Dec 1957, 18). Moving residents out of Bridgeview to make way for industrial activity seemed 'natural,' given its inhospitable geography. With the neighbourhood's base of clay and high water table, its peaty surface was often water-logged and its septic tanks could not operate properly. Sewage spilled into the ditches, which threatened to overspill into the roads and houses during the rainy

season, and Bridgeviwers were called "sewage rats" by those living up the hill (Bocking [1978?]). By 1966 the area was deemed "unfit for human habitation" by the Boundary Health Unit – which found that about two-thirds of septic tanks were not operating properly and the water in the ditches was about one third raw sewage (Anonymous 1966). The soil was polluted, and cases of infectious hepatitis had been reported. In the interest of not making the situation any worse by adding more houses (and so too sewage), a freeze on residential building permits was put in place. Industrial development continued to be permitted, however, leading some to suggest that it was "encroaching" on the neighbourhood (Anonymous [1965-8?]; Anonymous 7 Jun 1973), but by 1970 it too was banned (Anonymous 10 Jun 1970). Sewers – and dikes to protect against flooding – were needed to support both residential and industrial activities in the neighbourhood (Anonymous 25 Oct 1966), and a decades-long struggle between local advocates for one or the other activity unfolded (For a more detailed analysis following a historical line, see Appendix 2).

The shift between government policies of neighbourhood clearance to "improvement" (Fraser 1972, 230) seems to have been crucial in understanding what happened in Vancouver – municipally from NPA to TEAM, and from a federal urban *renewal* policy (eventually described by a minister as "a bulldozer approach" that was "no damned good" (Anonymous 26 Oct 1972)) to *revitalization* (by consulting with residents to figure out how to improve the existing neighbourhood) – but the same could not be said in Bridgeview. There were striking consistencies in victories and frustrations over the future of the neighbourhood across a number of changes in governments and policies. So to understand the struggle by which sewers eventually came to be installed

to support both residential and industrial activity in Bridgeview, we must become attentive to the ways that various local players mobilized federal, provincial, and regional policies, among other things.

The primary strategy taken up by the municipality of Surrey was to delay making an official decision about what to do vis-à-vis Bridgeview. Over the course of some twenty-five years, countless studies were commissioned (e.g., Lipson and Eng.). Ostensibly, the information generated would enable council to make a more informed (and so too better) decision. The options generated over the years included: relocating residents (Anonymous 17 Jul [1969?]) and turning the area over to industrial activity, or acquiring the property using land swaps and various provincial programs (Anonymous 15 Feb 1973) to turn it over to recreational activities (Anonymous 15 Feb 1973) or let it "go back a little bit to nature" (Stubbs 15 Feb 1973); or making residential and commercial activity the primary uses (Sun Staff Reporter 17 Jun 1970). Each of these options was also associated with specific sewering and diking strategies.

Significantly, however, these volumes of information did not reveal which decision would be objectively better than another. Each had its own benefits and drawbacks according to different logics, many of which were incompatible. The messiness of politics, *i.e.* struggles over our ways of living together, was unavoidable. Whether or not council was trying to avoid engaging in this politics by deferring making a decision and seeking more expert opinions, by allowing (if not encouraging) the neighbourhood to "degenerate" (*e.g.* by refusing to issue building permits on residential properties) the municipality was functionally establishing the conditions under which: residents would eventually have to vacate the neighbourhood (Anonymous 24 Oct 1972),

without the municipality actively giving them a "kick in the face" by forcing them to downgrade or rent in more expensive neighbourhoods up the hill (Anonymous 15 Nov 1972), thereby creating the conditions for residential property in Bridgeview to be bought for pennies and turned, hand over fist, into industrial property (Stubbs 11 Feb 1973). This decision by non-decision, to industrialize the neighbourhood, would also generate higher tax revenues for the municipality, and so too to recover more of the infrastructure costs.

Bridgeviewers' drive to sewer the neighbourhood for residential use spanned three mayors, various flip-flops of provincial and federal governments and policies – *e.g.* between reinstating (Anonymous 22 Sep 1970) and withdrawing (Anonymous 3 Nov 1970) urban renewal funds – as well as provincial commitments to fund the suburbs where "the most urban growth and urban problems" (or at least most of the votes) were to be found (Stubbs 15 Feb 1973), and actual investments in the central city (Anonymous 21 Mar 1974). Initially both upper levels of government supported urban renewal, which was most obviously designed to relocate residents so as to "Raze it [*i.e.* the neighbourhood], then raise it!" (Anonymous 29 Sep 1975). Nonetheless, Bridgeviewers managed to get agreement from City Hall in the late 1960s to use urban renewal funds to sewer the neighbourhood to support existing residential uses (among others). But $668,450 in urban renewal funding was directed instead to then mayor Bill Stagg's home neighbourhood of Cloverdale, for "ornamental lighting," a couple of public squares, and maybe even a sewage lagoon (Council of the City of Surrey [all members in attendance except Aldermen Fomich and Kuhn] 14 Oct 1969). Although Bridgeviewers' spirited engagement was strong enough to get cued up by City Hall for basic infrastructure, they

seem to have lacked the influence in and on council to get to the front of the line. In any case, both these projects were locally conceived and then massaged to fit urban renewal funding requirements, even though they were more in line with what would eventually be termed neighbourhood improvement.

A similar tendency to reframe locally conceived projects in order to access resources from on high characterized Bill Vander Zalm's efforts to industrialize Bridgeview from his times as alderman (1965-68), as mayor of Surrey (1969-75) (Anonymous 5 Feb 1973), and finally as a Social Credit MLA (1975-78) (Blackstone 27 Jun 1977). While he is known for the work that he did later (as Minister of Municipal Affairs & Transit, Education, and eventually as Premier, 1986-91), Vander Zalm's style was persistent: on one hand, his charisma gave him popular appeal that culminated in "Vandermania," and on the other hand his own mania for pet projects meant that he often alienated those he needed to get buy in from to realize those projects. In his almost fifteen year drive to industrialize Bridgeview, Vander Zalm continuously made populist and popular claims such as: "residents must decide exactly what they want for their area before any council decision can be made for its future" (Anonymous 15 May 1970). At the same time he made misleading claims that various committees had reached a consensus, such as staged relocation that would effectively make way for industrial activity (Anonymous 15 Feb 1973), thus offending those who had not agreed to his independently generated plans. Vander Zalm went beyond making his plans compatible with changing policies by trying to leverage authorities such as the province (Anonymous 15 Feb 1973) and region (Anonymous 12 Apr 1973) – to varying effects.

In struggles over Bridgeview, Vander Zalm's tendency to mix his personal and political roles, which would eventually end his political career (with a conflict of interest related to the sale of his Fantasy Gardens), was already evident. Bridgeviewers argued that his brother had bought a sizeable lot in the neighbourhood whose value would increase if serviced and flipped over to industrial uses. Although Vander Zalm spoke out strongly against speculation in the neighbourhood (Anonymous 15 Nov 1972) (Anonymous [1976?]), nothing was ever done about it even though the provincial secretary was aware that speculators had been "very active" in Bridgeview from 1970-5 (Ross 18 Oct 1975). Whether or not his brother was among them, it is certain that many people profited from the eventual sewering of the neighbourhood to support the ever-growing ring of industrial activity. Even the municipality had invested in properties for industrial development on the east side of the neighbourhood (as we will examine further in chapter four). This says more about the political economy of property development in a competitive capitalist market (Lorimer, 1978), I would suggest, than about any of the particular players involved.

Given the political economic pressures to intensify the use of land in Bridgeview, not to mention the abominable health hazard that the neighbourhood had become, it is astounding that Bridgeviewers were able to hang in there for so very long. Not all residents were committed to staying in the neighbourhood, however. In 1970 they were split over neighbourhood improvement (Anonymous 18 Jun 1970, 1). So long as an urban renewal relocation scheme included a house and lot that was equal to or better than what they had in Bridgeview, 61% of Bridgeview Community Association members (around 100 people) were willing to go along with it in early 1973 (Stubbs 11 Feb 1973). But the

25% who showed a strong preference for staying in the neighbourhood were effective in mobilizing their neighbours. By spring a survey found that 64% of homeowners (413 of 650) preferred the installation of sewers, even though it would cost an additional $92 annually in taxes (Anonymous 8 May 1973), and by summer some 98% of homeowner-residents surveyed said they were in favour of sewers (343 of 351), as did 96% of renters (48 of 50), and 75% of landlords (6 of 8; in this case the 2 were undecided) (Anonymous Jul [1973?]). Bridgeviewers regularly packed and spilled out of the 60 seat council chambers with up to 200 people in support of their cause (Anonymous 7 Jun 1973); and their raucous engagement was marked by characteristic "boos and catcalls" (Anonymous 23 Sep 1975) (Read "Bridgeview and local government. 1970s."). Bridgeviewers were in action.

Bridgeviewers' tenacity and willingness to go to great lengths to protect the neighbourhood – including warding off a demolition crew with a shotgun at one's side (Read "Bridgeview and contestation. 1970s."), and entertaining secession (Anonymous Jul [1973?]) – certainly played a significant role in keeping a foothold in the neighbourhood. But their staying power also points to some of the resources that Bridgeviewers were able to mobilize. In addition to using an expert analysis as a bulwark against the changing tides of government programs and policies (Anonymous 5 Nov 1970), Bridgeviewers actively participated in the National Film Board's (NFB) Challenge for Change project – through which community developers trained residents to research property ownership, analyze plans and policy-related documents (Anonymous 16 May 1974), survey neighbours, and other things that needed to be done to bolster their movement (Walton Fall 2012). In exchange, Bridgeviewers put on a good show (as was

their custom), as documented by the NFB in the film that came out of the project: *Some People have to Suffer*. As we will see in the next chapter, this film continues to be used to motivate Bridgeviewers and others for improving the neighbourhood.

The work of Challenge for Change was moved by a broader interest among those 'at the centre', in cities such as Vancouver, about what was happening 'on the margins' (a dynamic that will be explored further in chapter two). Blighted neighbourhoods such as Strathcona and Bridgeview came to be seen as having agency in the context of social movements struggling for equality for marginalized groups, such as black people and women. Those movements seem to have thrived in urban centres – as reflected in some measure by the change in Vancouver's council and approach to planning (including the effective protection of Strathcona), and the eventual shift in Ottawa from urban renewal to neighbourhood improvement. But if what was happening in Bridgeview is any indication, those movements had far less sway over government on the margins, where struggles seem to have been over one version of the status quo or another, *i.e.* existing residential uses, and the usual drive for higher and better uses of land.

While the Challenge for Change offered helpful resources and training to Bridgeviewers, resourcefulness is characteristic of Bridgeview culture (as will be explored throughout this dissertation) and so it is possible that residents would have mobilized other resources to similar effect. I do not mean to downplay the impacts of the project, or the broader shifts that were happening at the time. Rather, I mean to follow those movements' attentiveness to the capacity of people on the ground to engage in urban politics.

Bridgeviewers had been saying much the same thing for decades (loudly), but their voice mattered more under the neighbourhood improvement program (NIP) because it shared with broader movements an appreciation for the importance of working *with* residents in planning urban development. Vander Zalm himself struck a "plan of action committee" to drive the NIP (Anonymous 15 Nov 1972), and although the committee formed was described by a Bridgeviewer representative as "absolutely meaningless" because residents were so outnumbered (Stubbs 10 Jul 1973), consensus among residents, city council and the GVRD – which had declared Bridgeview "a reserve area" freezing development and re-zoning until Surrey council applied for an amendment to the plan, including flood protection (Anonymous 26 Oct 1972) – was the condition that council put on including Bridgeview in the 1974 sewer program (Anonymous 19 Jun 1973). The plan that all parties were willing to accept at the time, was to pursue neighbourhood improvement while exploring options for industrialization and expanded commercial activity along the fringes, while somehow trying to ensure that Bridgeviewers would not become cut off from the rest of Surrey (Anonymous 24 Jul 1973) (Anonymous 20 Sep 1973; Anonymous 20 Nov 1973). In short the plan was to continue with both residents' and the property industry's status quo.

But the limits of such consensus-based planning were felt with the sudden (because late) discovery that the Canadian National Railway (CNR) was expanding its yards just east of Bridgeview, which included running "a loop of track" through the neighbourhood. With its powers of expropriation in its back pocket, the CNR had begun acquiring land to go ahead with its plans without consulting either local residents or government (Anonymous 22 Nov 1973b). This loop of track would effectively cut into

an area slated for residential uses, alongside an agricultural reserve at the foot of the hill, in the Bridgeview committee's updated plan (Anonymous 22 Nov 1973b). Vander Zalm had argued that enhancing agricultural activity in Bridgeview was "a subterfuge" (Anonymous 20 Nov 1973), and since it was not possible to provide adequate screening for the homes from industrial activity associated with the rail yards, the Municipal Manager recommended the entire parcel be deleted from residential designation (Anonymous 17 Nov [1973?]) – to redress what a planner described as the over-allocation of lands to residential use in the neighbourhood (Anonymous 22 Nov 1973b). Nonetheless, frustrated with the lack of municipal involvement in the railyard decision and in the interest of finally sewering the neighbourhood, Bridgeviewers and the municipality agreed to proceed with their plan (already partially rolled over by industrial activity).

Council was ultimately bullied into approving these recommendations. The chair of the Bridgeview Planning Committee, alderman Rita Johnston (a Vander Zalm ally, and briefly his successor as Premier in 1996), threatened that if council did not offer its approval, she and other committee members would use their one power, which was to stop their work of making proposals (Anonymous 24 Jul 1973). In contrast to the limited "advisory power" found in similarly "democratic" planning processes elsewhere in Canada (Fraser 1972, 255-6), there seems to have been a perception among Surrey councilors that funding from the senior levels of government would not be forthcoming without resident support (Anonymous 20 Nov 1973). Thus Bridgeviewers were able to keep residential zoning on the table even in an area of the neighbourhood where rail was soon to be laid down.

Finally in step with the federal approach to neighbourhood planning, up to $10 million in federal funds could be sought for revitalization (Anonymous 20 Nov 1973). Options for funding redevelopment projects of this sort had been explored with the earlier committee proposal, which was taken to representatives of CMHC, the province, and Vancouver's Strathcona Development at a meeting on Saturday September 29th, 1973 (Anonymous 20 Sep 1973). Sewers and drainage could be covered by the Neighborhood Improvement Program (NIP), and under the attendant Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Plan (RRAP) individuals could apply for up to $5,000 for home improvements (half of which would have to be repaid) (Anonymous 22 Nov 1973a). By the following year, a study was being undertaken on how to service the neighbourhood (Lipson and Eng.). Bridgeviewers seem to have won their battle for improvements to the existing residential portion of the neighbourhood.

Resistance from other ratepayer organizations was mobilized by a Vander Zalm ally and long time alderman Bill Fomich (1960-74, 1976-93), who insisted that sewering Bridgeview would cost each homeowner in the municipality as a whole between $11 and $35; following one of his presentations, it was reported: "Fraser-Guild Ratepayers have voted unanimously to oppose construction of sewers in the Bridgeview area" (Anonymous 6 Jun 1973). But the intended political effect of mobilizing this resistance is unclear. Blocking the installation of sewers would have worked against developing industrial as well as residential activity. Meanwhile, the threat of "wholesale evacuation" of the neighbourhood in the event of the overflowing of bacteria laden ditches remained, and warnings to this effect continued (Anonymous 4 Nov 1975) a board of health to

discuss the Bridgeview problem with a delegation from Boundary health in fall 1975 (Ross Oct 1975).

At long last, council announced a massive sanitary sewer program that would see virtually all of north Surrey hooked up in the following two years, at a cost of $21.8 million (not to mention the $83,000 consultants' report assessing the municipality's sewer needs, which totaled some $60 million; Ross 7 Oct 1975; Ross 16 Dec 1975). Suddenly things started to come together for Bridgeviewers. A community plan was revealed in the fall of 1976, and after working out some details was accepted by residents (Anonymous 27 Oct [1976?]). With this plan in hand, funds from the upper levels of government could be secured for a whole host of improvement projects (Anonymous 15 Oct 1976). The following year both sewers and diking were initiated; the latter two years ahead of schedule thanks to some prompting from then deputy environment minister Ben Marr (Anonymous 30 Nov 1976). There was, of course, more to be done, *e.g.* floodboxes requiring $1.6 million that would not be available until 1981 (Anonymous 8 Dec 1976). But at least now there was some sense that things might actually be delivered on. Bridgeviewers paused to celebrate their victory (Blackstone 27 Jun 1977) (Read "Bridgeview and Sanitation. 1970s.").

Once the party was over, it became clearer that nobody got exactly what they wanted in the compromise to install vacuum pump sewers to support the status quo mixture of industrial and residential uses in Bridgeview. Residents did not get the full package of a sanitary sewage system coupled with covered drainage, the municipality was saddled with the costs of regularly pumping out sewage tanks (Ross 18 Oct 1975), and heavier industrial uses could not be supported by the sewage tanks. But at least this

time, in 1976, the promise of sewers (and eventually dikes) was delivered on (Ross 21 Oct 1975). So by the end of battles spanning three decades, Bridgeview was serviced for two seemingly incompatible uses – each with its own somewhat separate zone. But the creep of industrialization has continued over the long run, with houses being cleared to make way for a freeway (chapter three), and industrial activity dominating a transition zone (chapter four).

So Bridgeviewers would seem to have been rightly concerned that they were bribed with much needed basic services into agreeing to *de facto* industrialization and so too being crowded out of the neighbourhood. "They give with one hand and take with the other… Eventually, piece by piece, the municipality will try to convert the whole area to industrial" (Bocking [1978?]). A question that was posed throughout the battle over Bridgeview remains to have been answered: "Shouldn't the citizens of the community be given priority over industry?" (Anonymous Oct 1975). But the reasoning has been insufficient for giving residential activity priority: "Bridgeview is a well-established community and they have a right to their status quo" (Ross 2 Apr 1976). It is insufficient because some industrial activities were also part of the status quo of the neighbourhood, and not only for reasons of geography, or to increase property values. As we will see in chapter four, some industrial activities are also part of some Bridgeviewers' way of living.

To emphasize, this creep of heavier industrial activity (like the CNR rail loop) and the ongoing displacement of residents was not part of the official plan, and some Bridgeviewers have struggled against it throughout. Such resistance and efforts to

enhance one's neighbourhood were at the core of Jacobs' *Death and Life,* but that has been obscured by focus on her formula for planning.

Jacobs' analysis of city government is more helpful than a focus on planning for making sense of the problems Bridgeviewers faced, and their difficulties in resolving those problems. Like the small ethnic-based and street neighbourhoods that Jacobs analyzed, Bridgeview seems to have been "helpless, against the problems and rot that develop from without. They are shortchanged on public improvements and services because they lack power to get them" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 127). While other neighbourhoods in Surrey were afforded beautification, Bridgeview lacked basic sanitary services. Her analysis of conflicts of interests in the Lower East Side could speak just as easily to those in Surrey, which includes:

> people trying to defend their homes and neighborhoods from obliteration by the bulldozers, and it also contains the developers of cooperative projects and various other business interests who wish the governmental powers of condemnation to be used to wipe out these residents. These are genuine conflicts of interest – in this case, the ancient conflict between predator and prey. The people trying to save themselves spend much of their effort, futilely, trying to get resolutions adopted and letters approved by boards of directors that contain their chief enemies! (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 126)

Vis-à-vis Bridgeview as "prey," Vander Zalm was a high-profile "predator" who dismissed, thwarted, and twisted Bridgeviewers' initiatives from his various political posts. Jacobs argued that such "predators" are effective when they are able to keep a struggle on the level of the street neighbourhood (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 127). By pitting other neighbourhood associations against Bridgeview – using fear of rising taxes – councilors prevented alliances between neighbourhoods that could have formed an effective district. Even the Challenge for Change workers, who were so dedicated to empowering Bridgeviewers, similarly (albeit unwittingly) isolated the neighbourhood

from others, by focusing on providing residents with training and profile to fight City Hall. By distracting attention away from the formation of a district that is big enough to effectively sway City Hall, neighbourhood consultation and engagement is thus, on Jacobs' reading, a way of ensuring that the "prey" will be caught (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 127).

Bridgeviewers' relatively independent fight against City Hall was not for lack of a wider area with a distinctive character and central hub. Bridgeview is part of a district-scale area called Whalley (with a current population of about 95,500), whose commercial centre is where Bridgeviewers tend to shop, take in a show, pick up a book at the library, go for a swim, and so on. Named for the family that owned and operated a service station established in the 1920s at what soon became a juncture between three major roads (including the highway that connects the Patullo Bridge to the US border, passing by Bridgeview), the commercial hub grew quickly with the popularization of the automobile. By the late 1950s and early 60s, just as sanitary problems in Bridgeview were becoming acute, "Whalley debated secession from Surrey and incorporation as a separate city or municipality" (City of Surrey). Had Bridgeviewers effectively tapped into that movement, their own threats of secession might not have seemed so idle. But following the recognition of Whalley as a "regional town centre" in the 1976 Livable Region plan, energies became focused on revitalization. So how is it that Bridgeviewers were unable to leverage the influence of this district-scale "community"? Following Jacobs' analysis of city government, more than industrious councilors and well-meaning community developers could have been at work.

The commercial hub is dominated by business interests that could be seen as functioning as what Jacobs called a "Papa" that cannot be influenced by small surrounding residential areas. The special status of the "City Centre" is evident in its being marked off from the rest of Whalley in land use plans and population counts. If indeed centralized commercial activity (albeit mixed with residential, recreational and other services) can dominate districts the way that a university or some other major player can, then there is a major gap in Jacobs' conception of administrative districts – which are premised on a central hub that lends the district a sense of character (just as a downtown does for the city as a whole). The problem of how residents in less influential neighbourhoods can be heard up at City Hall remains. Alternatively, her analysis might suggest that Whalley is too geographically diverse, meaning that those living in higher density developments up the hill do not really identify with Bridgeview. But surely in almost every district there are neighbourhoods that do not measure up to the standards of the others. So again, the problem of how residents in less influential neighbourhoods can be heard up at City Hall remains. In gesturing toward some of the limits of Jacobs' recommendations for city government reform, I only mean to suggest that administrative districts may not be the solution Jacobs imagined them to be. This does not mean that we should not experiment with them; rather, it means that in doing so, we should keep focused on what our experiments in city government structure are meant to do: increase the capacity for self-government on the street.

We can already see the risk of losing sight of that purpose in Surrey's use of Whalley as one of six "communities" through which secondary land use planning is administered: an appearance of districts and neighbourhood participation in planning

processes is made to stand in for creating political space for making decisions informed by locality knowledge. With all this in mind, it is amazing that Bridgeviewers have been so effective in fighting City Hall to protect and gain basic services for residential activity. By 2006, the municipality had adopted a $32 million plan to replace the costly and aging vacuum sewer system with a "low-pressure" system in industrial and commercial areas and a "steep grade gravity" system in residential areas. Funding for the first phase of replacement, to the western half of the neighbourhood, was secured through the BC Build Canada Program, and options for funding the remaining phases are being explored by staff (SUR 2). Significantly, while seeking funding for "pre-servicing industrial and commercial lots," the municipality is not doing the same for servicing undeveloped residential lots (Lalonde 29 Apr 2009; Lalonde 8 Jul 2009). While offering some compensation to residents transferring from the pump to the new systems during a five-year grace period, the costs to residents will be a burden (if not out of reach) for some Bridgeviewers. That the neighbourhood continues to be planned for two conflicting uses is testament to residents' victories as well as losses.

(4) Conclusion

This chapter began by taking Jacobs' myth of the civil city seriously, which made Bridgeview invisible – a barbaric neighbourhood on the fringes of a central city, whose residents lack respect for privacy, and with a density low enough to count as rural. Our attention was drawn instead to the central city of Vancouver, where Jacobs' formula for planning civil cities was institutionalized in the 1970s. In doing so, however, lower intensity uses, especially industrial activity, were externalized from the central city (to

make way for higher intensity mixed use developments); and given the apparent incompatibility of industrial activity with other uses, zones were necessarily established in the outer areas to accommodate such activity in the region. Thus Jacobs' myth of the civil city implicitly and functionally relies upon the rural romantic zoning logic that she criticized. The model of regional planning that has followed from taking up the civil city myth in MetroVancouver contains residential and commercial activity in high density centres as much as possible, and affords for lower intensity uses outside these centres – including industrial zones, Agricultural Land Reserves, and parkland. So it is not entirely coincidental that at the same time that industrial activity was being crowded out of False Creek in Vancouver, the City of Surrey began trying to service Bridgeview (among other areas) for industrial uses. By denigrating neighbourly interest in one another's private lives as barbaric, the civil city myth prepares places where such neighbourliness thrives as dumping grounds for lower intensity uses.

Following the regional plan devised around making Vancouver a civil city, Bridgeviewers ought to have gone along with the urban renewal program and relocated up the hill to higher density developments on more solid and so easily serviceable land. So while opposed to urban renewal in downtown neighbourhoods, Jacobs' planning formula seems to have functionally relied upon urban renewal in lower density neighbourhoods to make way for activities externalized from the central city. But as I hope to have shown in revisiting Bridgeview, urban renewal is but one technique for industrialization.

"Raze it and raise it" approaches certainly dominated Surrey in the 1960s-70s. The choice in the 1978 election between McKitka and Bill Vogel (a Vander Zalm ally

and alderman from 1973-77 [Corporation 28 Nov 1977, 4]) was simply between different foci of industrial development in the municipality. McKitka claimed: "while I was in office, Surrey experienced the greatest growth in commercial and industrial development in its history and I must say that the greatest part of this was a direct result of *my* meeting with developers" (Corporation of the District of Surrey 28 Nov 1977, 5). McKitka used the taxes raised through this development boom to offset a freeze on residential property taxes, but even that was not enough to garner the popular support required to withstand the onslaught of Vogel's Vander Zalm-backed campaign (which included ads run in Surrey newspapers). But even on council there were often voices of opposition to the development drive, which got in the way of attempts to convert large swathes of land to industrial activity.

As a friend, Vogel brought an anti-growth advocate onto council a year after he became mayor: Bob Bose. Bose cut his teeth in municipal politics as the president of the Panorama Ridge Ratepayers Association, in struggles to maintain the area's rural nature against the development drives of both Vander Zalm and McKitka. As mayor himself, Bose went on (from 1988-96) to play a crucial part in protecting local parks and securing a Green Zone in the first Livable Region Strategic Plan (Diakiw 24 Nov 2011, 5); his approach was thus in line with Jacobs' myth of the civil city-inspired approach to planning the Vancouver region. Like the earlier mentioned Agricultural Land Reserve, the Green Zone was partly a protectionist response to successive Surrey councils having privileged revenue-raising development. It is significant that while Bose valued the protection of parkland and agricultural areas from development, he also endorsed municipal plans that included the expansion and intensification of industrial activity in

Surrey. In advising incoming mayor Diane Watts, he recommended only that she slow the pace of development (Diakiw 24 Nov 2011, 5). This pace seems to offer more respect to existing neighbourhoods – for which Bose, like Jacobs, fought for – and was evident in the neighbourhood improvement program.

But as my analysis of Bridgeview has shown, slowing the pace of development and involving residents in planning processes does not necessarily mitigate negative impacts of re-zoning; instead, it may draw out and amplify those impacts. For decades, Bridgeviewers lived in conditions that were referred to as "third world," while waiting for action from all three levels of government; and in conceding to expanded industrial development in the neighbourhood, many Bridgeviewers have lived cheek by jowl with industrial activity for decades more. Furthermore, as Bridgeviewers suspected, the destruction of the residential area and the creep of industrial activity are continuing apace (as we will see in chapters three and four).

If Bridgeview is indeed doomed to turn over entirely to industrial activity, then it may have been more practical and less harmful to have followed through with urban renewal in the 1970s; but this is to take urban planning far too seriously, which Jacobs herself cautioned against – in her forgotten analysis of city government. Many Bridgeviewers, like Jacobs, refused to suffer the imposition of an urban renewal project upon their neighbourhood, and these days are struggling against incursions upon residential activities. And this is a matter of urban politics. So by writing certain places off as barbaric, the civil city myth obscures the ways in which suburban ways of living are urban (albeit sprawling toward the rural). On the flipside, by focusing on the civility of city centres, the myth also obscures how those places are suburban. In this chapter I

have traced how revitalizing central cities now involves appealing to suburban tastes (as in the redevelopments of False Creek), suggesting that supposedly civil cities rely on the personal touch that Jacobs dismissed as suburban – as I will explore further in the conclusion.

Accepting that "some people have to suffer" – one way or another – in order to make way for higher intensity uses gives the lie to the impression given by Jacobs' civil city myth that no one has to suffer in the course of facilitating urban growth because residents of decaying neighbourhoods (such as Vancouver's Downtown Eastside) have the respect for privacy required to forge working relationships with strangers (*i.e.* across difference), thereby bringing different things together in new ways – which is the motor of innovation (as we will explore further in chapter four). Growth through intensification is not so natural as she made it seem – following an evolutionary logic that I will flesh out in chapter four. Saddling areas on the fringes with industrial and agricultural activities, by making those places seem barbaric and so suited to such activities, is political. Becoming attentive to such politics, we can see that while accepting the idea of "a natural transition" from the mid-range salary jobs associated with industrial activity in Surrey "to denser and higher-value jobs" – with improvements in "the educational profile of Surrey's labour force" and increased land values over time – the City's economic development plan argues:

> Surrey should send clear signals to the rest of Metro Vancouver that, while it is prepared to accommodate a share of regional industrial development, other municipalities must also share the load. Communities such as Surrey should not be viewed as the presumed recipients of all the industrial businesses being dislocated elsewhere in the region by municipalities that have been allowing the large-scale conversion of their industrial lands to other uses. (VannStruth 2008, 17)

So one of the upshots of undoing the public private distinction underpinning Jacobs' myth of the civil city, and rendering that myth as the urban myth of self-government, is that downtowns and outlying neighbourhoods alike become responsible for attending to the impacts of choosing to locate certain activities in certain places. Surrey's Economic Development plan suggests that other municipalities (including Vancouver) ought to afford more space for industrial activity; and extending this logic one might suggest that outlying neighbourhoods might afford more space for high-density development (as is already happening along the skytrain line in Surrey). In addition to each municipality hosting its share of different uses, one can imagine monetary or other compensation for municipalities that have more than their share (as in the carbon trading system). This does not mean to suggest, with public choice theorists (*e.g.* Ostrom et al 1961) and eco-capitalists (*e.g.*McDonough and Braungart 2002), that public and private corporations respectively must be administered to "internalize externalities" – but rather that none can claim immunity, as civil cities, from the politics of intensifying land use. Perhaps it is possible that no one must suffer in jockeying over where to dedicate shared resources in attempts to improve the places where we live, but in order to realize that possibility we need to tend to the impacts of our collective actions. Doing so requires taking seriously the pernicious function and impacts of urban thinking.

It is surprising that Jacobs' urbanism has not been associated with colonialism, given its explicit reliance on the basic colonial binary of civilized/barbarian. This suggests to me that the assumption is that by focusing on the complexity of cities we have moved beyond such rudimentary distinctions, and furthermore, that because the things she described as barbaric are not associated with Aboriginal people, this colonial laden

language is "just" rhetorical. But as has been noted by another Jane Jacobs, in her postcolonial study of the cultural geography of two British and two Australian cities: "Although imperialism is undeniably a political and economic event, it also operates through a range of cultural processes" including the construction of "a demonised Other against which flattering, and legitimating, images of the metropolitan Self were defined" (Jacobs 1996, 2). Thus we can see the construction of suburban ways of living as barbaric as a condition of possibility for dumping on suburban places as well as, ironically, for the expansion of urban ways of living.

Reinforcing the fundamental colonial distinction between civilized and barbarian, us and them, are myriad other binaries that facilitate urban control over other places in more specific ways. In this chapter, for instance, I have shown how the public/private distinction is used to romanticize urban ways of living based on respect for privacy. Even when that distinction is undone, however, rendering urban forms of self-government, romance of the urban seems to persist. Thus Jacobs justified the reform of existing urban institutions, to undo the damage done under the sway of rural romanticism, and so too afford more political space for self-government in particular neighbourhoods and districts. One of the key implications of the analyses in this chapter is that every place might be considered urban in some way. The civil city myth has powerfully conditioned our imaginations, but as I will demonstrate in the following chapter, the centrality that it has come to assume is illusory.



Figure 8: *Bridgeview still soaked* (photo by author)

Chapter 2

Seeing: Scott's mobilization of the margins

Jacobs has many admirers. Urban planners are key among them, having taken up her formula for diversity to revitalize downtowns in the hopes of building civil cities. As examined in the previous chapter, however, such efforts turn a blind eye to the impacts of casting places on the fringes as barbaric, not least of which is to turn such places into dumping grounds for industrial uses, among other low intensity activities externalized from downtown. Having shown that Jacobs (and her nemesis, Moses) treated planning as part of a broader problem of city government, and gestured toward some of the institutional reforms she recommended, in this chapter I turn to more community-oriented attempts to empower those who have knowledge of the "intimate details" of street life to inform decisions about the places where we live.

While seemingly moved by Jacobs' activist spirit, lacking her appreciation for the primacy of cities (which will be traced in chapter four), community-based admiration for Jacobs' grounded myth of the civil city, ironically, tends to abstract her analysis into the common sense framework of the state and civil society. The intellectual gymnastics required to do so are complex, and so in order to break them down I will focus on one particular mobilization of that myth.

James C. Scott explicitly aligned himself with Jacobs' "critique from the margins" which is, I would suggest, an exemplary move of those focused on civil society (Scott 1998, 132). It is a move that I, among others have made in looking to Vancouver's Downtown Eastside; and it is also a move that I, among others have made in looking to the suburbs – whether they be working class and diverse, or in the Global South (as in the

second strand of suburban studies sketched in the introduction). Soon after UBC academics had worked to mobilize Vancouver's Strathcona neighbourhood in the early 1970s, for example, a handful of Professors at Douglas College in Surrey became involved in the National Film Board's Challenge for Change project, including anti-urban renewal efforts in Bridgeview, by starting the Community Communications Center (Walton 2012). It is a move we all make when we stretch to ally ourselves with something "out there" that seems to provide an alternative to what we take to be common sense (and so too dominant).

It is difficult to get at how this horizontal move from centre to margins actually works, however, because it tends to be twisted up with vertical metaphors. In *Seeing Like a State,* for example, Scott provided an analysis of progressive initiatives to "improve the human condition" that pitted those drafted from on high against those crafted on the ground. His basic argument was that initiatives from on high fail in practice because they simplify the complexities of what *is* into visions of what *ought to be* – that is, into a legible schematic of a society that is better in certain respects. The trouble, according to Scott, happens when those who see from on high capture the state and use its authority to impose their visions across society. This vertical metaphor is collapsed with the political distinction between state and society in Scott's analysis. Seeing like a state, on his account is to see in an abstracted and simplifying manner (from on high), as opposed to more grounded ways of seeing that are part of a diverse and complex civil society. That which is overlooked by such abstracted visionaries include what is necessary for making things work, and so the seeming messiness on the ground harbours the potential to resist impositions from on high (if not to force the state to represent the interests of those on the

ground). To emphasize, this suggests that while the state governs over civil society, it can be informed by different perspectives (*e.g.* those from on high or on the ground) from within that society.

So distracted was Scott by vertical metaphors, that he failed to do the analytical work implicit in his mobilization of Jacobs' myth of the civil city as though it were coming from the horizontal margins (*e.g.* Appadurai 1996). Scott's mistake was not his own, so much as it was a function of common sense by which civil society has come to be associated with the self-organizing margins (e.g. Fukuyama 2001, 7-20) from which the state (and to this the economy is sometimes added) arises or upon which it is conditional (e.g. Cohen and Arato 1992). In either case, civil society tends to be thought of as having the potential to check, if not to direct, decisions made on high.

Through a reading of the urban section of Scott's *Seeing Like a State*, in this chapter I will first undertake the analytical work by which a social plane may be opened up. On one hand, Scott seems to have improved upon Jacobs' civil city myth, by politicizing the private realm. With this in mind we can see an attempt to mobilize Bridgeview as a marginalized neighbourhood, through the Action for Neighbourhood Change (ANC) initiative. On the other hand, in positioning Jacobs on the margins, Scott wound up playing the part of the patriarch despite his efforts to the contrary. The ANC also ended up playing a paternal role, albeit in a relatively horizontal structure. The trouble, I will suggest in the second section, is an overestimation of the difference between seeing from on high and seeing on the ground: seeing is, to see like a state. It is to abstract people into positions that can be charted on a social plane – which is itself an

abstraction of everyday life. In highlighting this function of the visual, I mean to open up more space in the third section to recognize the properly urban aspect of his analysis.

Through a return to urban thought in ancient Greece, Scott discovers/recovers the concept *mētis*, *i.e.* practical knowledge. This ability to get a sense of what is called for in order to achieve certain aims in a particular place at a particular time was crucial to the many successes of the ANC project. By rooting in a particular place, this approach is helpful for drawing attention to the *commitments* that are a more functional basis of political calculations, than interests associated with abstracted social indicators. This urban myth of practical knowledge can be used to gain a more nuanced understanding of what is going on in the places where we live, and offers a fuller explication of the "intimate" knowledge (*e.g.* of neighbourhood streets) that is so crucial to Jacobs' urban myth (as rendered in the previous chapter).

(1) Civil city myth: Mobilizing the margins

(i) Opening up the plane of civil society

Scott rejected origin stories such as the social contract, which imagine some other place we might have evolved from (*i.e.* the state of nature). Such stories describe how individuals become willing to live in society with one another *under* common laws and a sovereign authority, in order to more peacefully enjoy their property (*e.g.* Locke 2000 [1698]). By locating sovereign authority *on high* administering *abstract* law, and locating *particular* subjects of and to the state making their way in society *on the ground*, the social contract collapses political (state/civil society), theoretical (abstract/particular) and geographical (on high/on the ground) scales; here I am adding the political scale to

Massey's argument about the collapsing of theoretical and geographical scales (Massey 1994, 129-30). This move is visual/spatial because it ascribes certain things to certain areas, and so it is best described visually, through diagrams such as Figure 9a below.

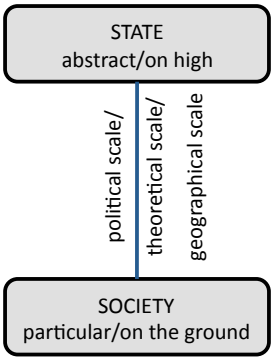


Figure 9a: *Collapsing of Scales*

Such collapsing creates a gap between the state (on high and abstract) and society (on the ground and particular) into which the city falls; hence, it is sorted as either a *public* corporation that serves the public interest, or a public *corporation* that serves private interests. Whether inefficient in the eyes of society or corrupt in the eyes of the state, the city is thus positioned as a problem (Frug 1980, 1059-1154).

Through a creative reading of *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, James C. Scott positioned the city as a solution. The obvious way of doing so, following on my analyses in the previous chapter, would be to challenge the public/private distinction underpinning conventional analyses of the city. But while drawn to Jacobs' attentiveness to complexity, Scott accepted the public/private distinction and its neat mapping onto the state/society distinction, as fundamental to his understanding of "liberalism." His stated assumption was that "the modern liberal sensibility" is at minimum something that we ought not "offend." This respect may be seen as practical, because liberalism is a

normalizing rationality here, or it may be seen as normative. In either case, for Scott, "liberal democratic ideas and institutions" have the function of posing a "particular barrier" to high modernism.

> Three factors seem decisive. The first is the existence and belief in a *private sphere* of activity in which the state and its agencies may not legitimately interfere… the idea of a private realm has served to limit the ambitions of many high modernists, through either their own political values or their healthy respect for the political storm that such incursions would provoke.
>
> The second, closely related factor is the *private sector in liberal political economy*… the economy was far too complex for it ever to be managed in detail by a hierarchical administration.
>
> The third and by far most important barrier to the thoroughgoing high-modernist schemes has been the existence of *working, representative institutions* through which a resistant society could make its influence felt… high-modernist schemes in liberal democratic settings must accommodate themselves sufficiently to local opinion in order to avoid being undone at the polls. (Scott 1998, 101-2)

Differently put, the distinction between the public state and private society is acceptable because it creates a "private sphere" in which people can be relatively free *from* the authoritarian impulses of the state and in which the market is free *to* do its thing (Smith 1991 [1776]), and insofar as state institutions are representative, they afford citizens with the freedom *to* influence decisions (*c.f.* Mill 1894). Such liberties, according to Scott, get in the way of those well-meaning reformers who would use state institutions to impose their visions from on high, and so impinge on individuals' freedom.

Thus committed to state institutions that respect privacy and respond to the will of "the people," in order to ground Jacobs' myth of the civil city Scott implicitly de-coupled political, theoretical and geographical scales (See Figure 9b), and went on to reorganize them.

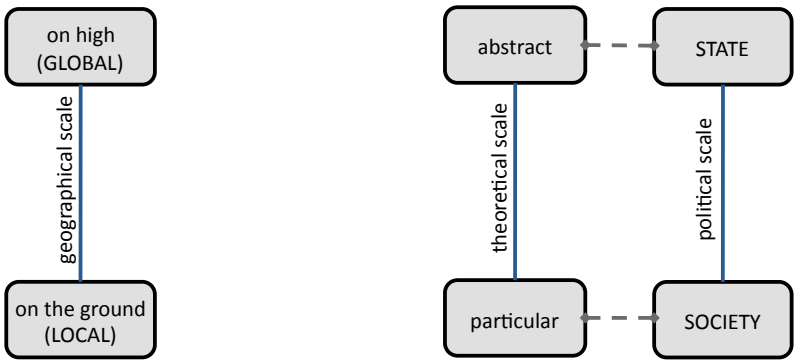


Figure 9b: *Separating out Scales*

Scott's reorganization involved knocking those on high down a notch. Le Corbusier was cast as "a caricature – a Colonel Blimp, as it were, of modernist urbanism –" and was used to highlight the pernicious principles and unintended consequences of high modernism (Scott 1998, 104). Le Corbusier saw great cities from on high – either looking at "representations" of cities on drawing boards, or looking upon cities from "a God's-eye-view," out of airplane windows (Scott 1998, 57). Despite the divine reference, this is the perspective of a *particular* person seeing in a *particular* way, meaning that seeing from on high is not a totally abstract affair (*i.e.* transcendental). As a perspective, "on high" joins "on the ground" in particularity, flattening the geographical scale (See Figure 9c), which implies the intermediary step of de-coupling theoretical and geographical scales figured above.

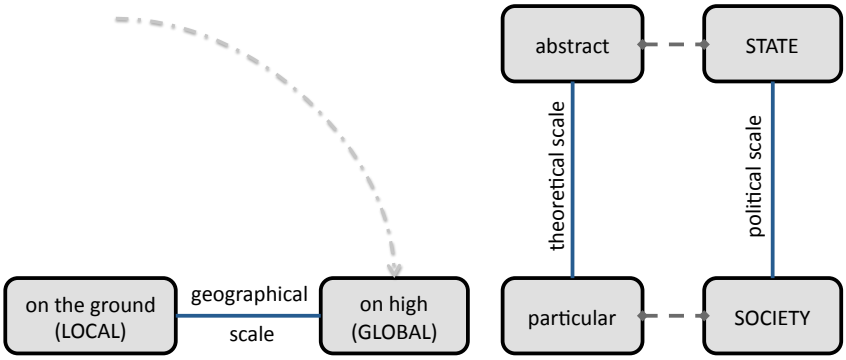


Figure 9c: *Dropping of Geographical Scale*

In Scott's progressive way of thinking we find myriad perspectives, ranging from those on high to those on the ground. Since these perspectives can come from any direction, they are situated in a geographically open plane; since these perspectives are those of *people*, that plane is social; since these perspectives always belong to certain individuals (because we each "see" through our own "lens"), the social plane is theoretically particular (meaning that what appears to be a general perspective is actually a projection of a particular perspective). Hence, what is produced is a social plane (See figure 9d).

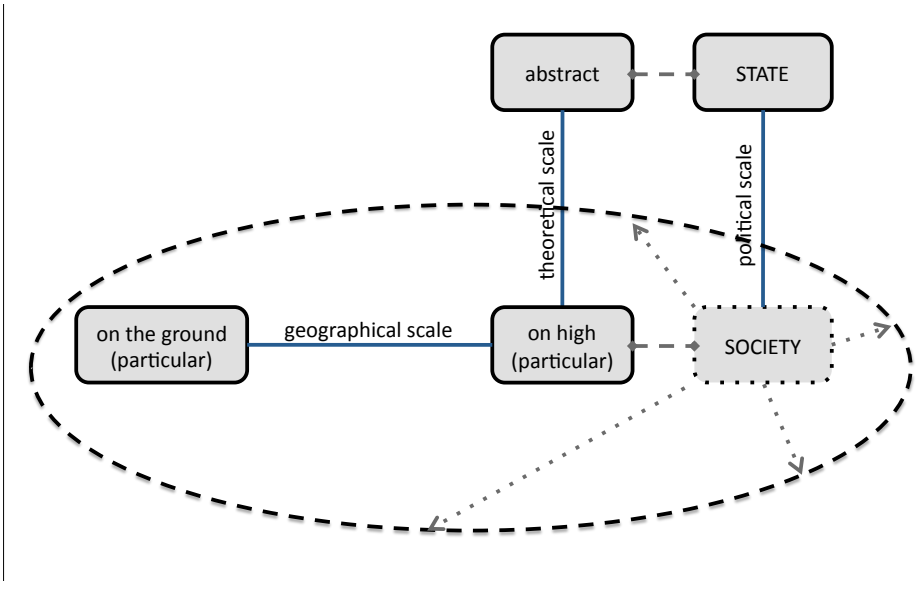


Figure 9d: *Opening up plane of society*

The trouble according to Scott, was that Le Corbusier developed a vision of cities that was to be imposed on the social plane. With an eye to formal order and the efficiency that follows from segregating different functions (as in the factory), Le Corbusier sought to impose that vision on society (Scott 1998, 104-7). Like other high modernist visionaries, he apparently privileged "the plan" – which on Scott's account was the way of constructing modern cities over and against existing unplanned landscapes. This strategy led Le Corbusier to market city plans to people who were in a position to use the force of the law, resulting in what Scott refers to as "a dictatorship of the planner" with "fascist" potential (Scott 1998, 113). By looking to cities that were built using Le Corbusier's principles, however, Scott shows how things have not actually gone according to plan. Brasília's public squares sit largely empty, for example, while the streets are alive in its resident-built shadow city of labourers. Through an analysis of this example, I will draw out the metaphor that functionally structured Scott's way of thinking in *Seeing Like a State*, and show how that led to the moral of his story.

> The unplanned Brasília – that is, the real, existing Brasília – was quite different from the original vision. Instead of a classless administrative city, it was a city marked by stark spatial segregation according to social class. The poor lived on **the periphery** and commuted long distances to **the centre**, where much of the elite lived and worked. Many of the rich also created their own settlements with individual houses and private clubs, thereby replicating the affluent lifestyles found elsewhere in Brazil. The unplanned Brasílias – that of the rich and that of the poor – were not merely a footnote or an accident; one could say that the cost of this kind of **order and legibility at the center of the plan** virtually required that it be sustained by an **unplanned Brasília at the margins**. The Brasílias were not just different; they were symbiotic. (Emphasis added. Scott 1998, 130)

The dominant metaphor here is that of the centre and margins, which is often referred to as "the core and periphery" (*e.g.* Innis 1956 [1927]). In Scott's description, the periphery is defined in relation to a core that was constructed as a centre of planning, in the image

of "the plan" – which privileges visual order from on high and so omits details (*e.g.* socially acceptable housing and intersections). Hence, the messiness of everyday life is externalized from the plan (and in turn, the planned city), thereby producing actual unplanned "margins." Thought from the centre outwards, those living in the periphery are dependent on the centre for work (whether as bureaucrats or labourers), and are marginalized by their own refusal to accept the modern housing of the central schematic. But the relationship between the centre and its margins can be thought in reverse. The core is dependent on the periphery not only for labour, but also for the more complex (read: "unplanned") ways of doing things that enable overly simplified plans to function. This reversal is *the* key move that Scott made repeatedly throughout the text. But it does not end there.

The reason that Scott offered for making this move is that even where modernist urban planners have been able to leverage the power of the state, their imperial visions are unrealizable because complex social structures cannot be informed by such simple plans alone, and are not so easily overwritten. This reversal also underpins his claim that the centre and its margins are "symbiotic." As the architecture of the social plane, this symbiotic core and periphery framework makes for a social life in which everyone uses and is used by others, albeit in different ways.

By seeing Le Corbusier as positioned at the centre of the social field, we can see how he used those on the periphery to implement some measure of his vision; and also how he has been used as a whipping boy by those who advocate for an "on the ground" way of seeing cities – he was the caricature of rural romanticism for Jacobs before he became that of high modernism for Scott. In the course of this chapter I will show that

Scott used the very patriarchal mode of authority that he accused Le Corbusier of, and in the next chapter, I will show that Le Corbusier may have been engaged in a more horizontal struggle over how we live together than is generally recognized.

In the event that the periphery does not see fit to support the centre, Scott insisted that it can become defiant; and as noted earlier "a resistant society could make its influence felt" through "working, representative institutions" – which means to say, through the liberal democratic state (Scott 1998, 101-2). Representation largely closes the gap between the state and society, grounding the state on the social field. As opposed to abstract notions of sovereignty and law, Scott talked about state "institutions," which are actual things. But the gap is not entirely closed. The state is not *of* the social plane in Scott's conception, which suggests that the social plane remains distinct from the state, as civil society. The state is a political institution whose form varies depending on the interests it represents; it can be captured by the few towards the centre (and so take on an authoritarian form), or it can be made to respond to the demands of the many toward the margins (and so take on a liberal democratic form). Thus, Scott conceived of the state as

a set of institutions that rests upon, and also moves across civil society (See Figure 9e).

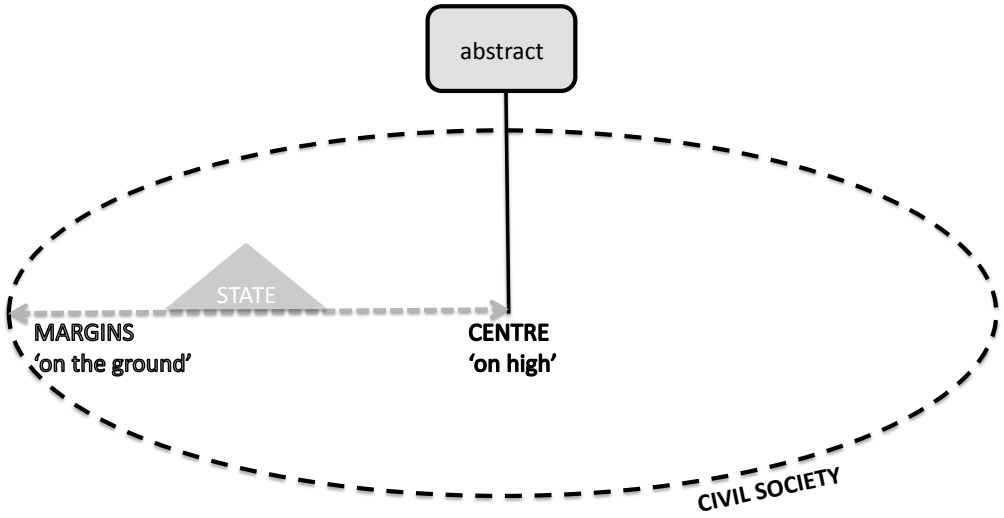


Figure 9e: *Opening the Plane of Civil Society*

When in the centre, the state is at risk of being used to (violently) impose abstracted visions on society, and when it is at the margins it holds promise of realizing progressive policies because it is informed by practical knowledge. Politics is therefore to be found in everyday struggles over positioning the state – which determines whose interests it represents, the knowledge that it operates on, and the ways that it works. This suggests that what happens in state institutions is not so political; it is simply a matter of representing whatever interests the state is positioned to represent.

Scott's commitment to liberal democracy enabled him to politicize the private realm. While governmental functions remain contained in the (public) state, through representation the political is released from its public confines into struggles in the private realm over the positioning of the state. Leary of the dominance of the economy that can follow from empowering the private, Scott was attentive to potential complicity with "neo-liberalism" – which he noticed in Jacobs' work. Yet at the same time, by

banking on the democratic dimension tempering the private market, Scott's commitment led him to underestimate the complicity of his own approach with neo-liberalism, as I will demonstrate in the following section. Following that, I will show how a similar interest in mobilizing the margins has led community developers to approach Bridgeview.

(ii) Grounding the civil city myth on the margins

The social field that Scott conceived is thoroughly private. It is a "zone of autonomy**,**" which includes "the private sector in liberal political economy." A difficulty that he indicated is that while this economy is too complex to be captured or managed by a single authority, it generates inequities that threaten many individuals' autonomy (Scott 1998, 101-2). The poor rural migrant, for example, does not have the same capacity to inform the development of a neighbourhood as a successful property developer, so if left to *grow* on its own, the neighbourhood will be constructed primarily by land-based elites for their own profit. It is precisely such machinations of capitalism that Scott suggested Jacobs missed.

Scott was critical of Jacobs' organicism – her belief that the unplanned city grows naturally – which he argued blinded her to how "in the absence of state-based urban planning, large commercial and speculative interests are transforming the urban landscape every day" (Endnote 99, Scott 1998, 387). This argument is nothing new. It fits nicely with the now standard (albeit marginal) political economy critique of Jacobs' organicism – which suggests that hers is the willing blindness of a gentrifier (e.g. Gans 2006, 213-5, 213-15). But Scott stopped short of making this ultimate charge.

Furthermore, he minimized his criticism by burying it in an endnote. In the body of the text, readers are more likely to come across statements such as: "Jacobs is more aware than most urban planners of the ecological and market forces continually transforming the city" (Scott 1998, 143). With his commitment to the liberal democratic state and civil society, Scott shared more with Jacobs than with the anarchists, such as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Peter Kropotkin, whom he treated as comrades (Endnote 99, Scott 1998, 387).

Since the autonomy of the private realm is what makes its complex self-ordering possible in Scott's account, in trying to check inequities in that realm, freedom should be constrained as little as possible. This is in line with classic conceptions of "negative liberty," understood as freedom *from* interference (e.g. Berlin 1958). Hence, rather than striving toward rights *for* social equity, for instance, Scott settles on a more minimal baseline measure: most everyone ought to be able to meet their own needs (c.f. critique of socialist focus on needs, e.g. Laporte 2002 [1978]).

From this survival-driven assumption, it follows that there is a lot of differentiation in terms of what freedom affords different individuals. For example, Scott suggested "what is going on in the kitchen when someone is cooking for friends who have gathered there is not merely 'food preparation;'" it also has something to do with sociability, recreation, and perhaps even gossip and politics (Scott 1998, 110-1). While cooking might be taken up by an affluent man like Scott (or his wife) recreationally, as a hobby that contributes to entertaining friends, for the less affluent majority it tends to be used to meet the need to eat. Thus the freedom to express oneself through culinary art could be understood as functionally consigning women (for the most part) to the kitchen,

cooking without financial remuneration, in addition to whatever other work they have to do in order to meet their needs. But so long as most people have the ability to meet their need to eat, there is no reason to constrain this freedom, by providing nourishing food for everyone through industrial kitchens, as Le Corbusier would have had it (Scott 1998, 110). Clearly the notion of freedom is stretched ever thinner as we move away from the centre, towards those who are struggling to survive, and so are not in a position to realize visions of other ways of living (let alone to use those visions to influence others).

What this maximizing of freedom in the private realm means for the politics of positioning the state is that even in the most progressive scenario – when political activists are able to lure the state towards the margins, and so political representatives are tasked with considering what practical interventions might be helpful for ensuring that most individuals are able to meet their own needs – there is very little that can be done because individuals are presumed to be free to make their own way in private. This is a key tenet of neo-liberalism, which is criticized for putting on a friendly face that obscures the structural production of certain positions in the social field (*e.g.* the capitalist production of a force of unemployed, but ready, workers) (Porter and Craig May 2004, 387-423). Scott was well aware of the potential complicity of his approach with neo-liberalism, but suggested that we are stuck with this potential when we accept the ungovernable nature of the private realm.

State-based urban planning was presented by Scott as a way of leveling the playing field, if you will, by ensuring that those at the margins have a fair chance to make their own way in the private realm, that is, in the "zone of autonomy" (*c.f.* justice as fairness; Rawls 1993). Liberal democracy is to be valued because it can work to protect

everyone's ability to pursue their private interests. So while there are struggles over the position of the state vis-à-vis civil society, when it is in its proper place, towards the margins, everyone is free to go about their business. Hence, all of that conceptual work – de-coupling theoretical, geographical and political scales by identifying all perspectives as particular, opening up the social field and giving it a core-periphery architecture, and letting the state loose across the plane of civil society (binding the two with the mechanism of representation) – has been implied in order to politicize everyday life so as to respect freedom in private. It follows that Scott was unusually attentive to the importance of the demarcation between public and private in Jacobs' analysis (Scott 1998, 135), but in the previous chapter I hope to have shown some of the implications of taking this distinction and its attendant code of civility, *i.e.* respect for privacy, too seriously. While aware of some of the risks of complicity with neo-liberalism, the extent to which Scott was able to avoid it (or not) will be clarified through an analysis of how exactly he aligned himself with Jacobs, on the margins.

Scott sidestepped the charge that Jacobs was a gentrifier by focusing on her less contestable status as a woman. By taking her womanhood as a marker of attentiveness to daily life and concerns about gender (both of which are associated with feminism), he staked out a place for Jacobs as a "political activist" on the margins, and a successful one, at that (Scott 1998, 132). Importantly, she had comrades, or rather, a sisterhood. In the final chapter of the urban section of this text, Scott cast others as women activists: Rosa Luxemburg as "Physician and Midwife to the Revolution," and Aleksandra Kollontay as "revolutionary activist, the head of the women's section of the Central Committee

(Zhenotdel), and, by early 1921, closely associated with the Workers' Opposition" (Scott 1998, 168-178). Scott figured these women, like Jacobs, as responding to a high modernist movement headed by a visionary man: Lenin. In crude terms, therefore, what Scott presented were battles of the sexes: Luxemburg and Kollontay vs. Lenin, and Jacobs vs. Le Corbusier and Moses. These battles were premised on a romanticism of women whose shape will become clearer.

Depicting battles of the sexes is useful in that it draws attention to the way that men at the core sell their abstracted visions to the many, in order to capture the state. After popular buy-in has waned, the coercive powers of the state can be used to impose those visions, further marginalizing the many. In what seems to be a dire situation, it is women who intervene in authoritarian plans and represent the interests of peripheral communities to sway the decisions of government. The battle of the sexes that Scott depicted is thus fought over the positioning of the state, and is ultimately won by those on the margins because abstract visions imposed from the centre do not account for complexities that are needed in order to make them work, and so can be thwarted or resisted by those on the margins, *i.e.* by a "resistant civil society."

In spite of the apparent dominance of men at the centre, Scott's analysis emphasized the power of women at the margins, restoring balance to heterosexual relationships. To emphasize, he celebrated Jacobs' myth of the civil city precisely because "many of her views have been incorporated into the working assumptions of today's urban planners" (Scott 1998, 132). Ironically, we can get a sense of her influence by inferring the significance of Scott's unnecessary and sexist identification of Jacobs as a wife and mother; comparable identification of visionary men's roles outside of work

was not made. Jacobs' capacity to influence "working assumptions" stems from her domesticity.

Scott's reading of Jacobs' work was marked by its emphasis on her perspective. He suggested that Jacobs began "at street level, with an ethnography of micro-order in neighborhoods, sidewalks, and intersections" (Scott 1998, 132), because she sees with a "woman's eye":

> The eyes with which she sees the street are, by turns, those of shoppers running errands, mothers pushing baby carriages, children playing, friends having coffee or a bite to eat, lovers strolling, people looking from their windows, shopkeepers dealing with customers, old people sitting on park benches. Work is not absent from her account, but her attention is riveted on the quotidian in the street as it appears around work and outside of work. (Scott 1998, 138)

On his telling, women occupy a "quotidian" domain, outside "work" (Scott 1998, 138) – which does not mean to say that they do not participate in the formal economy (which they do), but rather, that their particular perspective derives from their informal activities as wives and mothers, shopping and watching over others (Scott 1998, 387, Endnote 94). In-depth analysis is not needed to highlight that the subject position he ascribes to women is dependent on men (*i.e.* male husbands whose perspective implicitly derives from their formal activities as workers and representatives). Scott romantically consigns women to caring for domestic affairs, in private. Thus**,** Scott located Jacobs on the margins ("removed from the orthodox educational routines of urban planning schools" at the abstracting core), and also on the ground (with "pedestrian" views outside powerful public institutions) (Scott 1998, 132). Her ability to influence those in powerful public institutions was a matter of persuasion, of seduction, one might say (*c.f.* Baudrillard 1990 [1979]).

Scott joined Jacobs on the margins, and so represented her as his wife, metaphorically speaking, to readers in powerful academic institutions (*i.e.* at the centre). As a wife she supported him through her daily busy-ness, and helped him see how good intentions – to improve our condition – can have devastating effects when we become too ambitious and so disconnected from the majority. By representing Jacobs' civil city myth as a challenge coming from a caring wife, Scott seems to have been working to ensure that it can have even more influence in and through a powerful institution, by convincing academics who are captivated by seeing from on high that they ought to get hitched to the margins of civil society.

To readers who have already positioned themselves on the margins, Scott presented Jacobs as mother, as though he and she were their parents, metaphorically speaking. As a mother she affirms how what those working on/with the margins are already doing contributes to the self-ordering of society, and models the appropriate behaviors of a political activist. In other words, she nurtures self-ordering members of society who take everyday life as their site of political engagement (however lacking in political authority that site might be). There is no need to say "Look mom!" or "Watch me!" as children often do, because Jacobs already sees and expresses amazement at the mundane activities and relationships involved in self-ordering society – which Scott drew out of Jacobs' work and the "facts" of her life.

In sum, by presenting Jacobs as a wife and mother, and extending that lineage to Luxemburg and Kollentay, Scott provided readers with a lineage of liberal democratic activists. Questions of complicity with neo-liberalism seem to evaporate through association with socialist revolutionaries. He gave us a family photo album, of sorts, that

readers can look to in order to become familiar with traditions on the margins of civil society, and into which we can insert snapshots of ourselves, as husbands or children of these women. Whether or not readers accept these feminized figures in these terms exactly, what is forceful about Scott's representation of them is the way that it provides caring, personal connections to what would otherwise be a rather cursory treatment of the well-worn move of mobilizing the margins (e.g. Shields 1991). Furthermore, Scott's female cast works to make readers feel supported as socially progressive (if not activist), which may go some way in explaining why this text has become so famous, considering that its program for improvement through political advising is explicitly framed as the work of a non-expert in the field of political theory.

When we approach Bridgeview with Scott's mobilization of Jacobs' myth of the civil city in mind, we can see that community developers have similarly positioned the neighbourhood on the margins of civil society, and tried to mobilize it to action, as I will explore in the following section.

(iii) Action for Neighbourhood Change in Bridgeview

While particular, the social plane that Scott implicitly conceived is not "real" in the physical sense that Jacobs described. Navigation on that plane happens by way of social indicators. Such indicators featured large in a "community process" (involving the School District, Surrey Parks and Recreation, Surrey Library, Crime Prevention, and dozens of significant social service agencies) through which Bridgeview was selected over other Surrey neighbourhoods as one of five local sites for a national project, Action for Neighbourhood Change (ANC). This project targeted marginalized neighbourhoods,

and in 2001 Bridgeview had lower average household incomes than in the municipality of Surrey as a whole (at $41,607, as compared with $63,197). Furthermore, its Early Childhood Development was seriously lagging – coming out of kindergarten, 45% of Bridgeview children are *not* ready for school (as compared with 23.5% in Surrey as a whole), which is on par with remote northern communities (ANC 31 Oct 2005). Bridgeview was thus positioned as a marginalized neighbourhood within Surrey.

But Bridgeview was not only chosen for its challenges. Since the ANC project aimed "to strengthen and sustain healthy neighbourhoods" (ANC 25 Jul 2005), there was also an interest in neighbourhood capacity to run with the action once it was kick started. On this count, attention was drawn to the Bridgeview Community Association (BCA), which had been a hub of neighbourhood activity since its founding in 1944 (Bridgeview Community Association 1991), and had played a crucial role in acquiring a community school, sewers, and other crucial neighbourhood resources (BCA and Bridgeview Community School May 1975). Its programs included Cubs and Better Babies, which are reflective of a neighbourhood that attracts families with young children; the biggest age group in Bridgeview in 2001 was children up to 14 years old (22%), followed by adults aged 35-44 years of age (20%) (ANC 31 Oct 2005, 4). Thus the neighbourhood had an institutionalized history of initiating and maintaining social programs.

Finally, in addition to challenges and capacities, the local ANC selection committee had a special interest in "the variety of people" living in Bridgeview – 43% of residents belonged to a visible minority (18% "East Indian", 13% East Asian) – most of whom could conceivably converse with one another given that 77% speak English as their first language (which is much higher than the 55% in the wider neighbourhood of

Whalley, and 62% in Surrey as a whole); furthermore, the population was relatively settled; only about 40% were movers within the last 5 years, which is on par with Surrey as a whole (ANC 31 Oct 2005, 5). In short, Bridgeview came to be seen as a neighbourhood that could face up to its significant challenges, given its very stable community centre and diverse yet settled population.

More than a year before the official selection of Bridgeview in July 2005, the municipality of Surrey had been chosen by the National Homelessness Secretariat as one of five cities through which to develop a "comprehensive approach" to building neighbourhood capacity (United Way of Canada 9 May 2005). The "grandfather of neighbourhood change," Michael Boltheus, saw such capacity building as contributing to the prevention of homelessness in at-risk neighbourhoods (COM 3). Addressing this underlying aim of preventing homelessness also conceivably worked to prevent crime and drug use, as well as to increase literacy and the use of new communication technologies. Hence, the five respective federal agencies (*i.e.* the National Homelessness Secretariat, National Crime Prevention, Canada's Drug Strategy, the Office of Learning Technologies, and the National Literacy Secretariat) "partnered" to establish the Action for Neighbourhood Change through a single funding stream, with a coordinated reporting procedure, and a common evaluation framework (Torjman Dec 2005). This "miracle" (worked by dedicated bureaucrats over many months) was possible, in part, thanks to the Chrétien Liberals' appreciation for the need to work "horizontally" – across policy silos – in order to address complex problems such as homelessness.

A new "convener" role for federal agencies was being eked out, as opposed to the old style "funder" with a vertical line down to local organizations (National

Homelessness Secretariat). There was little "in-house capacity" to play this new role, however, so a call for proposals to manage the ANC project was made in May 2004. The United Way of Canada won the contract as the lead agency with three others working at the national level – Tamarack (An Institute for Community Engagement), the National Film Board of Canada, and the Caledon Institute of Social Policy – and with five others working in localities – the United Ways in Halifax, Thunder Bay, Toronto, Regina and the Lower Mainland. The Action for Neighbourhood Change was formally launched in February of 2005.

Much initial effort was spent trying to educate government partners on the meaning of their terms in a community development context: "local *enablers*" (doing development work in communities) would be mistaken for pushers of addictive substances; identifying "*distressed* neighbourhoods" would be counterproductive because it would focus attention on neighbourhoods' problems (rather than on capacities to change); and most importantly, "outcomes" would necessarily include relationship building and collaboration. These outcomes' human touch was lost in the translation to "deliverables" on the goals for 2006/07. For example, vis-à-vis the goal of ACTIONS – described as "key neighbourhood interventions that enable a neighbourhood to act collectively to mobilize resources for common benefit, *i.e*. to improve neighbourhood conditions" – the deliverables include the "Neighbourhood Vitality Index/Tracking tool (NPO and SC)" (Steering Committee). The sense of togetherness and willingness to work together for it, thus only mattered to upper levels of government in so far as it could be objectively measured.

The Bridgeview story begins after this educating work had been done, and after the United Way of the Lower Mainland had hired a manager for the Surrey portion of the project – someone who had already fostered working relationships in the area because she had been a planning consultant for the United Way in Surrey for 10 some odd years, and was the Chair of Vibrant Surrey (a community development project targeting poverty that had been initiated by two of the ANC partners, Tamarack and the Caledon Institute).

The local ANC manager and her team undertook much of the same educational work as UW Canada had, but this time, the target was local media. In conversation with the local UW Marketing and Communication department, an official launch of ANC in Bridgeview was planned for July 25th, 2005. It was meant as "a symbolic closure to the selection process and a chance to set the scene for future progress" (Bridgeview ANC 2005). As such, media was key. But journalists came with the habit of focusing on sensational problems – such as the murder of a man who dropped by his elder sister's house to help out and walked in on a B & E (*i.e.* break and enter, for robbery in this case), and the poverty, drug use, and gang related activity that is thought to underpin such desperate acts (Zytaruk 15 Apr 2011). In the headlines just as the ANC was starting to focus on the neighbourhood were sensationalist solutions. A resident whom the news media described as a "vigilante" – for having taken up arms (or more specifically, a baseball bat) in a fight against a supposed drug addict suspected of stealing from his scrapyard – had finally received a settlement to the tune of $279,132 for injuries he incurred in administering justice in his own way (Baglole 8 Apr 2005, B1, B4). The local ANC coordinator had her work cut out for her in cuing local media to the more mundane strengths of the neighbourhood for making change.

So, over the course of a week, the local ANC coordinator (hired by the manager) educated journalists on the principle of focusing on community assets – which she was tasked with mapping – as a way of countering stigma of barbarism and empowering residents to face up to their challenges. One journalist's struggle to integrate this lesson, given his own tendency to focus on problems and external solutions, is inscribed in the title: "Help on way for district that lacks serious problems" (Chai 3 Aug 2005, 3, 7). By flagging "serious problems" he did not manage to avoid falling into the sensationalist trap.

But more immediate problems than those of image followed from his mention of $4 million dollars dedicated to the ANC project in highlighting the kind of "help" on the way. No mention was made of the fact that the Surrey portion of the project would only receive a tenth of that money, or that none of the $270,000 budgeted for staff (or the other $145,000 budgeted for research and communications, for example; as listed in the National Project Office budget table (Action for Neighbourhood Change) was earmarked for employing Bridgeview residents (AR 3). A number of Bridgeviewers got involved with the local ANC project on the assumption that they might become beneficiaries of some portion of those millions, and some bitterness remains about how little actually followed (BV 7, COM 3). Such challenges seem to have stemmed from not being able to educate all the relevant parties at once, which anticipated more terminal challenges that would arise.

As one might have expected, the terms of the federal ANC project were revised again at the local level, at the United Way (UW) of the Lower Mainland. "The mandate from on high" was to engage Bridgeview residents in conversations relating to policies of

the five participating federal agencies. Despite her own concern about the local relevance, given that such policy seemed far away (in Ottawa, to be precise), the Bridgeview ANC manager attempted to implement the mandate for the first 6 months, but with little success (COM 3). Bridgeviewers wanted to talk about ditches (among other infrastructure problems) more than Employment Insurance and other federal programs. Although the ditches were no longer brimming with sewage, they were clogged with trash (that residents claimed was dumped there by outsiders), and continued to pose a hazard for children who could fall in. After the head of the United Way of Canada came for a tour of the neighbourhood, and saw the NFB film depicting Bridgeviewers' struggle for sanitary sewers and proper drainage in the 1960s-70s (Pinney 1976), sketched in the previous chapter, those "on high" finally "got it."

Bridgeviewers have a strong sense of community pride, perhaps in spite of being dumped on (literally, with garbage, and figuratively, with insults) by people from the rest of the Lower Mainland, and so they tend to be focused on improving the physical infrastructure of the neighbourhood. They are known for saying they feel abandoned by the municipality, and have little faith or interest in the machinations of even more distant governments – which is no wonder, given the deferral and deceit Bridgeviewers experienced in the fight for sewers traced in the previous chapter. If the ANC was going to be a truly community-based project, then it would have to start with what was important to the people there: physical infrastructure. But sewers and ditches, sidewalks, and streetlights are the purview of municipal governments, which are in turn, creatures of provincial government, not the federal partners that were funding ANC. Nonetheless, one of the first projects to be undertaken under the rubric of ANC was a cleanup of the

ditches – with support from the municipality in the way of gear used to pick up garbage, and collection of whatever residents bagged. It would seem that the ANC was responding to Bridgeviewers' concerns, after all.

Efforts were made to reach out to those marginalized within the neighbourhood. So-called "conversation circles" were chosen for reaching out to the margins within the marginalized neighbourhood, with the aim of mobilizing them for action. Initially, these circles were meant to engage people who experienced barriers to accessing the usual mechanisms for engagement – people with disabilities and seniors, in particular. But the community developer struggled to find people with these experiences to facilitate conversations among their peers, because many were already tired from or committed to other community-based work (whether advocating for the neighbourhood in the past, or participating in current projects at the school, or through interest-based organizations). This suggests that other community development projects use similar social indicators to map the community, and so had already tapped the furthest reaches of the margins – as marked by disabilities or advanced age, which signals to the competition among community developers for residents' volunteer time and energy. So the focus of the ANC conversation circles shifted toward others who had experienced barriers to neighbourhood participation: ethnic groups.

Even though the Chinese, East Indian, and Fijian volunteers were keen, after significant facilitation training, they were still not comfortable initiating conversation groups. Instead, they took the ANC survey questions and talked with residents from their respective communities on an individual basis. In doing so, some volunteers faced questions and concerns about the ANC project that made them uncomfortable. So

community developers decided to take a new approach, one that might create a more "natural" setting in which conversations might unfold among residents who were interested in participating in the ANC project, and where facilitators could draw on community developers as needed (Read "Multicultural Bridgeview. 2000s."). The event was hosted at the community hall and was a major success in terms of the ANC's immediate purposes, of getting marginalized groups within the neighbourhood talking about how the neighbourhood could be improved (albeit with a redefined notion of marginalized that did not reach as far as people with disabilities).

As is fitting of community development, the ANC responded to concerns within this marginalized neighbourhood and reached out to its margins, which would seem to be anathema to the work of the state, but it is important to remember that the ANC was also an experiment in a horizontally organizing state activity. In the following section I return to an analysis of Scott's mobilization of Jacobs' civil city myth, to draw out the mode of making sense of things that underpins both. After fleshing out what is involved in visioning, I will then bring it to bear on the ANC project.

(2) Civil city myth at work: Visioning

(i) Seeing like a state

While Scott had a lot to say about Jacobs as a woman, and a fair bit to say about her as a wife and mother, he was not explicit about his role as a man. The relationship between the sexes is not as equal as his symbiotic framing would lead us to believe. His powerful position can be understood in his own terms. Scott the academic represented Jacobs the political activist (as a wife and mother) in powerful institutions, and this is not

just a different *kind* of notionally equal work. Scott provided a *simplified vision* of Jacobs and others' complex activities as the work of political activists – who struggle against authoritarian uses of the state, which in turn positions the state closer to them on the margins, meaning that state institutions can represent the many more fairly. As I hope to have shown in the previous chapter, however, Jacobs does not seem to share Scott's investment in the state – interested as she was in urban self-government – and so he is thus functionally positioned at the core, projecting statist visions across civil society.

Scott thus played the role of father to Jacobs and other women activists – metaphorical daughters that he strove to marry off. But as his analysis would suggest, anyone who takes these women as wives on Scott's solicitation, are sure to be faced with unexpected complications – both supportive and challenging. In addition to being fun to undertake, this analysis enables me to finally get at why those at the centre seem to wield authority even though they do not have an absolute hold on state institutions. Scott's paternal authority (to give his metaphorical daughters away) comes by dint of dick, that is, symbolically (*c.f.* Mulvey 1975, 6-18) – which is the way of the core, after all (e.g. Pateman 1989). The masculinist tendencies of the "neoliberal" city – which serves both capitalism and the phallus – have been well noted (e.g. Hubbard 2004, 665-686).

Symbolic visions are easy to sell in large measure because we are living in the context of a visual marketing culture, in which images (*e.g.* of a house with a lawn) have come to stand in for notions of the good life (Jhally 2003, 249–257). To the extent that media conglomerations, politicians, academics, and so on are able to project these images across civil society (*i.e.* advertise), they are centred within it. Most people are conditioned to 'read' flashing images at high speeds, and so do not tend to have the

attention span to hear out rambling mundane reflections. Hence, women with complex understandings of what might be good for their particular communities are marginalized – which does not mean to say that they are without certain kinds of influence (*e.g.* seduction). By packaging their reflections as a marginalized way of seeing (and so too, knowing), Scott leveraged men's structural authority (as representatives in powerful institutions at the core) vis-à-vis women, rather than having challenged it.

With this in mind we can see how treating Jacobs not simply as a woman, but as a daughter to be married off (and presumably impregnated), Scott took on the task of protecting her virtue – a task that may impossible in the modern context, as suggested by the Rape of Lucretia (Livy 1960 [29BC-17AD], 98-104, 1.56-1.59). Progressive daughters (to be wives and mothers someday) can protest and sit on committees. They can even work. So long as it is not in powerful institutions or in capacities that require symbolic thinking, because then they come to see like (and so too seem like) men, which is why it is better to keep daughters (to be wives and mothers someday) in their mundane place. Romanticizing that place helps keep them there. Telling them they'll ultimately triumph helps too.

The symbiotic heterosexual relationship (which is a resolution of the battle of the sexes) is drawn from my reading of Scott's *Seeing Like a State*. It is a caricature of the tension between two different ways of knowing – one symbolic (systematic and visual) and the other grounded (complex and relational). The former thinks about the state from the inside out, in the seemingly absolute terms of symbolic authority (*i.e.* sovereignty) and law. Against such "seeing like a state," Scott conceived the state from the outside in,

as a particular set of institutions that are dependent on society for making things work. This opposition obscures how Scott's approach actually functions in a symbolic manner. A clue to its symbolic workings is provided by the way that state institutions are connected to society: through representation.

One person is supposed to be able to represent another because people are abstracted as a position on the field of civil society, vis-à-vis which perspectives on and interests in a certain issue can be calculated. Ostensibly, those perspectives can be voiced and those interests served by anyone capable of identifying with their respective position. This mode of representation is visual, and was illustrated through the *point of perspective* in the Italian Renaissance during the 15th century. It tricks our eyes into seeing what is drawn from a "vanishing point" (where side-profile horizontal lines converge) as realistic because it positions viewers from a certain standpoint in relation to a horizon, as though looking through a window at a scene beyond (and the painting stands in for the window). Take, for example, Piero della Francesca's "View of an Ideal City".

Standing from a certain point in front of the painting, it seems as though one is looking at a cityscape that is there, just beyond the painting. The painting thus functions as a representation of that thing. To emphasize, different perspectives are not generated by standing in different places vis-à-vis the same image (which actually breaks the function of the vanishing point, making the eye aware of the trick being played upon it). Each image represents one perspective, and so a new painting is called for to illustrate a different perspective.

Significantly, the point of perspective was conceived in tandem with what has become recognized as state thinking. Machiavelli – who is often attributed with

conceiving the early modern state – suggested that in order to effectively achieve certain political ends (*e.g.* to secure and maintain a state) one needs to grasp the entire political scene. On his account this involves being able to see from two perspectives simultaneously: from on high ("to know well the nature of people one needs to be prince") and below ("to know well the nature of princes one needs to be of the people") (Machiavelli 1998 [1532], 4). To emphasize, these are not perspectives from standpoints in geographical space, but in abstract social space. In order to rule a state, whether as a principality or as a republic, it is crucial, then, to have a legible representation of the perspectives of the key players with a stake in it; and such legibility is thought to be more easily rendered by those who stand outside the complex experiences of a social position.

In looking upon a political problem, from on high and from below, very different images may appear. For example, in tracing city planning, Scott offered a series of contrasting photographs of cities built using: (1) Jacobs' on the street perspective (*e.g.* São Paulo's bustling central square); and (2) Le Corbusier's high-flying perspective (*e.g.* Brasilia's virtually empty public square). These pictures seem to have been composed from different perspectives than those of the content presented. Whereas high modernist designs tend to consist of idealized sketches focusing on the rhythm of large buildings, the picture Scott offers emphasizes the vapid open spaces between those buildings after they have been constructed, thus illustrating Jacobs' critique of rural romanticism; and whereas Jacobs' descriptions of streetlife feature the activities of and relationships between people with names (or at least distinct functions), the picture Scott offers focuses more on the spaces themselves with myriad unidentifiable people moving through them. So these pictures represent a highflying perspective as seen from the ground, and an on

the street perspective as seen from on high, which seems to illustrate Machiavelli's suggestion that one can better understand particular positions from outside of them.

Following Scott's own critique of high modernism, we can infer the reasoning behind this presumption: one is necessarily bound up in complex relations when occupying a certain position, but from a bit of a distance much of that complexity fades from view and so one can trace broad lines of perspective and interests.

Seeing is to see like a state because it is a mode by which people are represented as positions with certain perspectives and interests, and such representation is crucial to the abstraction of political authority from people going about their business in everyday life, to state sovereignty. This is to extend Scott's criticism of how seeing from on high involves simplifying things. While that simplification is more obvious in the high modernist visions of single use zones threaded together by freeways and greenways, as we will see in the following subsection, visioning similarly makes messy interactions intelligible through process flow charts, for instance. Whether within a fixed plan or a planning process, seeing makes complex relations legible in spatial terms. With a visual representation of the range of positions with a stake in an issue, or how various positions interact, one can then calculate how best to represent a certain set of positions vis-à-vis others.

Key to this visual mode of representation, therefore, is a horizon (or meta-horizon) that relates various perspectives in a meaningful way. For example, in Machiavelli's conception, the prince can see the people's position and vice versa, but the two make sense in relation to one another because both are located vis-à-vis a mountain (whether atop it or in the valley below). While territory is the literal horizon that came to

be associated with the state (especially following the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648), some governments without territory have been recognized as sovereign, and some of those with territory have not (Krasner 1999, 25, 70). More consistently then, and in line with the earlier discussion of Kant, the constitution serves as the horizon of the state. But with increasing global migration and so too diverse cities, influential political theories propose a liberal "background of intelligibility" – which consists of certain key questions about the good life, for instance (Taylor 1991, 37). Such conceptions of a horizon of meaning enable us to recognize the ways in which even community based activities can function in a statist manner.

In the following section I will demonstrate how visioning (from below) is to see like a state, albeit in a different mode than imposing visions from on high. My purpose in doing so is to highlight some of the ways that efforts to seek community-based alternatives to the hierarchical state may end up replicating its simplifying logic. I do not mean to suggest that this is the only or primary logic of such work, and will turn to some of its more practical successes in the third section.

(ii) ANC and/as the horizontal state

The ultimate aim of the overall ANC project was to get each neighbourhood to plan its own development, and to learn from that ongoing process. The "community action" that was stimulated in Bridgeview (*e.g.* through the granting process) was meant to be an "*implementation of the goals and objectives within the capacity building plan for the neighbourhood"* (Pell 2005, 18-23). While noting that such action could precede the completion of the plan (and some should, as in the ditch clean-up, in order to create a

sense of achievement and build residents' confidence to undertake more long-term action), effort also needed to be put toward the planning process – which would "provide participants with a guide for making the desired changes to the neighbourhood" (Pell 2005, 11-17). Hence, there were numerous meetings at which residents were asked about their *vision* of the neighbourhood and what they bring to it.

Here is what residents came up with at a community forum that ANC community developers facilitated early on in the project:

> In 5 years, our Bridgeview community will be…
>
> a vibrant, inviting, safe, and close-knit community where people of all ages and backgrounds flourish.
>
> We are proud of our Bridgeview roots and heritage and the beautiful green spaces, scenic waterfront access, active parks, and well lit pathways that connect us all. People of all ages work side by side to take care of one other and ensure that families today, and future generations, have a rewarding neighbourhood life.
>
> Our local gathering places, like the community centre and school, are a flurry of activity day and night. Local initiatives, such as food coops, job exchanges, and economic bartering, help our neighbourhood thrive. We proudly partner with many local groups and agencies to build a vibrant neighbourhood where people and pride are valued.
>
> Together, we ensure that Bridgeview is a wonderful place to live, an easy community to get to, and a welcoming place to visit.
>
> Drop by: "The coffee is on!" (Action for Neighbourhood Change 9 Nov 2005)

This vision seems to have played competing roles in the planning process.

Insofar as it was an *outcome* of the consultation, the vision provided a goal toward which particular neighbourhood actions could be oriented. Specific projects "such as food co-ops" are not precise targets to be achieved, however; they are examples of the kinds of projects that illustrate an intention, values or feelings of residents at a given moment (albeit cast in future terms). Pride, for instance, makes three appearances in this short piece. Such feelings can be used to conceive of fitting projects, such as the mosaic

and sculpture in front of the community hall, which proudly depicts a history and the location of the neighbourhood. Hence, a key function of the vision is to excite and inspire residents to take actions with certain intentions or values in mind.

Film has been a quite a literal mechanism for producing inspiring scenes in Bridgeview community development initiatives. The National Film Board (NFB) was involved in the Bridgeview ANC project, facilitating youths making their own short videos, and the NFB film that was produced in the course of the Challenge for Change in the 1960s-70s was screened to help ANC federal partners better understand neighbouhood needs and assets, as well as to motivate Bridgeviewers to take action (a screening that would be repeated to rouse opposition to the freeway construction, as will be shown in the next chapter). As an aim, therefore, the vision was not to be imposed or realized to the letter; rather, it was meant to inspire specific (albeit unspecified) actions informed by residents' intentions, values, feelings and so on.

Insofar as the vision was a work in progress, *i.e.* a draft, it was but one part of an overall *process*. A visioning process is certainly more inclusive than a vision, because it can incorporate many visions, as evidenced by the ANC assumption that neighbourhoods are diverse entities. While affording for varied content, however, the form of self-development is presumably general (if not universal). ANC workers set themselves in a position of knowing (and learning more about) what process is *generally* needed to plan action for neighbourhood change – this was the deliverable of the federal pilot project, after all. The "Model for change" that the Bridgeview ANC came up with was visualized as a flow chart (*e.g.* See Figure 10; MacKay 2008, 63)

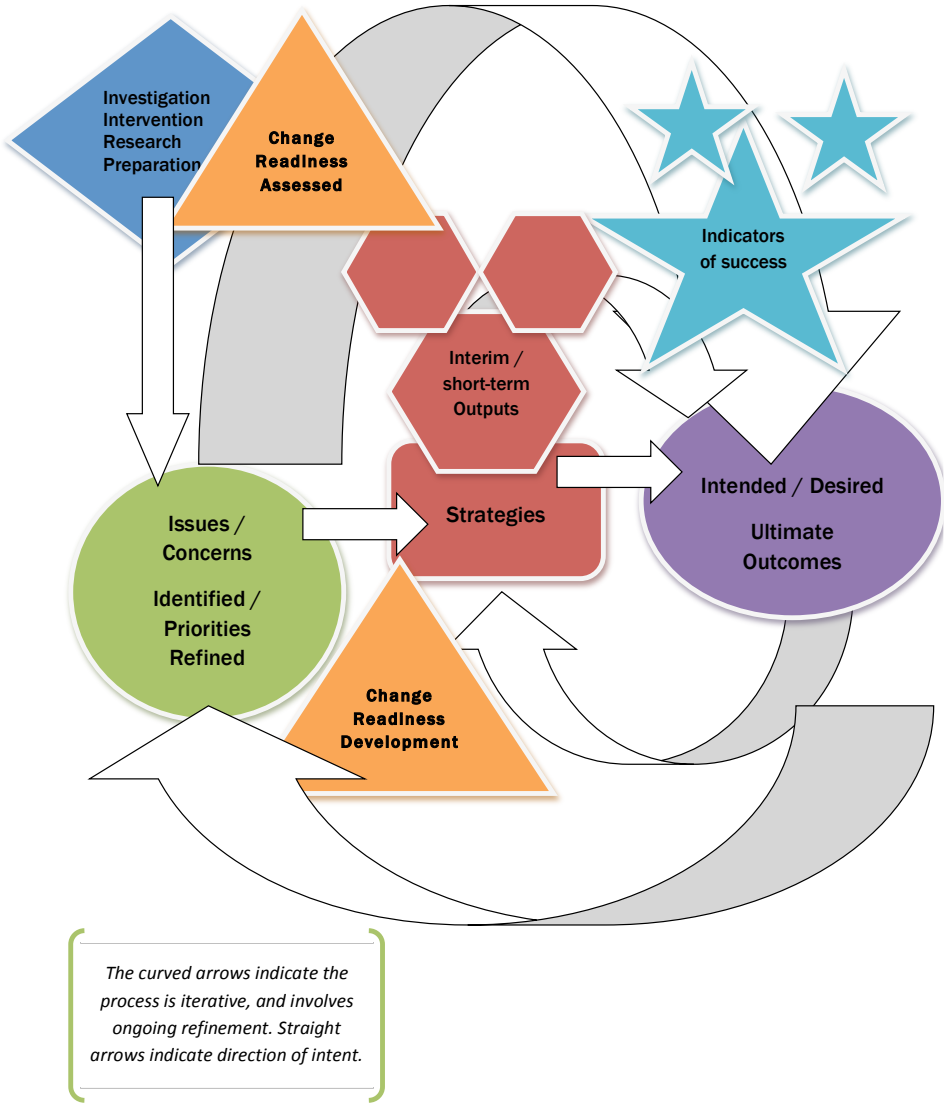


Figure 10: *ANC Flow chart*

While this flow chart is much more complex than the simple schemas that Scott associates with visionary plans (*e.g.* those drafted by Le Corbusier), it similarly assumes that the diverse ways that people come to live together can be rationally broken down into steps and ordered appropriately. However recursive and responsive this model might be, misses much of what actually goes on (not least of which are unintended outcomes and conservatism), as I will explore further in the following section. This is to echo

Scott's analysis of how seeing obscures crucial details that one can get a sense of "on the ground." One might consider the planning process as a horizon of sorts, because it aims to provide "a container" for neighbourhood development – including those from across the plane of civil society.

While it is relatively easy to see how the vision as an outcome, or as part of an overall planning process can be imposed (even if in less offensive because more reflexive ways than visions from on high), it may be difficult to see how visioning as a modality can be similarly imposing.

The social survey process is one site through which we can develop more of an appreciation for what might be troubling about this visual mode. Despite having been trained to survey fellow ethnic community members, Bridgeview residents remained uncomfortable facilitating conversation circles. ANC community developers' response to this discomfort was to adapt the process (*e.g.* by merging separate conversation circles into one at the global fusion potluck; Morrison 2006). In the course of visioning, the neighbour with whom a volunteer was speaking slipped away into a point of perspective in a neighbourhood survey. In that moment she/he was left alone, floating with social indicators, at the centre (albeit the centre of a marginalized community within a marginalized neighbourhood). It is hard to imagine that much consolation would have been offered by reminding her/him that this was one among many points of perspective (as opposed to one perspective being applied to all neighbours). Taken thus, residents' discomfort signals to the violence involved in reducing others in one's community to social indicators.

Visualizing is, in sum, a spatial way of thinking abstractly – one that is particularly neat because things can be separated in space, and any given space can only be occupied by so many things before it becomes homogenous again (*e.g.* if one applies too many colours to a canvas it becomes a relatively even shade of brown, and similarly, if one draws too may lines on a page, the crosshatches eventually turn to a solid block of colour). So neighbourhoods and residents are identified by a constrained number of indicators and perspectives, so as to keep the picture sharp.

Perhaps conversation facilitators would have been more comfortable doing these social surveys had they been paid. Significantly, remunerating residents for their work seems to have been effective in the Scarborough ANC (AR 3). The assumption in Bridgeview (among other ANC projects) seems to have been that participation was itself beneficial for residents. One volunteer in Bridgeview, for instance, "was keen to get involved as a way to know his neighbours and to feel more at home himself" (Morrison 2006, 4). But such personal investment (including interest in the complexity of neighbours' lives) may have interfered with residents' capacity to act as facilitators, to see other residents' perspectives more legibly (*e.g.* with attention to abstract indicators). Being paid may have created the distance necessary to see thus – as community developers whose job is to engage residents and yet whose job distinguishes them from residents. Furthermore, there was a need for employment in the neighbourhood. The resident seeking "to feel more at home," for instance, "also said that he had not been able to find work yet and wanted to find some kind of tasks which could give him some meaning" (Morrison 2006, 4). Even if he himself was able to describe his volunteer work

primarily in terms of a personal quest for community, at least some of the ANC volunteers got involved because they saw it as a gateway to paid work.

The only instance in which a Bridgeviewer was paid for ANC work was "to engage local businesses." Presumably this was treated as *work* work because businesses would appear to be both geographically and socially outside of Bridgeviewers' residential core, and so building those relationships did not hold the potential for community. But this distinction is a bit weak because some residents are business owners (*e.g.* of a rental hall, and scrap yard) that work closely with neighbours, whereas some neighbours have little to no interest in getting to know one another. Nonetheless, the man hired to do this outreach work speaks well of the project and community developers speak well of his efforts, but the final report for the Bridgeview ANC suggested: "The response to participate in the process was very poor. Some businesses, however, did support resident efforts through sponsorship of activities and events" (MacKay 2008, 14). By contrast to this emphasis on the lack of interest on the business end, other residents say that the Bridgeviewer did not do the work for which he was paid. I might suggest that this says more about their appreciation for the significant work that they themselves did for the project than it does about whatever he may or may not have contributed.

There was similar confusion among Bridgeviewers about why certain community projects were funded while others were not. Through two rounds of a granting process, $80,000 per year was dedicated to supporting specific community projects (MacKay 2008, 23). One of the most significant of these was a $20,000 grant for the creation of a lounge for youths by the Pacific Community Resources Society (PCRS) and Surrey Parks

and Recreation, in a new partnership. But due to the "short donor cycle," apparently, there was much "competition for priority dominance" of projects (MacKay 2008, 26).

A number of residents were upset because they did not receive any funds for projects that closely resembled others that did, such as beautification projects that involved planting trees, flowers and shrubs. The difference was that those residents had applied as individuals, rather than as representatives of community-based organizations (*e.g.* the Geeta Gyan Society of BC). Presumably an organization with a track record administering grants can be expected to follow through on a project, rather than taking the money and running; even if it were not to follow through, an organization's board of directors could ultimately be held to account.

But residents themselves seem to have had more reliable (because practical) knowledge about who would likely deliver on what. One individual, for instance, who had dedicated much volunteer time to the ANC and to the BCA was refused funds, despite his demonstrated commitment to improving the neighbourhood. Meanwhile, $7,500 was given to a newly formed BCA committee to construct a walking track (which the applicants insisted was insufficient), but the applicants did not deliver the "'in-kind' matching of donations and labour" promised in the grant, so the shortfall was ultimately picked up by the Parks department (MacKay 2008, 26). Suffice it to say that this granting policy made as little sense to residents committed to improving the neighbourhood as the government funding partners' focus on deliverables rather than relationship building had made to the local ANC manager, with her commitment to community development. Flexibility was similarly lacking.

The local ANC project's preference for working with organizations was in line with the overarching project, and for similar reasons of accountability. Government partners had an expectation that there would be a neighbourhood association that could act as a point of contact after the ANC wrapped up. This is a large part of why the Bridgeview Community Association (BCA) was so valued in the assessment of neighbourhood capacity. As it turned out, meeting that expectation for accountability in advance proved to be a major impediment for ANC community developers trying to meet other expectations, however, as I will explore towards the end of this chapter. Here I am using community developer as an umbrella term to include the Bridgeview ANC manager (who was a planning consultant) and coordinators (who were community developers proper), as well as anyone else brought on to work on under the rubric of ANC in the neighbourhood, such as the consultant hired to coordinate the community conversations, and the youth outreach worker from Pacific Community Resources

Money was not the motivation offered by the ANC for engaging in this planning process; rather, it was "Learning and Change," which was meant "to help deepen the understanding of the work in the neighbourhood so as to improve effectiveness." But participants speak of meeting exhaustion, which the ANC attributed to the "ever-increasing demand of activities and meetings" produced by the project grants (MacKay 2008, 25); and they were vastly outnumbered by residents who were not committed to understanding whatever neighbourhood work they might be doing, let alone trying to make that work more effective. So while ANC workers saw opportunities for organizing neighbourhood action on the margins, it is not at all clear that this is what those living on the margins were interested in.

As was discovered in the course of the ANC project in Bridgeview, since there is little work and no grocery store or other amenities in the neighbourhood, most residents spend the bulk of their waking hours elsewhere (and getting to and from elsewhere). Home is where they recuperate from those outings, more than it is a place where they build community with those who happen to live nearby. There are many other communities that they would dedicate their organizational energy to, if they had it. One of those might be an environmentalist group (as we will see in the next chapter). Even those few residents who were willing to dedicate organizational energy to the neighbourhood did not share a common vision or want to commit to envisioning neighbourhood improvement together (as I will trace in the next section).

According to the ANC model, this lack of engagement in planning for neighbourhood capacity building seems to indicate a failure in the "pre-planning" (*i.e.* selection) process, which gauges "the feasibility of successfully launching" an ANC planning process in the neighbourhood (Pell 2005, 7-10). "The underlying values for selection included" goals for agencies, such as "[b]ring the community together – assist and facilitate the process," and criteria for neighbourhoods, such as "[t]here should be a sense of community already" and "[t]he community should be willing and ready to accept the process" (MacKay 2008, 12). Differently put, given certain constraints (*e.g.* time and resources) the problem was with the neighbourhood chosen, more than the approach to it.

In the terms traced in this chapter, I might suggest a neighbourhood that is *ready* to plan has already developed from *that* prostrate civil society, to *this* activist one. *This* involves being able to identify the perspectives and interests associated with certain social positions, to visualize alternative futures and undertake actions in the spirit of those

alternatives, and all within an overall planning process. So while reaching out to the margins, given the significant constraints of the pilot project (*e.g.* short timeline, mandate to develop a model for ANC, responsibilities to funding partners), ANC community developers sought learning ready neighbourhoods, rather than grappling with the reluctance and resistance of neighbourhoods that have been neglected or otherwise hurt.

However much Bridgeview residents might have learned (or not) about how to plan and undertake neighbourhood change, the local ANC manager saw that learning as ongoing, and so as requiring support that would need to continue beyond the project itself. She established "a committee of the systems of support" – which included a range of local agencies, including Pacific Community Resources, Surrey Parks and Recreation, and Crime Prevention. Just as the UW of Canada did at the national level, she played the role of "convener" in Surrey – which was possible because the UW of the Lower Mainland was seen as "neutral" (*i.e.* without their own agenda) and yet as vested in the area. For example, since 1999 the UW had been developing community profiles in neighbourhoods that did not have social planners in Surrey (among others along the Fraser River), and in response to the demographics that emerged the Poverty Response Committee and Homelessness Task Force were formed. Through these and other experiences of bringing different organizations to "a common table," the UW Lower Mainland developed a good reputation as a convener. While the various organizations supporting Bridgeview had different agendas (*e.g.* youth, recreation, crime), they all shared an appreciation for the needs and assets of the marginalized neighbourhood, and were happy to leave the organizing to the UW. As a result, not long after the ANC project was shelved – for reasons I will touch on below – the committee stopped meeting.

Without the funding and support of the UW, it was not worth it to these agencies to commit scarce resources to servicing such a small neighbourhood, even though they continued to value the work that could be done there.

This would seem to be the same problem of influence that Bridgeview faces in relation to the municipality. Even when council and staff are in support of taking initiative in the neighbourhood, as explored in the previous chapter, it is hard to justify dedicating the resources to do so because there is little return on such investments. Unlike votes and taxes, however, gains in the indicators of success that social service agencies are concerned with (*e.g.* youth engagement) can spread to other areas. So it is not simply that Bridgeview is small. It is also isolated, and so community workers cannot see how improvements there might extend to or interact with initiatives being undertaken in other parts of the municipality (COM 2). Given the structural position of the neighbourhood, even if local government had been on the ANC radar from the start (as community developers learned it ought to have been) (Simpson Summer 2006), the project may not have been much more successful than it was. If the system of supports can be taken as any indication, the municipality would likely have withdrawn from the table when the convener retired.

I do not mean to suggest that the agencies involved ought to have continued to serve Bridgeview even after they lost institutionalized support; to the contrary, I support people's work being valued. I merely mean to draw attention to the significance of financial and administrative support in motivating and sustaining the participation of residents and professionals alike in this community development initiative. While many participants may have been motivated by and for "Learning and Change," extrinsic

rewards for learning are significant, and as we will see in the following section, change is not necessarily good or embraced.

In sum, while officially outside the machinations of government, UW Canada and its local partners not only did the work *of* government bureaucracy under the rubric of the ANC project, they worked *like* it. This may be difficult to see because we have been accustomed to thinking of the bureaucracy as working in "silos" – vertically organized departments with a line from decision-makers on high to implementers on the ground. But the bureaucracy can just as well be organized horizontally, as in problem-driven initiatives such as the National Homelessness Initiative, and community-based initiatives such as the ANC that it spawned. This gestures toward the decentralized form of government advocated by Jacobs (on the settlement house model, as noted in the previous chapter; *e.g.* Association of Neighbourhood Houses BC 2010), but this particular project emphasized planning more than neighbourhood self-government.

While such horizontal initiatives might seem less susceptible to decisions on high, what with their complex networks of relationships extending beyond any one department (meaning that if one or two partners withdraw the project can continue), the collapse of the ANC project in Bridgeview suggests otherwise. With the change in federal government, the national convener (*i.e.* the United Way) lost its role, and so its work was interrupted before a model of Action for Neighbourhood Change could be created, let alone disseminated. The UW of the Lower Mainland continued to fund the Bridgeview ANC for an additional year, but not to its completion.

The manager considers not "embedding" ANC concepts in the UW better, as her primary failure on this project, but it is hard to imagine what she could have done to ensure asset-focused, process-oriented relationship building could have weathered the changes that followed. Around the same time as the shift in federal government, there was a shift in the agency's government (and in turn, staff), towards more measurable outcomes (COM 3). As noted above, with the loss of a local convener, the Bridgeview system of supports collapsed, leaving the community association to scramble for funding to complete projects (some of which were never completed, *e.g.* the community kitchen). This suggests that horizontal initiatives are similarly dependent on resources coming down the pipe (whether from a national or regional agency), and are susceptible to changes in government (of national, regional, and neighbourhood offices), so long as taxes and authority are largely centralized in state institutions on high.

Although federal partners did not share a policy field, they did share certain principles and objectives, such as multiculturalism and homelessness prevention, for which support (financial and otherwise) can be withdrawn. In addition to these principles and objectives, ANC projects imposed a certain way of thinking, namely visioning as a mode of planning, on neighbourhoods such as Bridgeview. By definition the abstraction associated with visioning meant that such projects came from the centre – contrary to community developers' perception of working from the outside in. This is not "the whole story," of course, and in the third section I will trace some of the many successes of the Bridgeview ANC.

(iii) Re-visioning the state

Although Scott maintains a strict public/private distinction between the state and civil society, in politicizing the private realm to address inequities of the market while trying to maximize the zone of autonomy, an implicit distinction is made between personal and political that is similar in function to Jacobs' distinction between private and public spaces in cities. While respecting personal choices, the tragedies that one ought to be concerned about are political, such as the capture of the state by Conservatives. That federal party drew the state away from the margins – where representatives had realized that addressing complex social problems requires government intervention in the social field, and horizontal collaboration among government departments working to enhance local planning and action capacity (*e.g.* ANC). Suddenly the state was totally captivated by a vision of individual citizens as free to make their own lots, and so considered social problems (aside from crime) to be strictly private affairs. [Progressive Chorus: *Boo!*] This was just the most recent movement in an ongoing tug of war – in the 1970s the state was drawn away from the centre where urban renewal initiatives had been designed through the 1950s-60s, and towards the margins where it undertook the neighbourhood improvement program. [Progressive Chorus: *Hoorah!*] Hidden by this focus on positioning the state, which apparently determines what interests its supposedly neutral bureaucratic machinery is meant to represent, is how the state does the work of representing. In short, its modus operandi: visioning.

Seeing like a state (*i.e.* visioning) is a proliferating technique with pernicious implications. Progressives have been embracing it as though it were a liberatory tool (*e.g.* Diers Oct 2008), *on the mistaken assumption that the direction from which visions*

are created matters. On the dangerous illusion that if only the right way of visioning or the right kind of vision could be developed then there would be no need for repositioning the state because everyone's interests would be represented; no need for politics.

Assuming that there is no one vision that could possibly represent the myriad perspectives of civil society (even if that vision were developed with the margins in mind), the progressive move is to focus on the right kind of visioning to enable neighbourhoods to plan their own development. This would involve building up statist institutions across civil society (See Figure 9f), all of which would be capable of undertaking the visioning process, that is, planning for self-development (*c.f.* "government through community"; Rose 1999).

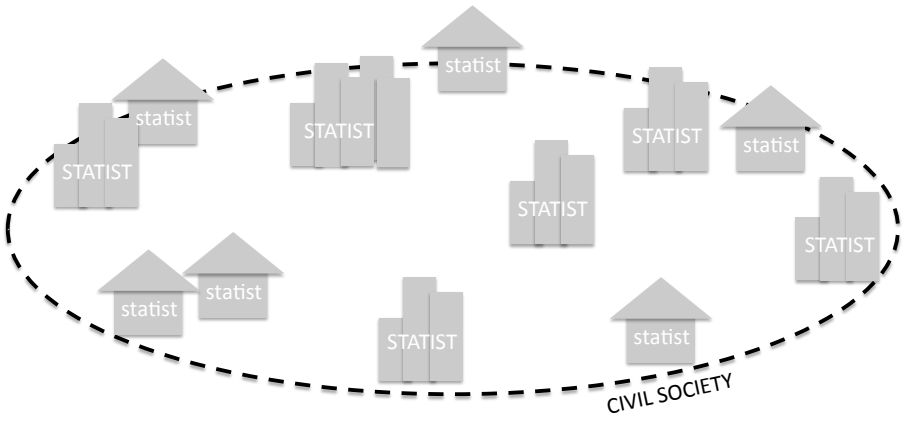


Figure 9f: *Statist institutions across civil society*

This neighbourhood institution building is precisely the work that the United Way pursued under the rubric of the ANC project.

Bridgeview already had an institution, the BCA. It was described toward the tail end of the fight for sewers in this way:

> The Bridgeview community Association is the only way Bridgeview residents will have any control over their own future. With the cooperation agreement with the Community School it has real power. That power will be lost if strong people

> who can lead the community choose not to run. There are Real Estate interests who would like to see Bridgeview be industrial. If Bridgeview residents want a voice in decisions like that, the Association must be strong. The Community Association does more than fight for sewers. It sponsors a nursery school, a number of groups, has control of the hall, and runs recreation progras such as Thursday afternoon BINGO. (BCA and Bridgeview Community School May 1975)

Community developers attempted to mobilize the BCA for planning and undertaking Action for Neighbourhood Change. Not long after the community hall had been opened up to Chinese, East Indian, and Fijian residents for the multicultural potluck, a conflict unfolded between the Bridgeviewer BCA staff and board, and their East Indian would-be replacements. So despite the selection of Bridgeview in part for its multicultural composition, as compared with "bicultural" Strawberry Hills and Surrey more generally, the battle that played out over the BCA was characteristic of the polarized politics observed in "bicultural" municipalities (Good 2005, 261-289).

This conflict culminated in a takeover of the BCA in 2007 (Read "Bridgeview and recreation. 2000s."). As someone who used to work in the field of community development, I am especially sympathetic to the ways that community developers' work can create space for latent conflicts in a place to be expressed. In the case of the ANC, their reportedly huge budget made their work especially 'loaded.' But with Scott's analysis in mind we can see another reason these figures loomed so large: most residents did not really care one way or the other who ran the BCA. Differently put, a prostrate civil society was one of the conditions of this winner take-all situation.

Whatever the reasons behind the BCA board takeover, community developers from various agencies insist on the progress marked by the difference in the new board members' ethnicity. There is a sense among them that the decline of the Bridgeviewer

board was “inevitable” because the resident population is becoming more and more diverse (COM 1, COM 2, COM 3, SUR 4, SUR 6). An assumption underlying this informal assessment across service agencies is that Asian people’s perspectives on and interests in things will be better represented by an Asian board than by a White one.

But as community developers are all too keenly aware, there is much diversity within the East Indian community in Bridgeview, let alone between it and the Chinese and other Asian communities. With only 18% of residents identifying as East Indian (of a total of 31% who identify as Asian), the new board is drawn from an even narrower portion of the neighbourhood population than the Bridgeviewers before them (considering that ethnic Canadians make up 25% of the population, as noted earlier; ANC 31 Oct 2005, 5). And if Bridgeview Days attendance is any indication, the BCA is serving ever fewer of that small slice; this community event used to draw hundreds of people (mostly Bridgeviewers), but since the takeover of the board, the revelers have dwindled such that they can now be counted in the dozens (mostly East Indian with a handful of outsiders such as myself; FW 5, FW 14). This decline is not for lack of food, because samosas and butter chicken are piled on top of Canadian fare, thus maintaining the “community hospitality” that the neighbourhood is known for (as noted in the previous chapter). If the East Indian board is taken as symbolic of the rise of the ethnic margins, it is a very shy rise indeed. As will be explored further in the fourth section of this chapter, racism likely plays a part, but what Bridgeviewers complain about is a lack of communication regarding BCA activities and events (FW 3). Regardless, this neighbourhood institution on the margins of civil society has been drawn even further to the margins within, and that, we are meant to believe, is an improvement.

Successful community development in Bridgeview would have meant that the BCA would have been able to play the role of convener for the neighbourhood, bringing representatives from different communities together so as to envision how the neighbourhood could be improved, and taking action inspired by those visions. Thought thus, the ANC was a process by which the neighbourhood would have developed its very own state institution. Personal choice would have been maximized, reserving interventions for ensuring that everyone's basic needs were met; energies would have been focused through the BCA on how to plan and implement those interventions. Desirable as this might seem, and efficient as it might be to have such planning distributed across neighbourhoods (minimizing the need for overhead administration), it would foreclose debates about the production of the margins, through questions of justice, for instance. This de-politicization runs counter to the intentions of many of the activists that are taking up visioning as a way of mobilizing.

In the following section, I will attempt to recover the political in Scott's analysis, by removing the civil dimensions of his urbanism to expose a way of knowing that is properly grounded in everyday life.

(3) Rendering an urban myth from the civil city myth

(i) Scott's urban myth of practical knowledge

Scott recognized the private realm as a self-ordering zone of autonomy, and thus as the site of politics, but strangely, assumed that we ought not intervene in self-ordering processes (as though we do not do so with our every action); and so he also assumed that in order to contain the capacity to intervene, it ought to be institutionalized, which means

that politics is squeezed into struggles over positioning those institutions. Whether fighting for the neighbourhood to benefit more from national policies and programs or from improved local services, the focus is on positioning the state nearer the margins; such jockeying over the position of the state is the politics that I have argued Scott conceived.

It is *re*gressive to acknowledge the political nature of everyday life and then to stretch (to the margins and back, to be precise) in order to constrain that politics, by making the marginalized many responsible for struggling against the affluent few to move the state. Scott made this politics seem progressive by opposing it to a politics in which those on the margins are seen as necessary *victims* in realizing the grander vision of improvement (sacrificial lambs, if you will, as in the thwarted urban renewal plan to industrialize Bridgeview sketched in chapter one); as well as by using the voices of apparently marginalized people (in this case, women) to tell his story. This move – of allying oneself with those at the margins (as though coming from the outside in), and setting up an authoritarian straw man to obscure how one is coming from the core (from the inside out) – is a typical progressive move. We may wittingly or unwittingly impose ourselves on others when we drive for urban, economic, or community development, and expect that certain institutions or processes can deliver on that improvement.

Coming from the core, we tend to look to those on the periphery for alternative ways of ordering society, that is, ways of improving it. Whether looking to resident-built suburbs in the South, or neighbourhood action in Bridgeview, the hope is that somewhere *out there* we might find a different way of doing things. Scott proposed that we will

discover a different way of knowing; but we need not go out there to find it, I would suggest, because as will become clearer, it is right here.

Broadly speaking, Scott conceived of people "on the ground" as having "knowledge that can come only from practical experience" (Scott 1998, 6). He developed this concept through reference to the Greek notion of *mëtis,* defined as "a wide array of practical skills and acquired intelligence in responding to a constantly changing natural and human environment" (Scott 1998, 313). These skills and intelligence are gained through experience – which is thus "central" to mëtis (Scott 1998, 315) – and that experience is necessarily rooted in a particular place. Thus practical knowledge is "vernacular and local" (Scott 1998, 312), and aims "to achieve a local purpose or to express an important local feature" (Scott 1998, 323). In "addressing the problem at hand," practical knowledge "is as economical and accurate as it needs to be, no more and no less" (Scott 1998, 313). The extent to which such aims are achieved therefore reveals the extent to which practical knowledge in that context has been effectively developed. As Scott put it: "The litmus test for mëtis is practical success" (1998, 323). In sum, practical knowledge is experiential, local, and problem-driven.

While developing practical knowledge involves practice, it is not simply a matter of repetition because the environment is ever-changing. "Since every road, wind, stream, and sheep is different and continually changing, the best practitioner … will have had experience under many different conditions" (Scott 1998, 314). Through "long practice" of an activity under varied conditions and "long experience with different materials" one can develop "quasi-automatic responses" to challenges that arise (Scott 1998, 315, 318). Thus, according to Scott: "Mëtis is most applicable to broadly similar but never precisely

identical situations requiring a quick and practiced adaptation that becomes almost second nature to the practitioner" (Scott 1998, 315-6). These adaptations are informed by "rules of thumb," which "themselves are largely a codification derived from the actual practices" (Scott 1998, 318). To emphasize, practical knowledge neither consists of these rules nor derives from them (Scott 1998, 319). These rules are developed in and through practice, and so too is the knowledge of "how and when to apply the rules of thumb *in a concrete situation*" – which Scott asserts "is the essence of mëtis" (Scott 1998, 316). "The more general the rules, the more they require in the way of translation if they are going to be locally successful" (Scott 1998, 318). This sense of what is called for in order to address a particular problem in a particular place is not codifiable, and so is "implicit," as well as "experiential" (Scott 1998, 315).

Based on practical experience, as it is, *mëtis* is not purely intellectual (*c.f.* Plato 1991 [380 BC]). To properly integrate the concept, therefore, it is not enough to change one's mind; or again, it is not enough to deposit the idea of practical ways of knowing into one's knowledge bank. Since *mëtis* describes a different way of apprehending the world, its integration implies a change in disposition. As anyone who has tried to make a significant change in her/his disposition can attest, thinking differently is only part of the work that needs to be done. New routines, habits and relationships are often necessary. *Mëtis* is the explicit program that Scott provided for becoming aware of and actively engaged in improving self-ordering. So in addition to becoming aware of the mundane ways that we govern ourselves, in order to develop the disposition required to improve our ways of living together we must become actively engaged in looking out for one another, experiment with new modes of influencing others, and so on.

Associating practical knowledge with those on the margins is at odds with Scott's own conception of mētis. Scott argued that "poverty or marginal economic status… is itself… a powerful impetus to careful observation and experimentation" – which is necessary for practical knowledge – because one living on the economic margins "lives year in and year out in the field of observation… is always a member of a community that serves as a living oral reference library for observations, practices, and experiments – a body of knowledge that an individual could never amass alone" (Scott 1998, 324). While the drive to survive is certainly a significant motivator for those whose basic needs are not met, to figure out how to grow food in rhythm with changing seasons, for instance, Scott is also attentive to the wider range of motivators afforded to all those with a stake in our ways of living together – especially those that might be positioned toward the centre. On his analysis, mētis is the knowledge appropriate to negotiating our ways of living together. "On a much bigger, higher-stakes canvas, war diplomacy and politics more generally are mētis-laden skills. The successful practitioner, in each case, tries to shape the behavior of partners and opponents to his own ends" (Scott 1998, 315). To emphasize, these ends are not only particular to a certain locale, but are also "*partisan*" – which as with mētis more generally means, "the holder of such knowledge typically has a passionate interest in a particular outcome" (Scott 1998, 318). Through careful observation of the relations between and actions of various players over time in a range of situations, combined with certain abilities (*e.g.* to communicate), the savvy politico is able "to influence the outcome – to improve the odds – in a particular instance" (Scott 1998, 318). This is mētis in a human environment, in everyday life.

Accepting that practical knowledge does not belong primarily to those on the margins enables me to ground that knowledge where it properly belongs in Scott's analysis, *i.e.* "on the ground" in everyday life. This is the space that I hope to have opened up in this chapter by undoing the margins/centre distinction. In everyday life, both those positioned at the centre and margins of civil society can develop practical knowledge, and furthermore, the two interact in complex ways – as I will illustrate in the following subsection, by revisiting the Bridgeview ANC with the urban myth of practical knowledge in mind. Acknowledging that people with varying social statuses can develop practical knowledge, *e.g.* vis-à-vis explicitly political activity, does not level the playing field, however. Rather, by turning attention to the complexity of everyday life, I mean to draw attention to the specific practices through which injustices are produced.

(ii) Practical knowledge in the Bridgeview ANC

Under the myth of the civil city, community developers are meant to have the capacity to depict entire political scenes in neighbourhoods (with a focus on assets and challenges). When they see with the *community*, they see how policy from on high is drawn from a single point of perspective (*e.g.* administration), and so are critical of federal policies of accountability that do not take seriously the relationship building required to build up intimate knowledge that would be crucial in ensuring that funds are actually used effectively. Hence they strive to build relationships with community supports both inside and outside the neighbourhood, as well as with those who are marginalized within the neighbourhood. When they see as community *developers*, they see a neighbourhood whose multiple points of perspective and attendant ethnic divides

make for a fairly fractured scene. Hence they advocate multiculturalism to lend a little unity to the neighbourhood without changing its composition.

But the capacity to stand back from a political scene, to bring various perspectives together in a relatively neutral way, is hardly conceivable in Bridgeview. For example, although community developers did their best to support the neighbourhood as a whole by dedicating ANC funds to a wide range of activities (*e.g.* youth lounge, neighbourhood beautification) undertaken by a wide range of organizations (*e.g.* BCA, the community school, Geeta Gyan) and communities (*e.g.* Chinese, Fijian, East Indian), they were seen by various residents as taking various sides, at various times. In any case, the ANC was certainly not seen as neutral.

When we take up Scott's urban myth of practical knowledge, such partisanship is not a problem so much as it is a necessary feature of getting things done in a particular place. I will return to this partisanship shortly, but first will sketch how the ANC was grounded in Bridgeview.

The Bridgeview ANC was "place-based," which means to say grounded in the neighbourhood as a local space (as distinct from the various communities of interest, ethnicity, and so on within and across that space). While the precise relationship between this "on the ground" approach and abstract calculations of marginalization was not explained, the final report noted "links" between "health and wellness" and "environmental conditions" – as exemplified by the phenomenon of "poverty by postal code" (MacKay 2008, 9). "For example, assessing factors affecting the life of a youth may include: home and neighbourhood living conditions (poverty levels, safety, diet, peer relations, coping skills) and access to schools and extracurricular activities..." (MacKay

2008, 9). As community developers quickly discovered upon initiating work in Bridgeview, residents were preoccupied with environmental conditions – including open and garbage-filed ditches, lack of curb and gutter, and street lighting. In the course of addressing the particular priorities identified by neighbourhood residents, the "specific issue areas" identified by federal partners (*e.g.* crime prevention, literacy) "did arise as natural priorities" even though they "were not intentionally targeted" (MacKay 2008, 46). In sum, by grounding the project in the neighbourhood, the Bridgeview ANC saw itself as unwittingly but necessarily addressing wider social problems and federal priorities.

The ANC focus on assets can also be seen in a different light when coupled with a place-based approach that "seek[s] to build local resources and connections to resources" (MacKay 2008, 51). Under this approach, people in a particular place are made responsible for driving action; in addition to identifying particular problems, residents use neighbourhood assets to take action to address those problems. For example, in order to clean up the ditches and the yards of elder neighbours, residents used their sense of being dumped on by outsiders to motivate action, as evidenced by one resident joking about trying to find information in the garbage about who is dumping in the ditches (*e.g.* a phone number). Furthermore, volunteers were also used to prepare food for those doing the cleaning, which provided a sense of reward and togetherness that enhanced collective capacity for action (Action for Neighbourhood Change 2006a). Thus assets are not simply abstract resources; they include the practical knowledge required to "provide for more creative and immediate solutions than are often available when working with systems steeped in formal process, and disconnected from… neighbourhood level

operations" (MacKay 2008, 51). When the maintenance of open spaces in the neighbourhood was left to the municipality, for example, the garbage kept piling up.

Whereas the City might have general sanitation standards, for instance, "[t]he merits of [place-based] activities and investments are often only evident when viewing them at the ground level" (MacKay 2008, 51). Thus, in line with Scott's conception of practical knowledge, the success of neighbourhood-driven action is gauged by achieving the practical purposes of that action. On its own assessment, the Bridgeview ANC met "most of the resident and organizational goals" (MacKay 2008, 37). Hence, the project was largely successful in facilitating residents' use of their practical knowledge to improve access to resources to develop the neighbourhood environment according to locally generated aims.

While the City may operate more slowly to achieve goals that are less fitting of local needs, it is a key player in projects focusing on improving neighbourhoods. As noted in the final report:

> The importance of the City as a key partner in the process cannot be stressed enough. So many of the activities and projects require City involvement on some level, from awareness of process and planning to actual physical supports for infrastructure, and bylaws. Municipalities are indeed an essential conduit for effectuating positive impacts to citizen improvement initiatives. (MacKay 2008, 45)

The ditch clean-up, for instance, relied on the City of Surrey to provide industrial grade garbage bags, tongs, gloves, vests, and garbage disposal. In addition to providing physical resources for the Bridgeview ANC, the City offered much in the way of 'soft' supports. Representatives from the planning department in particular attended neighbourhood visioning meetings to hear about residents' ideals, help them "explore change priorities that required City involvement and approval," and explain processes for

securing that involvement and approval (MacKay 2008, 42). While residents continued to feel out of the loop when it came to development plans for the neighbourhood, and concerned that the residential zone might be eroded (MacKay 2008, 43), closer working relationships between various City staff and Bridgeview residents were established. For example, in recognition of residents' significant contributions to the neighbourhood, a representative from the Mayor's office attended "a resident awards appreciation night" (MacKay 2008, 43). Conversations between the two are ongoing: a multi-departmental group met with residents to hear and discuss residents' primary concerns, which were also presented to council, and the planning department prepared a response to that presentation (Lamontagne and Lalonde 15 Dec 2008). The ANC was able to integrate appreciation for the municipality's key role because of community developers' responsiveness to residents' priorities – which was also integrated into the project's research (Tamarack Institute 2006; Tamarack Institute 2007).

In addition to mobilizing residents' practical knowledge, community developers themselves had practical knowledge of their work. While the "developmental model" of change (illustrated in the complex flow chart) seems to provide a rationalized "framework" for action, one can also think of it as a collection of rules of thumb. One such rule of thumb is starting with actions that can be implemented quickly, to help build residents' capacities and confidence to undertake longer-term and more complex actions (COM 3). While such rules are gathered together into a model of sorts, it is highly flexible, as indicated by its built-in mechanisms for "adaptation and refinement."

Adaptation is part of the model for change because rules of thumb are not blueprints; rather, they require "translation" in order to be effectively applied as

appropriate in a particular place at a particular time – which is "the essence of mētis" (Scott 1998, 316). Refinement is built into the model since it is meant to continue to "respond to emerging priorities" (MacKay 2008, 46). This gestures toward the way that the model itself has arisen out of facilitating community development across a number of neighbourhoods over time. Prior to and following on the ANC project, the United Way of the Lower Mainland has been involved in "planning for change" – which is the agency's fourth "investment strategy" in 2013/14 (to the tune of $200,000) for helping middle aged children in the region, for example (United Way of the Lower Mainland 1 Apr 2013, 14). Such "long practice" under varying conditions is precisely what Scott insisted was required for developing practical knowledge.

In sum, community developers had practical knowledge of facilitating action that was largely successful in achieving residents' goals for neighbourhood change, building relationships between residents and the City, and enhancing community developers' own knowledge of such planning processes.

Grounded in Bridgeview, community developers also quickly gained practical knowledge of the neighbourhood itself. The earlier analysis of the conflict over the BCA that unfolded in the course of the Bridgeview ANC implied that it was affected (if not effected) by community developers encouraging marginalized groups to envision the neighbourhood otherwise and to take action to realize those visions. There was more at play than imposing a vision of multiculturalism, however. This is not to affirm community developers' suggestions that the board takeover was merely accelerated by the ANC intervention. To the contrary, it is to suggest that in the course of becoming

familiar with the neighbourhood, community developers developed their own partisan purposes – which happened to be in line with multiculturalism.

The ANC's primary purpose in Bridgeview was to facilitate change, and community developers came to perceive the Bridgeviewer board and staff of the BCA as resistant to change. Described as "the prevailing culture and power brokers," Bridgeviewers apparently "often pointed to a belief and preference that other resident involvement would revert to status quo upon the absence of the ANC/UWLM project focus to keep things moving along, and keep new people engaged" (MacKay 2008, 40). While acknowledging that Bridgeviewers "demonstrated a high degree of willingness to share their opinions about what change should occur," on the community developers' assessment there was "not always a readiness to change their own way of operating" (MacKay 2008, 39). In short, ANC workers had come to associate the Bridgeviewer board and staff with "the culture of complaint, exclusivity and resistance." The practical problem that community developers faced, then, was how to move beyond conversation about action (which tended to get stalled in a cycle of back and forth between those using an "either/or" logic described as "positional"), and into action itself (using a "both/and" logic focused on shared purposes).

Community developers' assessment of Bridgeviewer culture was formed over time, through numerous meetings and negotiations. As the apparent hub of the neighbourhood, the BCA was the initial home base of the ANC project – which rented a corner of a room (for a whopping $300/month). Community developers were unsatisfied with the allotted space – which became crowded with Halloween decorations and was inaccessible in the evenings (COM 3) – as well as with barriers to Others to access that

space at any time. Through time spent in that space, and negotiations over it, ANC workers began to perceive the BCA as run by and for white Bridgeviewers; for example, food was collected by the association and distributed to families in need, but apparently such support was not generally extended to East Indian among other racialized residents (COM 3). Only some 39% of neighbourhood residents could be presumed White (25% having self-identified as ethnically Canadian, and 14% as German; ANC 31 Oct 2005, 5), so the perception among community developers was that the BCA was for the most part serving a racially privileged minority of the neighbourhood population. Since the BCA did not seem to community developers to be congenial to the project, the ANC project relocated its local office to the community school where the project's attentiveness to diverse communities, and accessibility more generally, was welcomed by a charismatic and committed principal. From there the ANC organized various activities, including the multicultural potluck – which was nonetheless hosted at the BCA, the hub of the neighbourhood.

When we are more attentive to the complexity of everyday life, what stands out about the conflict over the BCA board is that two figures seem to have loomed large: a Bridgeviewer staff person who was seen by community developers as a staunch gatekeeper of the Hall (as visualized in a photo that accompanied a news article that she was apparently offended by); and an East Indian man who ran a rental hall that was in competition with the community hall. Both figures appear to have been capable of mobilizing others within their respective communities (to vote, at least or at best, depending on the case). It is notable that of all the ethnic groups that were mobilized by the ANC project, the one that took over the community association came from a country

that was also colonized by the British, and so have inherited political institutions that similarly emphasize elections. So they would have practical knowledge of mobilizing for elections, the process of running meetings and so on. Such histories would seem to be part of the complexity obscured by the focus on presentist markers such as race. How we have come to live together in certain ways is conditioned by myriad histories and practices.

> The ANC assessment of this conflict was:
> Other [read: East Indian] residents were equally committed to changing the internal neighbourhood systems as they were to effecting change with the larger systems (City). This kept the tension for internal growth going… [which] can in fact be a great promoter of growth. Borrowing from the analogy of the fitness trainer as mentor to growth, growth is promoted by some tension/stress to go beyond prior limits. The challenge remains the degree of willing commitment to a shared goal. If the commitment is not whole-hearted and the ultimate vision is not in full agreement, injury or delayed/slowed growth can result. (MacKay 2008, 41)

While optimistic about the possibilities of such tension, as noted by community developers, "[p]ersonal agendas and a need to save face appeared to interfere with authentic efforts at cooperation. The change would need to evolve 'in spite' of them" (MacKay 2008, 39). These partisan interests were most strongly associated with Bridgeviewers struggling to maintain the status quo, but they can also be seen on the other side of the battle.

With particular figures in view, the competition over who would run the BCA also signaled to another competition, between the BCA and others with space for rent. Whether or not the business interests of the energetic new member of the board, with his own rental hall, have been served by his position is as yet unclear. But there is a sense among Bridgeviewers that following their ouster a business mentality has taken over – as exemplified by an "EMPLOYEES ONLY" sign that was hung on the door of the kitchen

that had been constructed using a community kitchen grant secured by the previous board and staff (See Figure 11).



Figure 11: *"Employees Only"* (photograph by author)

In response to complaints, the sign was taken down, but the presumption among Bridgeviewers is that the hall continues to be run as a business, rather than as a community association (FW 4). Being utterly unfamiliar with what a community-oriented space might look like to East Indian residents, I do not mean to ring in on the debate about whether the BCA is more or less community oriented now.

Partisan interests – such as those of Bridgeviewers in maintaining the status quo, and a new board member in playing the neighbourhood rental space off of his own in profitable ways – cannot be avoided when working "on the ground." Even what might seem like neutral processes become flashpoints in the encounter between different ways

of organizing. For example, a regulation might state that election notifications have to be received by association members by mail at least two weeks in advance. This seems innocuous enough, but it might not be so in a context where mail carriers seem to do a very good job in some instances (*e.g.* ensuring that the mail of dead relatives reached surviving family members) and not others (*e.g.* stacks of ANC project newsletters were found undelivered behind the school). I do not mean to suggest any particular wrongdoing vis-à-vis BCA elections or mail delivery in Bridgeview. I simply want to draw attention to the everyday complexities that make even the most neutral-seeming processes loaded in particular ways when one is working "on the ground."

While it might seem that community developers advocated everyone rising above their personal interests in favour of "shared goals," recommendations to that effect were motivated by their own partisanship. For example, the ANC sought "[a] broader vehicle for communication" because "[c]onnectors did not always share information about projects and opportunities, unless it was of personal interest;" although seemingly impartial, such a vehicle might be better understood as a practical way to "support innovation and encourage participation" in the ANC in this particular neighbourhood (MacKay 2008, 40). What might work in Bridgeview might not work in another neighbourhood, but in any case the overall ANC mandate is the same. Action for neighbourhood change is more clearly a partisan interest when seen in relation to some Bridgeviewers' preference for maintaining or enhancing the status quo.

While individual players had partisan interests, they also had a "shared goal" vis-à-vis running the BCA. To begin, the kitchen rarely (if ever) operated as a community kitchen, even under the previous board. Apparently it was easier to get funding for

capital costs than for community kitchen programming. Whether or not there was a sign on the door, the kitchen has long been used primarily by employees. Furthermore, the BCA has long operated as a business of sorts; renting out space was the key to keeping the running costs down such that Surrey council was willing to support the community hall's construction (under the Neighbourhood Improvement Program traced in the previous chapter). The association has necessarily operated as a business, regardless of the ethnicity of the board and staff because various levels of government have been reluctant to invest in residential activity in the neighbourhood. In the words of a born and raised Bridgeviewer: "The new fish are just like the old fish… only they are worse fish" (BV 7); worse for Bridgeviewers, that is.

Revenue generating is not the kind of "shared goal" that the ANC project had in mind. But just as ANC community developers shared more with their federal bosses than was immediately apparent – until recognizing their common visual mode – Bridgeviewers running the BCA shared the business mentality of their East Indian successors because of a practical need to cover operating costs. One of the upshots of this mentality is that it affords for servicing Other communities, so long as it is profitable. For example, the East Indian board continues to afford space for events that are attended largely by Bridgeviewers and company (*e.g.* Extreme Canadian Championship Wrestling), just as the Bridgeviewer board rented space for East Indian banquet style events as well as to the ANC. In highlighting these similarities I do not mean to undervalue ethnic differences or White privilege; rather, I mean to challenge assessments of the shift from one ruling group to another as necessarily progressive. The structural

relations by which apathy, exclusion, exploitation, and so forth are generated, remain intact.

While acknowledging "the challenge of asymmetries of power among the stakeholders," the ANC's place-based approach is "solutions-focused" and so sought to provide "a suitable container of respect and constructive dialogue [that] can facilitate the mechanisms to account for the emotional and competing factors involved in change, thus providing ways for people to explore change and save face when it means addressing personal behaviours that affect the process" (MacKay 2008, 48). In other words, the ANC sought a solution to the politics of everyday life – one that, as explored earlier, is found in neutral institutions and processes. Despite claims that the ANC "successfully provided the container for growth and development intended at the outset of the project" (MacKay 2008, 44), as I will explore further in the following section, that container was always already exceeded by a wide range of commitments to and through the neighbourhood.

In sum, the problem-solving orientation of the ANC seems to have been effective in facilitating specific actions and relationship-building to improve the neighbourhood environment, which served as an intervention into Bridgeview politics. So while practical knowledge can be used to engage in politics (as noted by Scott), it cannot effectively overcome that politics because it is just one among many modes of lending order to the places where we live. Before delving further into this relationship between the urban myth of practical knowledge and the sub-urban messiness that it tries to order, I will reflect on a key implication of this urban myth for political analysis.

(iii) Practical commitments

Becoming attentive to practical knowledge draws attention to different units of political analysis because it is ultimately gauged by achieving "local purposes" within an ever-shifting environment. Interests and the resources that can be used to serve those interests are the units that we have inherited, but since they are calculated on the basis of abstract social markers, interests are relatively fixed to certain social positions regardless of the particularities of place. By contrast, place-based approaches are attentive to more specific *commitments* – which may or may not line up with those more abstract calculations – as well as to the specific offerings that animate those commitments. While Bridgeviewers seem to have had an interest in maintaining the status quo, for instance, one's commitment to changing things was exemplified by her election to and willingness to work with the new BCA board, and also by her activities as part of the core of the Bridgeview in Motion committee – formed under the rubric of the ANC, but as we will see in the following chapter, continues to take action to protect and develop the neighbourhood.

The Bridgeview ANC identified "the degree of willing commitment to a shared goal" as key to neighbourhood self-development (MacKay 2008, 41). In what follows I will draw out a distinction – between practical commitment and its cooptation to describe a more general interest – depending on how shared goals are defined.

Insofar as shared goals are specific, arising in response to everyday problems, they call for practical knowledge (which on Scott's conception is developed to address such problems). For example, moved by experiences of being dumped on by outsiders, residents committed to cleaning up ditches, and their activities were supported by

municipal workers' practical knowledge in waste collection and disposal, as well as by residents' practical knowledge of hospitality as key to fueling collective action. To emphasize, these residents were only committing to working together on *this* project, in collaboration with some City and ANC workers; they were not committing to being there with or for one another outside the scope of the project, or to working with the City or the ANC on other projects.

Insofar as shared goals are general, by contrast, they are generated through abstracting and simplifying mechanisms such as visioning. For example, the Bridgeview ANC final report suggested that "[r]esidents would have benefited from a clearer commitment to a structured (defined) process, which would have shaped expectations, cultivated the collaborative process and helped devise workable actions plans" or in short, would have constituted "the foundations of governance for the committee/community" (MacKay 2008, 28). Thus it is not a stretch to suggest that such a 'commitment' can be more accurately understood as a social contract of sorts, based on the assumption that it is in residents' (not to mention community developers') interest to have a general framework for working through things and pursuing projects, whatever their content might be. The interest offered by the ANC is neighbourhood development, but debates over what interest(s) inform consent to the social contract is much longer standing (Hobbes 1996; Locke 2000 [1698]; e.g. Rousseau 1987 [1762], 141-227). It may be difficult to recognize the visioning process as a social contract because of its "iterative approach" by which the goals, strategies and even the process itself can be refined, using "'change-readiness' assessment[s]" at various points; but such flexibility ultimately

works to ensure that participants are clear on "the commitment required" to engage in the planning process (MacKay 2008, 72).

While the term "commitment" tends to be used loosely, to apply to striving toward shared goals that are produced by practical knowledge and abstract calculations, here I use it only in relation to the former. Commitment thus refers to bonds that are formed to undertake a particular project (depending on who/what is involved, in what ways, and to what effects, for example). Focusing on commitment does not assume that individuals are free choose to undertake certain projects together, however. Such bonds may line up with interests, and often do, because interests are an abstraction of practices and dynamics that seem to repeat across time and place. So focusing on commitment assumes that we are always already embedded in particular places with particular ways of doing things (*e.g.* exploiting and collaborating), which inform and are informed by ideas with broader reach (*e.g.* development).

In shifting from one political unit to another, the means by which we strive to achieve shared goals also changes, as I will demonstrate through a brief return to the analyses of the ANC as an asset-based project and as a place-based project.

On one hand, the ANC was attentive to "assets" for organizing neighbourhood action, which means to say resources that could be used for achieving project goals. With an interest in mobilizing the neighbourhood to self-develop, an ANC community developer worked with the media to focus on assets such as the BCA, for instance. So focused was she on doing damage control following on the media depiction of the so-called "vigilante," however, she failed to take account of his assets. On that count, the man who prefers to be called "Metro" has boxing skills, as well as a wide range of

construction and repair, equipment and machinery, business, transportation and hospitality skills. For decades, he dedicated himself to protecting not just his own property, but also to developing the community. Metro was actively involved in the fight for sewers in the 1960s-70s – in fact he was the one who warded off a demolition crew with a shotgun at his side. More often, he could be found coaching at the boxing club or behind the bar at community fundraising dances serving up laughter and beer. Having neglected to reach out to Metro suggests that the community developer wrote him off in much the same way that the media had tended to write off the neighbourhood: those that live with or respond to serious challenges in seemingly uncivil ways must not have much to offer. But if we follow the logic of focusing on assets, even the most seemingly challenged or challenging people and places have strengths that we ought to celebrate.

Focusing on assets as commodified abilities (*i.e.* "resources") implies, wrongly, that they have a generalized value that could be cashed in on by most any community developer or member in pursuing their interests. Most of Metro's many abilities can no longer be cashed in on by the community because, as he put it: "I've done my time" (BV 1). So while the concept of assets is helpful for highlighting a community's strengths to change things (as opposed to passively suffering challenges), it does not offer us a sense of what people might actually deliver on in a given situation.

As suggested by Scott, practical knowledge is required in order to get a sense of local dynamics. What was not mentioned about the so-called "vigilante," for instance, was that Metro is especially attentive to the behaviours of addicts in the area because he lost his son, as he knew him, to an addiction. Having run scrapyards and other businesses in the area for decades, Metro is also familiar with unsanctioned practices of recycling,

and was not willing to carry associated costs. Furthermore, he has practical knowledge of police responses (or not) to various activities in the neighbourhood. In working toward achieving particular goals, Metro would seem to be willing to use a wide range of tools, including litigation (BV 1); and he seems to have a good sense of what is called for to deliver on certain commitments.

These days, Metro is committed to a waterfront development project (among other things), and vis-à-vis my research project, he was willing to commit to participating as an interviewee. He offered me a walk down memory lane – including lively tales of encounter with The City, and hilarious stories of adventure with neighbours – as well as a strong cup of coffee, and some snacks. While taking seriously the parameters of the ethical consent agreement we made, I accepted those offerings because they seemed to me to be demonstrative of his family's commitment to hosting people they invite into their home with warmth, and so as part of my fieldwork, becoming familiar with Bridgeviewer ways of living. Thus I took those offerings as *gifts*.

Unfortunately the notion of the gift has been maligned by the capitalist logic of exchange, which suggests that there is some sort of equivalence between one thing and another – most easily marked through monetary values, but also through other measures. If one expects something in exchange for something one offers another, then the thing offered is a commodity, not a gift (Marx 1990 [1867])). A gift is, by definition, something given without payment in return. Lacking exchange value, a gift cannot be returned. A different gift can be offered out of a spirit of reciprocity, but one cannot 'get even' with another through gift giving. Gift giving generates a cycle of giving and receiving through which relations are established and maintained (*c.f.* Mauss 2011

[1954]). Thus, I suggest, gifts are the means by which various players demonstrate commitment to working together. Significantly, such commitment needs to be continually demonstrated, as different than contracts that can be agreed to once and are assumed to be in force for a specified period of time.

Furthermore, whereas assets are resources used to serve certain interests, gifts do not function primarily as tools (even though they might be tools). The emphasis of gift giving is on the relation between giver and receiver, rather than on the gift as a thing. So whereas an inventory of a neighbourhood's assets can be taken, gifts can be neither counted (as traced above), nor counted on. One might have every intention of offering a gift but never deliver it, or a gift might be refused (for whatever reasons). For example, at any point, Metro could have withdrawn his stories from my records, or I could have refused a cup of coffee or tasty treat. Focusing political analyses on commitments and the gifts that bind therefore involves letting go of the false security of mapping things out – be they neighbourhood assets, political scenes, or whatever else. Accepting the contingent and so too risky relations that constitute localities is not to give over to chaos and give up on the possibilities of political analyses, however. As Scott demonstrated, familiarity with the complex relations in an ever-changing locality is fundamental to being able to use practical knowledge to achieve purposes that arise there. In sum, a function of gifts is to animate commitments that, in turn, form the complex relations in and through which practical knowledge can be formed and used to achieve shared goals in particular places.

While place-based and attentive to practical knowledge, the Bridgeview ANC seems to have struggled to accept the contingent nature of commitments forged in and

through a cycle of gift giving. For example, community developers were frustrated that "people," implicitly Bridgeviewers, "while appearing to show up in good faith," often "derail" "constructive, solutions-focused dialogue" due to "unmet, competing needs (to save face and win)" (MacKay 2008, 19). To emphasize these "needs" are gauged in terms of process outcomes (*vs.* content), and so too are attendant interests: for or against change. Thus Bridgeviewers are assumed to have had an interest in the status quo. But maintaining the status quo requires continuous action to animate ways of living, and to adapt to changing circumstances, as conservative thinkers have long acknowledged (e.g. Oakeshott 1991 [1962]). Furthermore, it is not at all clear that Bridgeviewers had "a potential hidden (competing) agenda" (MacKay 2008, 19). It was in community developers' interest to have imagined an alternative contract because it suggests that Bridgeviewers are capable of adhering to contracts that they perceive to be in their interest; and so the primary challenge was to convince residents that the ANC was in their interest. While conceptually easier, such convincing is difficult in practice, as community developers learned.

At the same time that community developers had an interest in advancing the planning process, they were serious about engaging with residents' concerns and mobilizing residents' practical knowledge. If ANC workers tended to interpret 'commitments' as contracts, then I would suggest that it stemmed primarily from this being a common sense misconception. There are myriad reasons for the persistence of this common sense, from romantic hopes that with but a couple of words (*e.g.* "I do") relationships can be cemented over space and time, to fear that without such agreements chaos will reign, to optimism about the possibilities of and for control, and so on. The

reason suggested by Scott's analysis of practical knowledge is that from a distance things can look neater than they could possibly be in everyday life. When we are bogged down in the complex relations of a project, by contrast, we are much more attentive to the myriad and shifting commitments of those involved.

Interestingly enough, Bridgeviewers I spoke with did not ask much about my research or the project that might come of it. Almost every Bridgeviewer described my role as "like" the last ANC community developer. By contrast, East Indian board members were quick to understand my particular position as a doctoral candidate, and one even made inquiries about whether I might give some of their relatives a personal tour of the university. The status associated with my studies landed me on stage handing out prizes on Bridgeview Days on two occasions – at the second of which I was joined by a well-established scholar from Rhode Island University who happened to be doing research in the neighbourhood as well (with a focus on the NFB Challenge for Change project; Walton Fall 2012).

While it might seem as though Bridgeviewers were missing the nuances of my position, I would suggest that they had a very clear sense of my commitments. Their equation of me with an ANC worker is fair insofar as I am an outsider who is not from The City, means well, but when my project is done will ultimately leave the neighbourhood behind (while maintaining contact with a couple of residents with whom I share other commitments) because my primary commitment is to my research project. Similarly, community developers' projects touch down in the neighbourhood but are ultimately organized in and through other networks. Apparently "[r]esidents routinely questioned ongoing supports after the ANC 'abandoned' them" (MacKay 2008, 28-9). I

do not mean to criticize such commitments, in and through which workers learn about new and successful practices, troubleshoot problems, support one another, generate new projects, and so on. I only mean to note that Bridgiewers seem to have been cued to the commitments of outsiders such as myself to the neighbourhood.

The sense of what certain people can be trusted with/for emerges out of participation in and observation of interactions in a particular place, and so can be understood as a kind of practical knowledge formed through "long practice". By engaging socially on a regular basis – from giving audience to one another (rather than watching too much television), and looking out for one another (in a caring way), as traced in the previous chapter – Bridgeviewers develop a keen ability to get a sense of people's commitments. While Bridgeviewers' "social intelligence" has been noted as exceptional (POL 1), community developers make it their job to be attentive to the dynamics of interactions. Given that their practice is more consistently with one another (whereas clients and neighbourhoods change), however, ANC workers seem to have been especially aware of the nuanced commitments of the various national players, researchers in the field, sympathetic officials at all levels of government, and local service providing agencies. Similarly, I am more familiar with relations in my Department, supervisory committee, and field of study than I am with those among Bridgeviewers. It is in those former relations that I am embedded and have longer experience, after all.

In sum, whereas interests and assets are relatively fixed – attached as they are to certain people, positions, or investments – commitments vary according to particular conditions and provide some indication of actions that might follow. When we take

commitments seriously as the unit of political analysis fit to practical knowledge, our object of analysis also shifts.

Given that commitments are ever shifting, when we are attentive to them, we notice the changes of and in political organizing, as opposed to the persistence of institutions across time. While political scientists have long been preoccupied with the problem of founding and maintaining political institutions (e.g. Machiavelli 1998 [1532]), scholars of local politics in particular have been cued to the ways that people tend to mobilize for or in response to particular developments (e.g. Dear 1992, 288-300). For example, whereas only 30% of Bridgeview residents surveyed were members of neighbourhood-based groups (Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 20), a whopping 87% said they would be likely to work "together to stop closure of a school or recreation centre, for example" (Mustel Group Market Research 2007, 26). So while the neighbourhood institution (*i.e.* the BCA) may persist, its role and function can vary significantly depending not only on which minority controls it, but also on what is going on in the neighbourhood. While Bridgeview had a higher rate of institutionalized participation than any of the other ANC project sites, if the aim was to mobilize the neighbourhood for action it would have made more sense to identify a specific project to fight against (as in the freeway construction that we will turn to in the following chapter), than to focus on planning and institution building.

In sum, when we take practical knowledge seriously, we are cued to people's particular *commitments* and so too the particular *projects* that they might be willing to work on in a given moment. With a focus on what may be done here (and now) we become attentive to the complexities of neighbourhood politics. Bridgeviewers are

willing to engage in struggles over neighbourhood resources and development – even if it means throwing stones, swinging a baseball bat, wielding a shotgun, or heckling council. The trouble is that they are living in a wider context in which visioning is privileged over their personal touch.

If we are to take Bridgeviewers' personal touch seriously by focusing our analyses on commitments, then we must let go of the idea of a rational subject – one that can see what is in its best interests and uses resources to serve those interests. In everyday life we commit to things for a wide range of reasons, some of which may run counter to our interests. For example, breaking the windows of the BCA after the board takeover was not in residents' best interests because the BCA is a neighbourhood institution, but apparently Bridgeviewer youths committed to doing so out of fealty to their parents who were angry about having lost control of the board. Their message of frustration was received by the new board (FW 1). Significantly, such practical reasoning gestures toward that which exceeds it. Bridgeviewers' anger was not entirely captured by the window-breaking or any other action to undermine the work of the new board. Rather than a rational subject that is capable of directing even irrational forces (*e.g.* emotion) to serve its interests, therefore, practical knowledge grounds us in complex relations only some of which can be put to good use. Even if we afford for the possibility that others of those relations might become useful at some point (as Jacobs suggests in her entrepreneurial logic that I will address in chapter four), one of the major benefits of focusing on practical knowledge is that it does not pose as totalizing.

(4) Conclusion

Scott's text showed that progressives must take "local knowledge and know-how" into consideration in order to: (1) avoid using the force of the state unjustly, as a futile and violent means of imposing simplified visions on complex social and environmental systems; and (2) achieve their progressive aims by working with everyday complexities. Furthermore, Scott was clear that this approach from the margins is not independent of the centre against which it is defined. In his words:

> I understand that the practical knowledge I describe is often inseparable from the practices of domination, monopoly, and exclusion that offend the modern liberal sensibility. My point is not that practical knowledge is the product of some mythical, egalitarian state of nature. Rather, my point is that formal schemes of order are untenable without some elements of the practical knowledge that they tend to dismiss. (Scott 1998, 7)

Presumably, if practical knowledge has a beginning to speak of, it is the observation: here we are (margins, centre, and all). Nonetheless, Scott re-inscribed the distinction between margins and centre. This move is characteristic of suburban studies that look to working class and racially diverse, and other marginalized neighbourhoods, which effectively re-centres affluent suburban neighbourhoods (as argued by Sies and noted in the introduction). In re-centering, that which is drawn from the margins is changed, however.

The "action research" method taken up by the ANC (MacKay 2008, 16), for example, has been drawn from the margins of global civil society. Such research served as an alternative to "development" programs through which western capitalist states (and attendant international organizations) extended the colonial projects of exploiting the peoples and resources of the global south, and making those peoples dependent on industrially produced goods for survival, thereby integrating them into the capitalist

market. Whereas such programs saw professionals from the centre heading out to the margins with supposed solutions to problems associated with poverty, action research offered a method for enabling marginalized peoples to define and undertake development by and for themselves.

An influential articulation of action research in Latin America identified two overarching goals: "(1) to enable the oppressed groups and classes to acquire sufficient creative and transforming leverage as expressed in specific projects, acts and struggles; and (2) to produce and develop sociopolitical thought processes with which popular bases can identify" (Fals-Borda 2006 [1987], 321-331, 322) building on (Freire 2000). In other words, as articulated in the global south, action research aimed at liberating "oppressed groups and classes" by empowering them to challenge and change the colonial structures through which they are oppressed, and to put powerful academic work in the service of the people making that change. Assuming that a society divided between oppressed and oppressor is unjust, therefore, action research was motivated to achieve justice by changing both groups.

In the course of being drawn from the margins to the centre of global civil society, action research – as articulated under the rubric of the ANC – has retained the emphasis on mobilizing the margins for change, but lost concern about wider sociopolitical structures. The assumption seems to be that life in the global north is generally good, and so the aim is simply "to encourage improved living conditions for individuals and families" in neighbourhoods in need (MacKay 2008, 11). The "social issues" identified more recently by the UW of the Lower Mainland "include poverty, lack of access to affordable housing and nutritious food, and social exclusion due to age and ethnicity"

(United Way of the Lower Mainland Dec 2012, 25). So as taken up by the ANC "action research is intended to support capacity building among individuals, families and neighbourhoods, while also strengthening the responsiveness of collaborative strategies to address these issues in innovative and effective ways" (MacKay 2008, 12). While both residents and collaborating agencies are changed in this process (as in action research in Latin America), the aim is to make both participate more effectively in society as it is structured, rather than to challenge or change those structures. As put in the current UW "Community Investment Plan" the aim is to break "the cycle of poverty" by "reducing barriers" rather than changing the structures that produce poverty, such as capitalism, or barriers within them (United Way of the Lower Mainland Dec 2012, 7). In short, the aim is neighbourhood "renewal" (MacKay 2008, 12), rather than revolution.

Highlighted by this misappropriation of an anti-colonial model of development from the margins of global civil society, is the structural production of inequalities that maintains colonial relations between margins and centre. Places such as Bridgeview are identified as in need of "development" to acquire things that have been already acquired by those at the centre (*e.g.* clean streets and drainage systems); but whereas places at the centre became "developed" through the exploitation of peoples and resources of others (*e.g.* underpaid sanitation workers), those others are not in a position to exploit yet others, and so that exploitation is turned inward (*e.g.* unpaid labour of residents to clean ditches); given how relatively little is available within these neighbourhoods, envisioning becoming "developed" is illusory. Meanwhile, a community development industry controlled and staffed largely by those coming from the centre thrives off facilitating that

internal exploitation. So, as analyzed in this chapter, the ANC effectively came to function as a colonial statist institution reaching out to help the margins.

Significantly, however, the governmental model taken up by the ANC is horizontal, and so like Jacobs' reconception of city government (traced in the previous chapter) it is anti-silo. Just as various federal departments were "convened" in this effort to preempt homelessness, the Bridgeview ANC brought representatives from various city departments to the table with Bridgeview residents to discuss possible projects and priorities (MacKay 2008). By focusing so heavily on planning (*e.g.* through visioning), however, the ANC simplified local politics, and by focusing on building systems of support (consisting of government and social service agencies), the project failed to mobilize a good measure of the playful and violent forces of the neighbourhood.

To emphasize, the amazing work that people do in developing communities such as Bridgeview is not undone or lessened by observing complexities. The fallacy of thinking that there could be some sort of cancelling out of actions through other actions is more obvious when we look to the logic of carbon trading – in which companies do damage to the environment and then try to "balance the books" by investing in research that might lead to technologies that are more environmentally friendly. It is plain enough to see that the damage is done, and some friendlier technologies might be developed. Similarly, when community developers do work to facilitate a ditch cleanup, multicultural events, neighbourhood beautification, community kitchen and youth lounge construction, that work is done. The benefits of those actions cannot be "traded" away by the pernicious implications of positioning a neighbourhood as in need of help, and maintaining the wider relations that position it thus. This is to affirm the "both and"

approach advocated (over "either or") by the Bridgeview ANC (MacKay 2008, 29). The project was both successful on its terms *and* perpetuated a colonial relation between the margins and centre.

What my analysis does suggest, however, is that efforts to plan for neighbourhood action beyond community developers' activity are largely futile. This is not just a comment on the ANC. It also applies, for example, to a more recently initiated municipal program that provides matching grants for community building and neighbourhood improvement actions (under the rubric of the Community Enhancement Partnership Grant), which like the ANC are similarly connected to broader planning processes, *e.g.* "Council's priorities for beautification," and "[i]ncreased engagement of residents is also an objective of the Plan for the Social Well-being of Surrey Residents" (Cavan et al. 18 Jan 2010).

Institutions (*e.g.* the BCA), plans (*e.g.* the visioning process), relationships (*e.g.* among Bridgeview in Motion committee members), and even laws (*e.g.* vandalism, elections) are among the many things that can be mobilized in ever shifting struggles over how people in a particular place live together. The uses to which these things might be put over the long haul cannot be anticipated because the problems and projects that might arise cannot be anticipated. When they do arise, such problems and projects can be engaged using practical knowledge, so the urban myth drawn out in this chapter suggests. Taking this myth seriously involves becoming attentive to the commitments formed to undertake certain projects, through gift-giving. There is no overcoming or preempting urban politics, however. Such practical engagement is always already incomplete and undermined by unpredictable forces that are both playful and violent. In the following

chapter I will turn to an examination of those forces as part of cultural movements that are simultaneously local and global in their impacts.

Chapter 3

Sustainability: Actualizing Le Corbusier's cosmopolis?

Le Corbusier is the key figure against which Jacobs conceived her urbanism. Among the "modernist" thinkers who subscribed to some version of what she called "rural romanticism," she argued: "The man with the most dramatic idea of how to get all this anti-city planning right into the citadels of inquiry themselves was the European architect Le Corbusier" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 21). He has continued to be a target for those who have taken up Jacobs' myth of the civil city, as noted in previous chapters. The Le Corbusier inspired crowded condo nightmare of Vancouver's West End served as a cautionary tale for scholars, planners and politicians who struggled to revitalize downtown in the 1970s; and "The Plan" he proposed for the Radiant City was taken by James C. Scott as a model of the authoritarian impulses of those who see from on high. Thus Jacobs' work has come to be known as "post-modern," and criticizing Le Corbusier in the hopes that his work can be left behind in a modernist past seems to be a legitimate "post-y" move in urban planning theory (*e.g.* Holston 1989). But as I will show in this chapter, Jacobs' urbanism shared more with that of her nemesis than tends to be recognized.

Buying into caricatures such as "Saint Jane" and daemonic Le Corbusier, we overstate the differences between the two. As I hope to have shown in previous chapters, in taking up or mobilizing Jacobs' myth of the civil city, mainstream planners and community developers alike have found themselves separating out urban spaces, and imposing visioning processes because Jacobs used a zoning mentality (in the manner for which Le Corbusier has been criticized), and those who reach out to the margins

unwittingly play the part of patriarch. Furthermore, assuming (like Scott) that Jacobs was rooted in localities "on the ground" and Le Corbusier abstracted in global visions, we miss how Jacobs' organicism implies a global city made civil (*i.e.* self-organizing) by the workings of the capitalist market – as will be fleshed out further in the next chapter. It is precisely this global capitalist machinery that Le Corbusier argued could produce urban growth, and furthermore, social equity. So counter to the opposition drawn between these two urban thinkers, Jacobs' assertion that the naturalized workings of the market could deliver on urban development can be understood as a re-articulation of Le Corbusier's, that is, minus his commitment to social equity. This chapter will clarify his approach, in order to better highlight that similarity in the following chapter.

An upshot of being explicit about his global conceptions is that Le Corbusier offers a more sophisticated articulation of the relationship between local and global than his detractors. In *Death and Life*, for instance, Jacobs suggested that "public characters" are capable of building relationships within and between street neighbourhoods, and so too of influencing citywide government; similarly, Scott attributed civil society with influencing upper levels of governments. In either case, "the people" are made responsible for influencing important government decisions, which is key to civil government (*e.g.* Locke 2000 [1698]), after all. So despite having complicated conventional understandings of public and private in neighbourhoods (by positing streets as organs of self-government) and of local and global (by attributing them to different perspectives in the plane of civil society), both Jacobs and Scott reinscribe those distinctions in the relation between "the people" (on the ground in private) and the state (on high in the public realm). Just as neighbourhoods are part of cities, and cities are part

of regions, regions are part of states, and states are part of an international system – as captured by the metaphor of Chinese boxes (Dahl 1967, 953-70). By presuming well-worn conceptions of the relations between civil society and the state, as well as between different government institutions, the civil city mythology lends a layer of local complexity that can be used to shore up the Canadian state (*e.g.* as the "first 21st century" nation in an international context, as noted in the introduction). By contrast, Le Corbusier did not take for granted the distinction between public and private (chapter one), or on high and below (chapter two).

Taking my cues from Le Corbusier about which texts to look at and how to read them, rather than a fascist planner, I find an artist who has been struck by an Idea of the "human cell" – an industrially produced condo that could be afforded by everyone. Turning to the Greeks, Le Corbusier suggested that global Ideas are revealed through material practices. Rather than being *above* materiality in space, Ideas are *prior to* (and will outlast) material instantiations; Ideas are, in a sense, timeless. They transcend materiality in a spiritual (versus spatial) way, and so it is through our souls that we can come to know them best (albeit incompletely). Thus, I suggest Le Corbusier offered a quasi-spiritual "doctrine" – which I will trace in the first section of this chapter – as opposed to a scientific analysis.

With a global consensus on the Ideas of urban planning – *i.e.* its needs, means, and intentions – all that is left to do is to construct the global civil city that *should be*, *i.e.* "cosmopolis." To emphasize, with such a consensus urban planning comes to function *as* politics, meaning that the space remaining for struggle over our ways of living together is limited to the technicalities of planning.

Absent consensus on the Ideas of urban planning, Le Corbusier called for the education (or more accurately, perhaps, conversion) of "elites" that can construct environments in which the masses can come to appreciate those Ideas – which seems to echo the notion that people may be "forced to be free" (Rousseau 1987 [1762], 141-227). Centralized authority is helpful for facilitating such construction, and so it is here that Le Corbusier's work is most vulnerable to interpretations that his project was to capture state authority to impose abstract visions on particular places below (chapter two). But assuming that Ideas of urban planning are not mere products of an individual perspective, "elites" such as Le Corbusier were not so much imposing visions as facilitating wider realization of Ideas that are already partially revealed in our environment – as I will demonstrate in regard to how the transportation industry in the Lower Mainland (and in turn, the provincial government) billed a freeway slated to cut through Bridgeview as a necessary part of making the region a key transportation hub connecting the continent to Asia Pacific (*i.e.* a Gateway), for economic sustainability.

Such focus on the activity of "elites" alone is, however, based on the persistent assumption that they are working at odds with the masses. While that was certainly the case insofar as the Gateway Program as a whole ran counter to the Liveable Region plan (with its emphasis on public transit over freeways; chapter one), a freeway was slated to cut through Bridgeview in both plans. As I will trace in the second section of this chapter, that freeway was actually planned by Surrey and neighbouring municipalities decades in advance of the Gateway Program. That the Gateway was parasitical upon these municipal initiatives may suggest a wider consensus than is immediately apparent, on the Ideas of urban planning – the need for transportation to deliver on the intention of

sustainable economic growth, through capitalist means of production. Although residents were aware that the project was on the books, given the long history of infrastructure plans not being delivered on (chapter one), Bridgeviewers did not expect that the freeway would actually be constructed. Once consultation began, however, some neighbourhood opposition to the project was expressed. While outright opposition was dismissed, the reasons behind it were used to repackage the project in rather twisted ways to sell it to more "customers." Bridgeviewers would have to suffer, or come to appreciate the greater goodness of the project.

Whereas Le Corbusier saw industrial production primarily as a means of construction, in the case of the freeway, "post-industrial" capitalist means of production seem to be used to do much of the traditional work of government (*e.g.* consultation, communication, report writing, and financing), in addition to construction itself. As has been well noted, the idea that the market can deliver most goods at a lower price and with higher quality (which Le Corbusier termed the "Law of Economy" and contemporary authors often describe as "neo-liberalism"; Harvey 2005) has become dominant. Assuming that they have got the Idea right, "elites" focus tends to be on working out the technical details, and so engaging in debate with them requires significant expertise.

While providing what I hope to be a more "honest" depiction than is usual of Le Corbusier's conception of cosmopolis and how it works "on the ground," in the third section I will go on to demonstrate how that concept was mobilized by Le Corbusier as part of the vanguard of the modernist movement, struggling against the arts and crafts movement – with its preference for socialist economic planning, using traditional means to produce beauty. The one thing that those movements seem to have shared is the

intention of social equity. The third section will sketch those struggles, which I will suggest make up the global city that *is* – the one in which Le Corbusier actually engaged. At the vanguard of the modernist movement, Le Corbusier saw himself as the product of a certain milieu (that he sometimes had a part in making). A milieu is an environment that is neither crudely material nor spiritually transcendent; it is cultural, and so its complex practices cannot be separated from certain experiences, codes, languages, etc. So becoming attentive to cultural movements and their milieus effectively dissolves the distinction between Ideas and materiality.

I will refer to the jockeying between cultural movements over the Ideas of planning as the "politics *of* planning," as one among many sites of political struggle along with those such as the politics of sanitation, the politics of development and so on. It is precisely this politics that the global city consists of when we do not take civil intentions so seriously.

Attentive to the struggles among movements, we can see that Bridgeviewers were not alone in opposing the freeway: environmentalists and other neighbourhoods along the alignment formed an anti-freeway movement. After tracing what that opposition looked like in Bridgeview, I will draw out what may be surprising similarities between activists' and Gateway proponents' assumptions about the needs, means, and intentions of transportation planning. This suggests that in some ways the apparent political struggle can be understood as a mere debate over the technicalities of implementing a plan, meaning that we may be ushering in the totalitarian technocracy that Le Corbusier only dreamed of. Part of the reason for this seeming convergence is the dominance of ecological thinking, as in Jacobs' work, which will be addressed in the

next chapter. But here I want to highlight the way that the shift from concerns about social equity (as articulated by Le Corbusier) and social justice (which informed social movements that flourised in the 1960s-70s) to sustainability, seems to have eroded the traction required for Bridgeviewers' neighbourhood concerns (*e.g.* for their children's health) to be heard. While the social is meant to be one of the "three pillars" of sustainability, human relations are not so easily modeled in ecological terms as those of the economy and the environment.

Thankfully, there are indications that there is not a total consensus on the Ideas of urban planning. Indigenous actions to protect sacred burial grounds on both sides of the river interfered with SFPR construction, and for reasons that exceed the ethic of sustainability. While not comfortable speaking to Indigenous ways of living as such, I do want to acknowledge the resurgence of Indigenous peoples, and flag some of the challenges to civil common sense that such resurgence poses. Thus the global city that I am rendering in this chapter is one that builds on the notion of the city as "an ensemble of movements" (Warren 2011). It consists of cultural movements and their attendant morphing and intertwined milieus that are not bound by either space or ideas, but are formed through everyday practices of self-government (chapter one) and practical knowledge and commitments (chapter two). Even less densely populated places such as Bridgeview are sites of intense struggle between cultural movements that generate networks of authority with surprising reach.

(1) Global civil city myth: Cosmopolis

(i) A global architecture

> *His city was like a wonderful mechanical toy. Furthermore, his conception, as an architectural work, had a dazzling clarity, simplicity and harmony. It was so orderly, so visible, so easy to understand. It said everything in a flash, like a good advertisement. (Jacobs 23)*

So dazzled do most readers of Le Corbusier's visions become that they fail to do the analytical work to understand his way of thinking. This goes for Jacobs and her followers as well as for those whom they are critical of: architects and planners who try to implement Le Corbusier's vision. Scott, for instance, asserted that Le Corbusier "was less an architect than a visionary planner of planetary ambitions" (Scott 1998, 103; which means to say that he was a dictator who laid out the plan for the abstract city (as in *The Radiant City*).

Trying to ascertain what the man himself *was*, however, would seem to be an especially ridiculous undertaking considering that Le Corbusier was not even the man's birth-name. It would seem more prudent to take the show that the man staged on its own terms, to explore what might be entailed in taking seriously his notion of "cosmopolis," *i.e.,* a global civil city.

To begin, I accept Le Corbusier's claim: "I am an architect; no one is going to make a politician of me" (Le Corbusier 1971 [1924], 309). So while his *Radiant City* has become part of the urban planning cannon (*e.g.* Fishman 2003 [1996], 25), and *The City of To-morrow* has become a similarly significant point of reference for studies of urban planning (*e.g.* Hall 2002), rather than making my own assumptions about where "Le Corbusier offers the most complete exposition of his views" (Scott 1998, 104), I take my cues from him on what of his texts to read:

> Honest and sincere people, whether they represent technical or general public opinion, are not prepared to pass judgment on a doctrine before they understand its elements and its synthesis. As far as I am concerned, these elements first appeared in *l'Esprit Nouveau* from 1919 to 1925. Further points were successively dealt with in *Précisions* of 1930, in *La Ville Radieuse* of 1935,*"* and so forth. (Le Corbusier 1971 [1924], 11)

In order to understand the basic "elements" and "synthesis" of his thought, we must examine two bodies of his work. The "elements" can be found in earlier texts, which include *Towards an Architecture* (*Vers Une Achitecture*) – a series of articles that had been published in *L'Esprit Nouveau* from 1921-3 – which Le Corbusier conceived of as the body of an airplane whose "right and left wings" (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 84) consisted of *The City of To-morrow* (*Urbanisme*), and *Decorative Art of Today* (*L'Art Decoratif d'Aujourd'hui*) – which were published in 1924. So Le Corbusier's work on urban planning was but a wing of an airplane powered by Architecture, and whose trajectory would be sketched a year later, in a fourth book – *Modern Painting* (*La Peinture Moderne*). The "synthesis" can be found in *Modulor I* and *Modulor II*, which were written 20-25 years after those early ones.

Le Corbusier sought great architecture. Assuming that "great architecture is at the very origins of humanity and that it is a direct function of human instincts," he mined the "ancient history" of Western civilization (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 135). From ancient Greece (5th century BC), he extracted *a way of conceiving the city* (or more accurately, the *polis*, the civil city). From Plato's work, Le Corbusier took the notion that Ideas are actual – which means to say, prior to, and informing the particularities of the phenomenal world. For example, the cityness of a city is a revealing of the Idea of the city. Le Corbusier claimed to have come into the light of the Idea of a house that is fit for humans in general – what he called the "human 'cell'". So we are meant to believe that the notion

of a human cell is not just some idea that occurred to some guy, but that it is a universal actuality that has been "rediscovered."

The initial discovery to which Le Corbusier gestured was Diogenes' barrel – which provided the ancient Greek philosopher with shelter. Diogenes' way of living was so simple that all humans could conceivably have enjoyed it. He was critical of the petty and bourgeois politics of the polis, where affluent men gathered to talk about how to make their city a monument to their goodness, while slaves made the city work. By shitting in public, Diogenes enacted attentiveness to the basic functions of human life. Thus he transcended the politics of the polis, and fashioned himself as a "cosmopolitan" (literally, a citizen of the cosmo-polis, the universal city) – not to be mistaken for the fusion food eating jet setter of today. Le Corbusier's work was moved by this way of seeing oneself as part of humanity, and adopting a minimalist lifestyle that could conceivably be afforded by everyone. His "machines for living" can be seen as stacked barrels that would have provided the basic unit of such a lifestyle, and so too the physical realization of cosmopolis.

A brief note on how he made this rediscovery is called for given common misconceptions of his approach as rational and scientific – even of the positivist empirical sort (Scott 1998). Le Corbusier's method is, I suggest, *artistic*. In Plato's thought, human beings have access to the universal through philosophical reasoning, and given Le Corbusier's emphasis on the ideational, his approach might seem philosophical. However, he displaced philosophy by treating art as the realization of an Idea (a definition that he pulled from a Larousse dictionary). In order to flesh out how the Idea of a human cell might be revealed, he did not reason through its premises, arguments,

counter-arguments, and so forth. Instead, he responded to two common assumptions about architecture (*i.e.* "*It is necessary to emphasize construction"* and "*When something answers a need, it is beautiful*") (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 162) by putting them into the service of "another sense and other ends" of Architecture – as "the art par excellence, one that attains a state of Platonic grandeur, mathematical order, speculation, perception of harmony through stirring formal relationships" (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 162-3). By examining how Le Corbusier made each of those principles into materials for realizing the Idea of Architecture (*i.e.* the human cell as art) in the phenomenal world, it will become clearer how he conceived cosmopolis.

First, "*[i]t is necessary to emphasize construction."* Industrialization was the technical means capable of delivering on the universal right to housing. He took up Auguste Perret's phrase "Tower-Cities" and tried to properly conceive a design of such cities. (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 122). Using steel for structure and concrete to fill out form, mammoth towers could be constructed; and with the advent of industrial machine production these towers (and attendant hardware, such as door handles) could be constructed in mass quantities (Le Corbusier 1971 [1924], 160). Conceivably, enough skyscrapers could be built to house all of humanity. In order to construct this "human milieu", Le Corbusier asserted that a "human scale" was needed. While no precise description of this scale was offered in his initial texts, the forms he designed were big enough that they could stir some sense of the universal proportions of humanity (*i.e.* skyscrapers).

A couple of decades after his initial fuzzy description of the "human scale", Le Corbusier developed an actual visual measure that could be used like a compass – in

Modulor (which was followed about seven years later by *Modulor II*). Described in relation to the human body, the average Frenchman and Englishman to be precise, this measure could modulate between the metric and imperial systems of measurement – which is why he called it the "modulor". Derived through geometry, the modulor continually and proportionally increases, but significantly, its squares are not perfectly proportioned – its difference of one six thousandth was meant as an indication of the "life" within the system (Le Corbusier 1973 [1954]). Since it was neither as parochial as the foot and inch system, nor as sterile as the metric system, this common measure was what Le Corbusier suggested was called for in order to actually construct human environments in the same way across the world. While industrialism had made the construction of cosmopolis conceivable, the modular is what was supposed to make it practical.

The second architectural principle that Le Corbusier was building upon, in order to realize the human cell in the phenomenal realm, was: "*When something answers a need, it is beautiful*" (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 162). But he was only interested in "type-needs" – those needs that "are the same for all of us; *we all need means of supplementing our natural capabilities,* since nature is indifferent, inhuman (extra-human), and inclement; we are born naked and with insufficient armour… the barrel of Diogenes, already a notable improvement on our natural protective organs (our skin and scalp), gave us the primordial cell of the house" (Le Corbusier 1987 [1925], 72). Based on a conception of the human body as a machine – with skeletal, nervous, and circulatory structures – Le Corbusier posited *the need for shelter* from the elements, and access to light and air.

By addressing type needs in the most basic way possible, as modeled by Diogenes, much social good would follow. In addition to meeting everyone's physiological need for shelter, the human cell meets the "sentimental" need for happiness. In keeping with Le Corbusier's approach, it does so artistically. Gesturing towards his work to come, on cubist painting, he describes the unity of form in this way: "The cubic sensation is immediate, primordial; your building cubes 100,000 cubic meters, but what is around it cubes millions of cubic meters, which tells. Then comes the density sensation: a boulder, a tree, a hill are less strong, of lesser density than a geometric arrangement of forms" (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 224). It is as though nature's forms are leveled, providing a canvass upon which man's machine made forms can be arranged, using "regulating lines," to generate formal rhythm (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 135). Or again, the rhythm of human scale forms (that themselves consist of human cells) strikes humans with a sense of order at the universal scale, and this human-universal consonance is felt as happiness (Le Corbusier 1971 [1924], 244-55). This sense of order is "harmony: a moment of accord with the axis that *lies within man*, and thus with the laws of the universe – return to the general order" (Emphasis added. Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 239). Turning inwards is thus to encounter oneself (as a human), or more specifically:

> the need to create. To create? Yes, that is to say, to put two ideas *of one's own* together, and then to continue: four ideas, eight ideas, etc. Time passes and this introspection, this continuity of thought, makes each man free, with his own powers of judgement, and ready for all the joys of exploring his own freedom; infinity is open to him. Yes, but that can induce vertigo! (Le Corbusier 1987 [1925], 31)

And that is the point. Living as a human is to be freed through creative thinking (*i.e.* putting different thoughts together). This experience is anticipated by the experience of

looking at cubist painting according to Le Corbusier (Ozenfant and Le Corbusier [1927?]). He sought freedom outside the apparent configurations of things, through an inward orientation that can be described as "meditation."

So when Le Corbusier referred to the totality of his work as a "doctrine," he was being explicit about its quasi-spiritual nature. The "machines for living" that he designed were not only produced *by* machines so that everyone could have functional housing; they were also designed *as* machines to produce happiness, as art works constructed on a human scale that one could meditate in and on (during leisure time afforded by industrial production; Le Corbusier 2007 [1928]) 243). Industrial tools could be used to respect the rights of poor students and rich students alike to "the same cell" (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 286). Thus humanity could achieve the general state of "social equilibrium" by minimizing the material disparities between the classes. Social equality is the beauty that follows from meeting the human need for shelter and happiness.

In sum, seeing oneself as living within cosmopolis requires transcending one's particular wants. A process of cultural maturation is called for. In Le Corbusier's words:

> Simplicity grows out of complexity; economy from richness. This last millennium since the Barbarians has worked hard, and has enjoyed the boisterous pleasures of adolescence. When my aunt gave me twenty sous, I ran off to buy cakes covered with cream and icing sugar, masterpieces of craftsmanship, pagodas! I thought myself a prince. But today we seem to realise that however rich we are, we cannot eat a whole chicken each. The chicken fixes the key to the human scale. (Emphasis added. Le Corbusier 1987 [1925], 42)

In other words, Le Corbusier contributed to maturation from the tradition of consuming on the basis of *individual wants*, and towards a more modern culture in which consideration is given to *human needs*. Such consideration is the basis of civilization,

and had already enabled him to develop the great architecture of cosmopolis. What remained was to actually construct this global civil city.

(ii) Le Corbusier educating elites: Planning *as* politics

If we were to take Le Corbusier's Architecture as though it laid out a technical plan to be implemented, then it would follow that his doctrine suggests his global work of art (*i.e.* the cosmopolis) could actually be constructed – as though a measure scaled to western European male bodies would be fitting for all Other bodies, and so could be used to construct machines for living across the world. Such an interpretation is understandable considering Le Corbusier's provocations, such as:

> Now, are my contemporaries really aware that town planning is in actual fact a manifestation of resurgence? That it is the *concrete expression of human needs*, *of human means, and of human intentions*? These needs, these means, these intentions, are to-day clearly apparent to those who are capable of discernment and vision. And so town planning really becomes as it were, the mirror of authority and, it may be, the *decisive act of governing*. Is this, perhaps, to twist the meaning generally given to the expression 'town planning'? Or is it, rather, a revolution which must be incorporated into the act of governing? (Emphasis added. Le Corbusier 1971 [1924], 8)

By projecting the possibility that human "needs," "means," and "intentions" could be clearly identified (which Le Corbusier claimed to do, as sketched in the previous section), this passage suggests that political authorities could be relieved of their conventional responsibility for negotiating struggles over defining the terms of policy development. Struggles would, therefore, be limited to technicalities internal to planning processes in particular places, and it is for this reason that the passage suggests that planning might become "the decisive act of governing." On one hand, government agencies could become planning bodies. With identification of the general policy problem (*e.g.* the need for housing and happiness), implementation (*e.g.* the means of creative thinking), and

objectives (*e.g.* the intention of social equilibrium), all that would remain would be to translate this set of policy prescriptions into built form, which is the task of urban planning. On the other hand, planning departments could become governing bodies, taking control of informing the activities of other departments so that they all contribute to the "concrete expression" of cosmopolis. In either case, what is envisioned is planning *as* politics.

Since this politics would be limited to technicalities, not everyone would be qualified for or interested in participating. So despite social equity there would remain a political class. Classes would thus be distinguished from one another in terms of function (as opposed to social standing). Considering Le Corbusier's preference for functional segregation, following from these classes is "a programme for our town planning": (1) "the citizens" such as "princes of affairs, captains of industry and finance, political leaders, scientists, teachers, thinkers, the mouthpieces of the human soul, painters, and musicians… Great men and leaders" are situated in the city; (2) "the workers" who serve the citizens, but who have families that are better housed in the Garden Cities, and so live "half in the centre and half in the garden cities"; and (3) "the great masses of workers who spend their lives between suburban factories and garden cities" (Le Corbusier 1971 [1924], 114). Were this program to be developed into a city plan, the city would be organized around collective work life. The planning body (whether it emerged through government or bureaucracy) would be at the centre, surrounded by those "capable of discernment and vision", while factories and farms would be flung to the fringes. Between this core and periphery would be Garden Cities where the service and labouring classes would live, so as to enable relatively easy commuting in opposite directions.

Many post-war cities in North America expressed this land-use pattern, but they did so through myriad policies and governmental practices, as opposed to through a centralized planning body.

The trouble with instituting planning as politics is that not everyone agreed on Le Corbusier's Idea of human "needs, means, and intentions." Hence Le Corbusier declared: "*we must create the state of mind for living in mass-production housing*" (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 262). Education (or what might be more accurately described as conversion) was required in order to train people's minds away from the dream of having a monument of his/her own, and to develop a spirit of "*imagination* and *cool reason*" so that people could appreciate the need for all humans to have shelter, the industrial means for addressing that need, and the social equity that would follow.

Given that architecture was his primary educative means, and given that constructing cities otherwise would require funding and authority that was concentrated in the hands of the affluent few, Le Corbusier found himself in the awkward position of appealing to the very people whose excessive consumption his work aimed to correct.

> The art of our era is in its rightful place when it addresses itself to elites. Art is not a popular thing, still less a deluxe whore. Art is a necessary foodstuff only for elites that must reflect so as to be able to lead. Art is in its essence elevated. (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 157)

Clearly Le Corbusier's doctrine functioned as a manifesto for elites. But counter-intuitively, he did not regard those who happened to have wealth and political power as elite. Rather, a class of people capable of leading society would have to be educated. In the first, the elite class would consist of those affluent few who could be convinced that they ought to wean themselves from the pap of luxury (given by the "deluxe whore"), and so could develop an appreciation for modern art – like cubist painting, which evokes a

sense of human-universal harmony. If convinced, they would finance and authorize the creation of cities as modern works of art. These cities would themselves be educative. In Le Corbusier's words: "Whole cities must be built or rebuilt in view of a *minimum of comfort*, the prolonged lack of which might unsettle the social equilibrium [read: traditional inequities]" (Emphasis added. Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 157). In other words, a certain measure of discomfort would shake people from their attachment to material wealth, and the socio-economic hierarchies such attachments produce. Leveling individual palaces to construct open spaces and skyscrapers would create cells in which even the "popular" masses could appreciate mechanically produced art. The masses would therefore constitute the second group of elites, but one that was to come. In the meantime, although Le Corbusier might have been writing for the latent elite disposition within everyone, his work certainly targeted affluent people who were positioned to "lead" everyone else to a modernist future. In sum, people (as individual humans) could be *made* to believe in his doctrine, because it was in the interest of humanity to realize the global civil city (*c.f.* Rousseau 1987 [1762], 141-227). What follows from this interpretation, then, is a totalitarian technocracy – which is in line with fairly common understandings of what Le Corbusier's doctrine does. It is for this reason that he became the kicking horse for Jacobs and Scott, among other progressives.

Whereas Le Corbusier was concerned with the global social context, these days the emphasis tends to be on ecological contexts – most especially economic and environmental. Within these contexts, a program has emerged to establish Metro Vancouver as a Gateway to Asia Pacific – a key hub in the global economy – that focuses

on the construction of a transportation network. A freeway that is currently being laid down through Bridgeview is one part of that network. In the following section I will focus on how that freeway appears to have been conceived on high and imposed on localities such as Bridgeview, in the totalitarian manner for which Le Corbusier tends to be accused. Then I will turn to the planning, consultation and tendering processes obscured by this top-down story. These processes, I will suggest, are more reflective of how Le Corbusier's global civil city myth actually plays out on the ground.

(iii) The Gateway program

Metro Vancouver's place in the global economy was, apparently, given to it by geography. While most regions struggle to eke out a place for themselves in the emergent post-industrial economy (following the likes of Silicon Valley or Waterloo Ontario), "British Columbia can capitalize on and expand its *existing* role as a logistical, economic, and cultural link between North America and Asia; as well as its role within North America as a critical transportation link between the Canadian and US markets" (Delcan Jul 2003, 10). Thus the emergent economy does not displace, so much as "co-exist" with the basic structures of the "old economy" based on resource extraction (Delcan Jul 2003, 11). But significant changes are afoot: "Propelled by dramatic advances in transportation and information technology, leading-edge production strategies now feature deep integration of research, design, sourcing, manufacturing, marketing, distribution and service dispersed across the globe. Success depends on how well companies can exploit these global supply chains" (Government of Canada 2006, 4). British Columbia would seem to be positioned to expedite such exploitation, with ports

that are up to 58 hours closer to Asia than those of Los Angeles and Long Beach (Gateway Program 2009, 2); all the faster to deliver on. In short, Greater Vancouver is positioned as a 'natural' *Gateway* to Asia, with corridors that connect to the rest of North America, one of which was to cut through Bridgeview.

The Gateway project tends to be traced back to a group of transportation industry leaders that got together under the rubric of the "Gateway Council" in May 1994. The voting members are the CEO's of the Port of Vancouver, Fraser Port, Vancouver International Airport, BC Rail, BC Terminal Operators Association, BC Maritime Employers Association, BC Trucking Association, BC Wharf Operators Association, and senior executives responsible for this region from the two national railways and airlines; support for this council has been provided by an influential group including the BC Minister of Transport, who sits as honourary chair, as well as by non-voting resource members from the four western provinces, Transport Canada, the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, and more recently, Metro Vancouver, Regional Chambers of Commerce, the UBC Department of Commerce, WESTAC, and Western Economic Diversification Canada.

This council built on long-standing work by right-wing Social Credit governments to facilitate economic development with East Asia. Under premier W.A.C. Bennett, for instance, a BC Harbours Board was formed in 1966 to construct a superport south of Vancouver proper – so as to avoid losing more contracts to the US, such as the one signed by a BC coal company to ship through Montana and US ports en route to Japan (Tomblin 1990, 56) – which ran counter to the interests of private investors that had recently renovated the Port of Vancouver, and incidentally annulled False Creek's role as

a secondary harbour (chapter one). Under premier Vander Zalm, a Ministry of International Business and Immigration was formed in 1988, with an eye to China in particular – thanks in part to the spike of immigration from Hong Kong to Greater Vancouver, and the rise of China in the global (Greater Vancouver Gateway Council May 2007, 4) and national economies (Government of Canada 2006, 6). So while geography played a part in positioning the region as a site of trade between Asia and North America, much work has been done by successive right-wing provincinal governments to leverage that position.

The Gateway Council's proposed transportation improvements (from municipal property tax relief for ports, to new freeways, rail connections, and bridges) were posited as meeting what Le Corbusier would call a *type-need* for transportation in the global economy. As put in a report commissioned by them transportation "serves as the *foundation* for trade of commodities produced in the region," while recognizing that "transportation performance is also *affected* by changes in global commodity trends" (Economic Development Research Group Sep 2008, 11-12). In 1998 the Gateway Council chair argued: "*transportation must be viewed as a facilitator of economic growth in trade and tourism.* Tax transportation and you tax business at large. Like power and light, transportation is essential for every Canadian business" (Emphasis added. Wilds 9 Nov 1998, 7). By the following year the Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure had begun consulting with a wide range of local stakeholders in planning for the Gateway Program (Gateway Program 2011). Outside of transportation departments, however, those in government did not appreciate the universality of this need (Wilds 9 Nov 1998, 5). Instead, they saw the Gateway as serving a particular industry's "special interest"

(Wilds 9 Nov 1998, 7). Furthermore, that industry's wants were perceived as driving (quite literally) counter to the livable region plan. Whereas congestion was made an ally in creating livable communities (chapter one), the Gateway Council insisted: "Business in the Lower Mainland is being slowly strangled by road congestion" (Wilds 9 Nov 1998) 4-5. In the face of these contrary understandings of congestion's impacts, one can begin to appreciate Le Corbusier's separation of commercial and personal transportation on different tiers of underground road systems (Le Corbusier 1964 [1933]). Absent such tiers, these different uses needed to be prioritized.

The Gateway Council insisted that "a sustainable economy" is the condition of possibility of "a sustainable community" such as that described in the Livable Region Plan (Delcan Jul 2003, 5-6). While claiming to be "[b]uilt on three pillars of sustainability, economic, environmental and social," the official Gateway vision assumed the global economic context was primary and transportation a type-need within that, as inscribed in the second part of the vision's title: "Transportation for livable communities in a global economy" (Emphasis original. Greater Vancouver Gateway Council May 2007). Thus congestion ought to be alleviated to ensure the smooth flow of goods and people, which supports the development of liveable communities. The problem as one Gateway Council member put it was: "Cities do not do an economic evaluation of the use of the land – the ballot box wins over the Economic plan" (iTrans Consulting Sep 2007, 57). This implies, whether "the people" realize it or not, they need a well functioning regional economy to support their lifestyle, and so governments ought to deliver on that. The Gateway Council recommendations included: "expanded borrowing powers and related lease agreements, exemption from paying municipal taxes, and payment instead

of an annual dividend to Canada under an agreed formula" (Greater Vancouver Gateway Council Aug 1995, 3). But given the multiple levels and departments of government whose work influences transportation infrastructure, getting government action was not so simple as getting the provincial ministry involved or lobbying the federal Standing Committee on Transport.

The Gateway Council assumed that "a truly sustainable Gateway Region" was something everyone could buy in to, which is why it could pose "the broader question" of how to realize this universal vision (of and in the region). The Gateway Council offered "the Future of the Gateway as the transportation industry's contribution to the broader question of how a truly sustainable Gateway Region can be realized" and it claimed: "No one set of stakeholders can do it alone" (Greater Vancouver Gateway Council May 2007, 2). Key to the Gateway Council's approach was: "Public education on proposals for infrastructure improvements and renewal" (Wilds 9 Nov 1998, 5). Over the years, the vaunted estimations of the Gateway's value ballooned, as more things were counted – from employment and taxes in 1995-6 (Greater Vancouver Gateway Council Sep 1996, 2), to which GDP was added in 1998 (Wilds 9 Nov 1998, 2), and travel to be saved for commuters and goods alike in 2003. "This larger benefit measure is calculated to be $1.1 billion/year by the year 2021 (range of $806 million to 1.5 billion/year)" (Delcan Jul 2003, E-4). The message, however, remained the same: developing a Gateway to Asia is an economic boon in itself, and one that will stimulate yet further economic development, the indicators of which are also supposed to represent the "full social benefit" of the Gateway.

With some 40% of the Vancouver CMA population having an Asian "mother tongue" in 2011 (Statistics Canada), the idea that the region is a Gateway to Asia fit with work that was being undertaken by various ethnic communities. For example, an immigrant settlement agency rooted in the Greater Vancouver Chinese community (called SUCCESS) established its own "Gateway to Asia" program in 2002 to link Asian-Canadian exporters with trade organizations and Canadian suppliers, to develop new markets for Canadian goods "in their former homeland" (Western Economic Diversification Canada 2002). This was just one among a range of workshops and training related to starting and running import or export businesses in Canada (SUCCESS 2011), which are also offered by agencies rooted in South Asian communities, for instance (Progressive Intercultural Community Services Society 2013).

The challenge that remained for the Gateway Council, then, was "to achieve a focused and cooperative development from various levels of government and transportation operators for freight movements" (Greater Vancouver Gateway Council Aug 2001, 7). For example, "to ensure compatibility with other transportation planning initiatives, the initial list of infrastructure improvements has been thoroughly reviewed and refined in accordance with objectives of the major transportation agencies, including the British Columbia Ministry of Transportation and the Greater Vancouver Transportation Authority" (Delcan Jul 2003, 41).

This was the "main objective" of bringing consultants on board in 2001 "to define the multimodal routes integral to commercial goods movement," which would constitute a Major Commercial Transportation System (MCTS) for the region (Greater Vancouver

Gateway Council Aug 2001). A *Current and Planned Infrastructure List* was developed that recommended 18 major new investments (including major highway upgrades, new or improved rail links and crossings, and a new rapid transit line), and 34 minor improvements. Second on the list of major investments, after improvements to the TransCanada highway (which connects to the superport), is the South Fraser Perimeter Road (SFPR), a 40 kilometer long four-lane freeway with a speed limit of 80 km/hr that would connect to Deltaport Way, the Trans Canada highway and four other regional highways, Fraser Surrey Port, and the CN railyards. Between the latter two transportation nodes there is a blank space on the system maps, where Bridgeview lies, and through which the SFPR is drawn (Delcan Jul 2003, 42).

The specific aims of the SFPR were to:

- Improve the movement of people and goods through the region by providing improved connections to the provincial highway network;
- Reduce east-west travel times, particularly for heavy truck movements, by providing a continuous highway along the south side of the Fraser River;
- Improve access to major trade gateways and industrial areas and facilitate development in designated industrial areas along the south side of the Fraser River;
- Improve safety and reliability;
- Restore municipal roads as community connectors by reducing truck traffic on municipal road networks. (Kirk & Co. Consulting 1 Aug 2006, 2)

As will become clearer in this chapter, Bridgeview was to be identified as one of these "designated industrial areas." At an estimated cost of $401 million (Delcan Jul 2003, 54), the SFPR was but a fraction of the $6 billion MCTS program (Delcan Jul 2003, R-4). Supposedly, this MCTS analysis "identifies the routes most important to freight movements in an objective and replicable manner," constraining politics to "[t]he implementation of MCTS in transportation planning and management," *e.g.* MCTS network performance and benchmarking (Greater Vancouver Gateway Council Aug

2001, 8). This technical process, based on assumed insight into the Ideas of urban planning, would seem to be an instance of planning *as* politics.

Not all the "stakeholders" bought into the analysis, however, and so were not willing to play a part in implementing it. For example, the regional transportation authority, TransLink (which was renamed the South Coast British Columbia Transportation Authority [SCBCTA] on November 30, 2007, but this name has not caught on yet), was undertaking Transportation Demand Management (TDM) but according to the Gateway Council, it was "focused on passenger travel – although recent initiatives also address goods movement" (iTrans Consulting Sep 2007, 22). Formed by the NDP Clark government in June 1998 (Smith and Oberlander 2006, 162), Translink is supervised by the provincial minister responsible for transportation (who had bought into the Gateway vision, as noted above), but it is controlled by the mayors of the 21 municipalities in the region and chief of the Tsawwassen first nation – which elects a Chair, appoints the Commissioner and the Board of Directors, and approves TransLink plans (*e.g.* on transportation, regional funding, and borrowing limits; TransLink 2011).

While some observers have expressed concern about the accountability shortfall that follows from empowering TransLink to toll and tax without subjecting its members to direct election (Smith and Oberlander 2006, 163), the Gateway Council was more concerned about the lack of "overall coordination" of TDM initiatives – many of which "are undertaken by a number of entities (agencies, groups, or individuals) delivered under separate agenda, lacking an integrated plan or strong financial commitments" (iTrans Consulting Sep 2007, 22). What was lacking, on the Gateway Council's accounting, was a central agency with the planning powers required for implementation of a plan that was

for the good of the region, even if "the people" could not yet appreciate it; presumably they would, however, appreciate the economic development that the project would facilitate.

Unlike local government bodies, the province has the authority required to drive integrated and coordinated transportation and land-use planning (while recognizing that responsibilities for these functions are divided among different levels of government; iTrans Consulting Sep 2007, 10). The Gateway council called upon the province to do such planning by, for example, establishing the "Gateway Lands Reserve" (on the same logic used by the NDP provincial government to institute the Agricultural Land Reserve in the 1970s; Greater Vancouver Gateway Council May 2007, 17; iTrans Consulting Sep 2007, 57), which would dedicate lands for 24-hour a day Gateway related industrial activities and establish "buffer zones" to shield them from complaints from neighbouring high-density residential and commercial developments (Greater Vancouver Gateway Council May 2007, 17). While the province did not deliver on that, it did establish a government-based Gateway Program in 2003 to deliver on the major roadway improvements identified by the Gateway Council, including the SFPR through Bridgeview (Gateway Program 2011). And the province started flexing its muscles vis-à-vis Translink. In 2004, for instance, then Transportation Minister, Kevin Falcon (right-wing Liberal MLA for Surrey) threatened to redirect the $300 million for the proposed Skytrain line (linking the airport to downtown for the 2010 Winter Olympics) toward the Gateway Program, if TransLink did not put the Skytrain line ahead of the rapid transit needs and priorities already identified by Translink in the regional plan (Smith and Oberlander 2006, 165); after an unprecedented third vote on the same issue, the skytrain

project was approved. But this does not mean that the Gateway Program was shelved; to the contrary, the right-wing BC Liberal government was able to secure significant funding for the program, especially with the Conservatives coming into federal office in 2006 (after a number of Liberal governments).

While the BC government did not develop a TDM Strategic plan that would lead the planning process, which the Gateway Council had called for (Emphasis added. iTrans Consulting Sep 2007, 55), it did lay out its (and given the power of the purse, *the*) priorities for improvements in rapid transit in the Provincial Transit Strategy, which was announced in January of 2008 (TransLink 2008). Despite the overriding provincial authority, Translink articulated its priorities in a 30-year plan issued in 2008, entitled *Transport 2040* – which put goals relating to climate change and passenger travel ahead of TDM (TransLink 2008, 4). Suffice it to say that Canada's Pacific Gateway was established as a public-private partnership "to fulfill the long-term vision of British Columbia as the preferred gateway for Asia Pacific trade, with the most competitive supply chain on the west coast of the Americas" (Government of British Columbia 2011).

In sum, as claimed by the Gateway Council: "The economic rationale serves as a means to bring consensus on transportation priorities" (Delcan Jul 2003, 5-6). Implicitly, then, prioritizing environmental and social rationales has led to struggles over territory and identity, respectively. Having educated business and government partners (or as Le Corbusier might put it, fostered "elites") on the global economy as our shared context and transportation as a type-need within it, the head of the BC Gateway Program was right to declare: "everybody's a customer" (*i.e.* taxpayer and user of government services; SFPR 1). No one is left out of moving goods and people around this global economic city

(market, one might say). Whereas Le Corbusier's cosmopolis was made civil through the intention of social equity, this global economic city is informed by the intention of sustainability. To emphasize, sustaining economic growth and by extension liveable communities (that value the environment), over many generations, is a very basic form of civility.

In laying out the "elements" and "synthesis" of his thought, Le Corbusier was primarily concerned with architecture as art, and so aside from identifying the general materials (*i.e.* concrete) and means (*i.e.* industrial production), he did not get bogged down in details about what would be called for to construct cosmopolis in particular places. His strategy of educating "elites" has been taken by the likes of James C. Scott to suggest Le Corbusier used state authority to impose visions from on high (as traced in the previous chapter; *c.f.* Rousseau 1987 [1762]).

But as I hope to have clarified, Le Corbusier's Ideas were more divine than they were abstract – they came to him in a flash, from putting ideas together differently – and so were always already revealing themselves in some way in the environment. The Gateway Council can be characterized as taking on the role of prophet, bringing the good news of transportation for sustainable economic growth in and through the global capitalist market. The Council was, perhaps, more committed to centralized planning agencies than Le Corbusier. His dream was that eventually everyone would have come into the light of the Ideas of urban planning in some way, so the global civil city would be planned and constructed everywhere; each city would have its own centralized planning authority, and so there would seem to be little need for regional or provincial

ones. It is precisely this local initiative that becomes visible when we trace the history of the SFPR.

(2) Global civil city myth at work: Cosmopolis on the ground

By positing economic growth in terms of sustainability, the Gateway Council was tapping into the "almost worldwide political consensus on the urgent need for sustainability" (Goodland 1994, 275) – which has been marked with the United Nations' (UN) World Commission on Environment and Development (*i.e.* the Brundtland Commission) that was struck in 1983. The report released by that commission some four years later articulated the now basic definition of sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commisssion on Environment and Development 1987, 43).

Since then various measures of sustainability have been identified, but no consensus has been reached. With a focus on climate change in particular, targets and strategies for reducing Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions have been set through international and inter-city agreements, as well as national, provincial, and municipal policies (See Appendix D). The City of Surrey, for instance, drafted its own Sustainability Charter – adding to the Brundtland Commission definition by emphasizing the three pillars of sustainability and the three roles of the City (*i.e.* as a corporation, a level of government, and as facilitator of wider relations). In addition to direct efforts to reduce GHGs, this Charter's vision includes increasing business, employment

opportunities, and services in the municipality to minimize commuting (as well as to increase the tax base and provide for a healthy and diverse population), for instance.

Le Corbusier's modulor is especially helpful in reflecting on sustainability measures, because it makes visible the creative thinking behind the math (as in the difference that signifies "life" in the system) as well as the messiness that would ensue from using one measure across the globe (*e.g.* by using the size of the average Frenchman/Brit to gauge the human in general). By drawing attention to the creativity and messiness of Le Corbusier's modulor, I do not mean to dismiss his work, so much as to draw attention to the actual work that it did as a cultural intervention, as opposed to the imagined work it might have done to construct the global civil city that *should be*. Whereas he was clear that his cosmopolis was an artistic intervention, contemporary efforts to achieve global conceptions of sustainability are disturbingly serious.

This section will trace the processes by which the SFPR came to be constructed in Bridgeview. As will become evident, the state is far less influential than is supposed by those who take Le Corbusier's cosmopolis on its abstract terms (*e.g.* James C. Scott), and as implied in the previous section. Instead the state functions as an urban planning agency that is not so much sovereign, I will argue, as it is bound to realize global conceptions of sustainability. Furthermore, those conceptions tend to be revealed through what is happening in particular places. The SFPR, for example, was planned by Surrey and neighbouring municipalities decades in advance of the formation of the Gateway Council. After tracing that history, the following two subsections will draw out a small slice of the voluminous information about how "buy-in" for the SFPR was elicited (especially in Bridgeview), and how construction was negotiated. Against

democratic and economic accounting, private companies were contracted to do much of the work of government – which is much more than the construction role that Le Corbusier had afforded for capitalist production. The upshot of these various processes for Bridgeviewers is that they have to suffer for the assumed greater good of the region.

(i) City of Surrey SFPR

Some 15 years before the Gateway Council was even formed, the City of Surrey Engineering Department did a feasibility study for the SFPR (SUR 3). The idea came out of conversations with the Surrey Fraser Port, which suggests a similar impetus as that of the Gateway Council. While contributing to an overall transportation system, by connecting up the port with the rail yards more efficiently, the SFPR would also benefit Surrey residents by getting transport trucks moving east and west through the city off arterial roads. Whereas the Gateway Council had focused on how the stop and go traffic on these roads consumes a lot of time and gas (impacting the economy and environment respectively), the municipality was more concerned about how it impacted neighbourhoods. As residents were keen to point out to the municipality, trucks often sped past schools and parks – a problem that was alleviated in many neighbourhoods, but intensified for others (*e.g.* 88th Avenue), when the city identified certain arterial roads as truck routes (SUR 5). Residents were demanding that trucks ought to use roads further away from their neighbourhoods. In addition to increasing the safety of children and small animals, if the trucks were to use other roads, then residents driving to and from the grocery store or work, would enjoy more freely flowing traffic. So by developing a highway along the edge of the city, the municipality could serve both industry and

residents better in terms of transportation.

As laid out in the study, the SFPR alignment ran parallel to the railway tracks, connecting Fraser Port with an industrial development in Port Kells (and Highway #1), passing through and by less significant industrial areas such as Bridgeview along the way. The land along the route was flat and would impact few houses, relatively speaking. (Fraser Heights had not yet been developed.) Even in Bridgeview, which would be most impacted by a freeway, there was little controversy about the highway at the time. Residents had won their battle for sewage removal not long before, and through that experience they learned how difficult it could be for the City to get funding from the upper levels of government for costly infrastructure projects. So without cash in hand, the City's SFPR plan seemed likely to remain just that, a plan. As the years passed, it seemed less and less likely that concrete might actually be poured for the freeway.

Meanwhile, however, the City continued to work on the project. There was some acceptance of the idea by the BC Ministry of Transportation, initially, but uptake was more forthcoming regionally. The municipality of Delta joined that of Surrey, and the Fraser Port in commissioning Delcan to do a study on the SFPR in the late 1980s, which was but the first of many studies to come (both commissioned and in-house). For its part, the City of Surrey started acquiring property along the alignment, and even constructed a portion of the project – South Fraser Way (from the Surrey-Delta border at Elevator Road to the western edge of Bridgeview). This means that development along the alignment was limited. Everyone who owned property in that area would have known about the SFPR, if they went to the City to get a permit to do renewal on their property (R 91 plan – appendix to subdivision by-law). The SFPR appears in numerous municipal plans (*e.g.*

City of Surrey 1999; City of Surrey Jul 2003; City of Surrey Dec 2003).

Difficulties were encountered in Delta, however, where there did not seem to be an easy way to continue the SFPR from the border with Surrey to the Delta superport – fairly direct routes cut alongside Burns Bog, and through protected agricultural land or residential areas. As a result, despite appearing in the Delta OCP, the SFPR was initially planned as a minor arterial (Municipality of Delta 1998), and was later identified as an upgrade to an existing highway (Municipality of Delta Aug 2003). As we will see later in this chapter, significant debate over alignment has persisted in Delta (*e.g.* a federally conservative Delta council person spoke out at an anti-SFPR rally, on behalf of farmers; FW 9).

Nonetheless, all this work among local agencies paid off. In the early 1990s, iterations of the SFPR appeared in Greater Vancouver Regional District reports, and not long after (and about a year after the Gateway Council was formed), it was inscribed in the regional plan – *e.g.* as part of the "Medium-Range Transportation plan" to be completed by 2006 (Greater Vancouver Regional District Sep 1993, 14), and as part of the "Regional Road and Highway System Map" (Greater Vancouver Regional District 1995). During the Environmental Assessment review, the region's support for the project was put in these terms: the **"**SFPR will significantly increase the viability of industrial lands and activity along the SFPR corridor, and generally enhance the viability of the region's industrial economy. From an industrial land perspective, the proposed alignment reasonably balances industrial land takings with alternative routing and land use considerations" Christina DeMarco (GVRD) as quoted in (Environmental Assessment Office Jul 2007, comment 206). In short, the region backed the project, if

only because it meant that industrial lands outside the civil city of Vancouver would be opened up.

In conjunction with MetroVancouver, Surrey did a little pre-load work under the Port Mann Bridge; the municipality coupled this with some trunk sewer work that was planned to fit with the future freeway. Momentum was gained with the formation of the Gateway Council, as explored in the previous section. The province initiated a preliminary design study, and once it established the Gateway Program, other key regional players fell into line, such as TransLink which claimed: "In working with the Province on their development of road projects, GVTA will place a priority on projects that support the LRSP [*i.e.* The Livable Region Strategic Plan], such as the South Fraser Perimeter Road(TransLink Feb 2004, iv). Contributing to this collaborative spirit was the federal amalgamation of ports in the region in June 2006 (minimizing competition between the Delta and Fraser ports, on the logic of making the regional ports more competitive otherwise; Ginnell, Smith, and Oberlander 2008, 76-92).

Since there is no sense in reinventing the wheel, the BC Gateway Program collected copies of all of the consultant reports and whatnot that Surrey had commissioned over the years, and so the SFPR alignment did not change much from the original plan of the early 1980s. The City of Surrey had effectively uploaded the SFPR to the region, and to some extent the provincial MoT; and the Surrey Fraser Port had uploaded it to the Gateway Council. In relation to the SFPR, then, the Gateway Council and Program were parasitical upon this local initiative.

If indeed a totalitarian technocracy is upon us, then, it is one whose Ideas of urban planning are revealed through local happenings. The local port and shipping companies

complained to City Hall about the difficulties of moving goods smoothly and quickly through the municipality, and residents complained of the dangers of routing transport truck traffic through neighbourhoods. Those involved did not use the language of economic and community sustainability to describe these concerns, but the Gateway Council eventually would. Attentiveness to children in particular would be lost with this repackaging because in the liveable region, community is based on environmental values (as noted in chapter one), as opposed to social ones.

Scott's critique of Le Corbusier would seem to be on point here – *i.e.* that his global visions are parasitical upon the practical knowledge of people "on the ground," which ultimately exceeds those visions. But whereas Scott suggested that Le Cobusier had abstract global visions that unwittingly relied upon practical knowledge to function, the Ideas and plans adopted by the Gateway people (like Le Corbusier) were revealed through what was happening "on the ground," and were conceived as contributing to a greater good (be it sustainable regional or global economic growth by facilitating more rapid movement through a key node in global supply chains). A more helpful point of reference for understanding this relation between Ideas about urban planning (*e.g.* the intention of sustainability) and city building (*e.g.* SFPR planning), would be T.H. Green's notion of an eternal shared moral consciousness that some people(s) have developed a deeper understanding of than others, and that should be used to improve laws so that they might one day actually reflect the global common good (Green, 1986 [1883]).

In the following section I will trace a consultative process through which Bridgeviewers, among others are supposed to have had input into the Gateway Program. As will become clear, the process seems to have been more about gathering information

from "customers" so as to better sell the freeway to them, than it was about democratic participation. The assumption, I would suggest, was that Gateway people saw themselves as being more aware of what was in the common good than others.

(ii) SFPR consultation in Bridgeview: Technocracy

Bridgeviewers had long heard that a freeway might cut through the neighbourhood, but it was not until 2000 that a proposal was presented to residents of Bridgeview and Bolivar Heights (a neighbourhood up the hill). The community consultation was initiated by the Provincial Ministry of Transportation, which hosted an open house at the BCA. Apparently there, as elsewhere, the primary concerns were about connections to the freeway and its potential impacts on property. Follow-up consultation was undertaken in 2001 as part of the Planning and Preliminary Design Study (Kirk & Co. Consulting 1 Aug 2006, 3). With the incorporation of the project into the Gateway Program in early 2003, a three-year Project Definition Consultation phase began. This is when the process became serious.

The strategic communications and public consultation firm Judy Kirk and Company was brought on board to direct communications for the project. This hire is not surprising, considering Judy Kirk's connections to Gordon Campbell's BC government; she served as Chief of Staff for Campbell's Liberal party when it was in opposition (1993-2000), and before that she worked for the City of Vancouver when Campbell was mayor (1986-93) overseeing the revitalization of downtown (sketched in chapter one). In highlighting this long-standing personal connection I do not mean to downplay Kirk's impressive resume, which spans from facilitating hundreds high-profile events and

consultations to directing communications for the region. Rather, I want to highlight that voters elect a candidate's team, as opposed to a single representative; and with more and more work being contracted out, much of that team can be hired (thus minimizing reliance on a supposedly neutral bureaucracy).

Her company developed "strategic public consultation plans" and "Comprehensive Consultation programs" for the Gateway Program – including open houses, meetings with key stakeholder groups, small group meetings, and regular meetings with stakeholders and residents, as well as public materials for consultations, such as advertising, display boards, discussion guides, feedback forms, and community updates (Kirk & Co. Consulting 2010). As has long been noted, non-binding consultation such as this – which only "ensures that communities and key stakeholders are *aware* of project goals, the Ministry is *aware* of community concerns, and ongoing information exchange is facilitated" (emphasis added, Gateway Program 2006) – captures much energy of those with concerns about the project, thus taking away from modes of contestation that might be more effective (*e.g.* Fraser, 1972). In addition to draining opposition, however, the SFPR consultations seem to have served to gather information to more effectively *sell* the freeway.

Communications consultants collected information about different groups' responses to the SFPR project, by using clickers to count how many times a certain word was used by residents, for instance (SFPR 2). In advertising, participants in similarly tasked groups are paid for their responses to certain products and campaigns, whereas concerned people come out on their own time (and dime) to discuss government-managed projects, where they are unwittingly being studied. One might fairly describe a

consultation meeting as "a focus group in disguise" (SFPR 2). With the information gathered through this initial round of consultation, the Gateway message could be massaged to sell the project to a wider market. Beyond avoiding trigger words, this involved repackaging impacts of the freeway in rather twisted ways, as we will soon see.

The announcement that the SFPR project would be proceeding in May 2006 (after the first phase of consultation wrapped up), was not surprising given that the freeway was decades in the planning, and was now part of an infrastructure package backed by the upper levels of government. What is more surprising, perhaps, is that in this interim period Kirk & Co. produced the Project Definition Report (defining the scope and nature of the project; Kirk & Co. Consulting 2010; Gateway Program 2006). This suggests that: (1) communication work has come to be about much more than massaging messages for specific groups (as reflected in the communications budgets of municipalities such as Surrey, which totaled some $808,000 in 2006 as compared with $371,000 for the office of the mayor, and $745,000 for the City Manager's administration; City of Surrey 2006, 71-3); and (2) that private companies are taking on significant aspects of work conventionally done by governments.

In many ways the next, pre-design, phase of consultation was a continuation of the first, with more specificity in its purpose. Initially, the Bridgeview Community Association was focused on the task at hand: generating "community objectives related to such things as alignment options, location of intersections or interchanges, connections between communities, cycling access and connections, and other key areas" (Gateway Program 2006). The BCA organized an informal round-table discussion (on June 7th 2006) including a relatively small group of residents, so that they could get into details

with a handful of Gateway people (*i.e.* 2-6 SFPR representatives, a note-taker and a facilitator; SFPR 1). A request was made to move the SFPR a bit further away from the residential core by aligning it more closely to the CNR. A similar request was made by residents up the hill in Fraser Heights, but the two would be considered differently.

Not all Bridgeview residents' participation was so measured, however. At an open house hosted at the BCA about a week later, more than a dozen Gateway technical staff were kept busy fielding questions from residents (Kirk & Co. Consulting 1 Aug 2006, 7), most of whom came with issues (assuming that satisfied "customers" stayed at home; SFPR 1), and many of whom were already frustrated about transport trucks cutting through the neighbourhood (as I will explore further in the next chapter). Surely some residents had something to say about the identification of their neighbourhood as the "Bridgeview Industrial Area" on the map inside the discussion guide, but no such comments were documented in the public record.

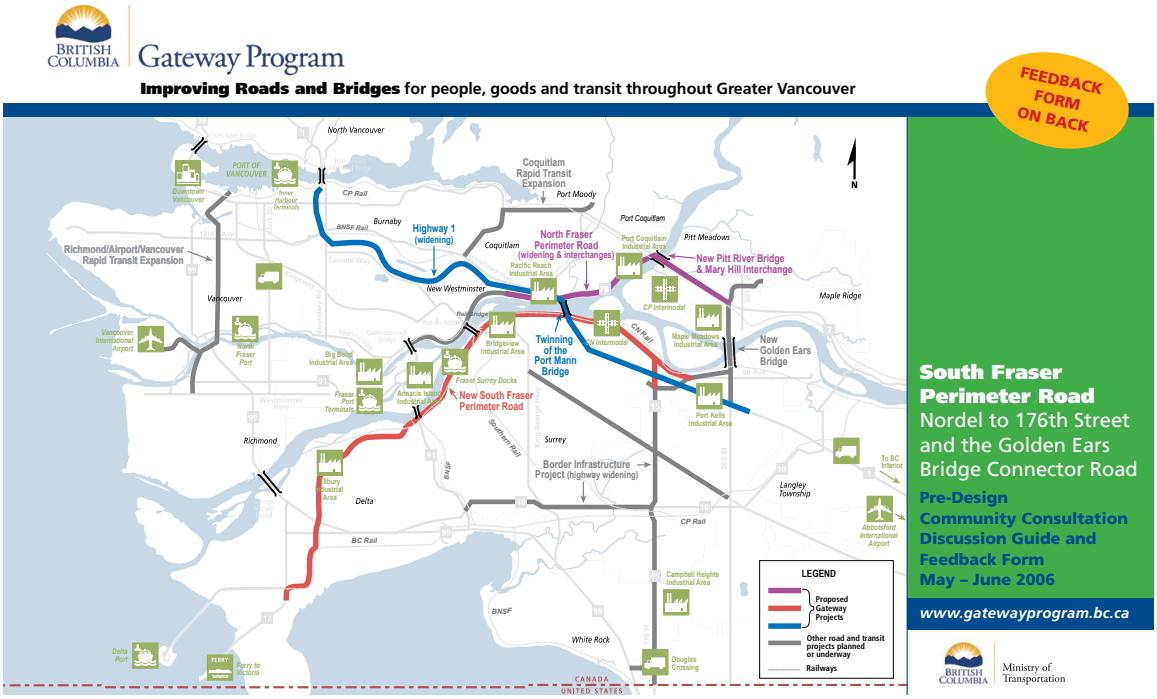


Figure 12: "*Bridgeview Industrial Area"* (Gateway Program Discussion Guide)

Almost as troubling as what Gateway materials said, was what they did not say. The conundrum was described by the ED of the Gateway Program in this way: "If you go out there with too much, then people say you've already made up your mind. If you go out there with too little, then either they say we just don't want it here, or you're not telling me how this could impact me, so come back when you have a sense for that. Go out with Land use plans, and then people have something to respond to" (SFPR 1). Fancy display boards outlining each of the options regarding connections did not offer details about the numbers of houses that could be demolished, or the fumes that could hover around the public school. Despite being encouraged to complete feedback forms before they left, not even half the residents in attendance did so (*i.e.* about 400 of the approximately 1,000 open house participants across the length of the proposed freeway). Bridgeviewers tend to have a strong preference for the personal touch, after all. While their impassioned talk may have been heard and studied by communication consultants, it was not accounted for in the official report – which drew primarily from feedback forms (Read "Bridgeview and consultation. 2000s.").

Whatever communication consultants took from this pre-design phase was to be "considered with technical and financial inputs when considering which options to further refine in the preliminary design stage and take through to environmental review." Among the changes made was a realignment of the SFPR concept further away from "the growing Fraser Heights area," where apparently residents "expressed a desire that the road corridor be located as far as practical from the residential development and this has been achieved with the purchase of land from CN Rail." Similar requests had been made in Bridgeview, but there realignment was not forthcoming. While the objectives of

residents in these two neighbourhoods were similar (*e.g.* minimize noise and visual impacts, safeguard property values), the objectives of the Gateway Program in relation to the two neighbourhoods were different: whereas Fraser Heights was depicted as a "growing" (affluent) residential neighbourhood, Bridgeview was depicted as an "Industrial Area" – affirming Bridgeviewers' longstanding fears about government plans for the neighbourhood.

In a striking example of how the project was repackaged to appear to address residents' concerns, the SFPR itself was billed as being able to provide a buffer zone in Bridgeview – between industrial activity along the waterfront and the residential core (or more accurately, what would be left of it after the demolition of three blocks to make way for the freeway; SFPR 1). But the divide is not nearly so neat as suggested, with some industrial activity within the boundary of the neighbourhood core, and the two uses blending on a number of properties (as will be explored further in the next chapter). Nonetheless, by aligning SFPR objectives with those of residents in Fraser Heights but not in Bridgeview, and revising the proposed alignment of the SFPR accordingly, the Gateway Program effectively ensured that residents would be less likely to reach across neighbourhood divides to commit to fighting against the freeway.

Since the Gateway Program community consultation exercises in Bridgeview were largely about getting buy-in for the SFPR and minimizing (if not co-opting) opposition to it, the Environmental Assessment (EA) offered the one consultative process on the basis of which the freeway project might have been aborted. The EA process consisted of: an Application by the Ministry of Transportation (MoT) on the 25th of

September 2006, which could be commented on by the public for 60 days in late fall 2006; discussion papers by the Environmental Assessment Office (EAO) on five issues, which the public could comment on for 30 days in Spring 2007 (by which time the BCA board had flipped); and revised information on air quality impacts and cumulative environmental effects provided by the MoT, which the public could comment on during a 21-day period in the summer of 2007 (Junger 27 Jun 2008, 2). Throughout the process, some nine provincial agencies, six federal agencies, six local governments, and seven First Nations were invited to participate in a working group led by the EAO and/or were kept informed about the review. The process should have been wrapped up in April 2007 (according to mandate, 190 days from the start of the process), but due to ongoing controversy, the deadline for Ministers to make a decision on the project was pushed back until August 11, 2008.

The hold up in the EA review centred on environmental concerns about a bog in the neighbouring municipality of Delta. Burns Bog is a highly sensitive raised bog ecosystem that has been degraded over the last century by land development, and so in 2004, Canada, BC, Metro Vancouver and Delta bought 2042 hectares of the bog, with a Conservation Covenant on the land title. Although the proposed SFPR route did not enter the "*property* boundaries" of Burns Bog, it did cut into its "*ecological* boundaries" (Environmental Assessment Office 20 Apr 2007). Contrary to the claims of Technical Report 10 and an early report commissioned by Gateway, which suggested that the SFPR plan addressed the main environmental concerns and could also provide opportunities for redressing past damages (Sims 26 Oct 2006), concerns persisted about the highway's potential impacts on the bog's water quality, flow, and chemistry, and in turn, on the

diversity of wildlife that the bog hosts. The EAO emphasized that the review agencies shared concerns they had heard from members of the public about indirect impacts on wildlife, such as birds (Environmental Assessment Office 20 Apr 2007, 39).

In terms of direct impacts on the bog, perhaps more significant to the working group than public comments (*e.g.* those from groups such as the Burns Bog conservation society; Boundary Bay Conservation Committee, Fraser Valley Transportation Coalition, Sunbury Neighbourhood Association, and WC^2, which were glossed over by the EAO in a couple of short paragraphs), were the expert opinions of the Burns Bog Scientific Advisory Panel – which spoke at a special workshop convened in spring 2007, and at a follow up meeting afterwards (Environmental Assessment Office 20 Apr 2007, 18-20). As a non-expert in environmental science or engineering, I can make little sense of their technical commentary, but from the EAO discussion paper, I gather that among other things, a majority on the panel maintained that the highway ought to be re-routed so as to avoid the transition zone of the bog altogether (Environmental Assessment Office 20 Apr 2007, 18-20). It did not go as far as suggesting that the project be cancelled. Regarding both direct and indirect impacts of the SFPR on Burns Bog, the response of the MoT was the same: commission a more detailed report or revisions addressing the concerns raised (through mitigation or compensation measures) without making significant changes to the basic plan. Just a couple of weeks before the deadline, approval for an Environmental Assessment Certificate for the SFPR project was granted (BC Ministry of Environment 25 Jul 2008).

In sum, with an eye economic sustainability, a transportation project facilitating growth seems to have been deemed necessary, and so environmental sustainability was

limited to mitigating environmental impacts – which is the purview of experts. Thus there was little space for non-expert contributions to this effort to plan for a gateway to conduct the flows of global capitalism. Whereas Le Corbusier tempered what he called the "Law of Economy" with the intention of social equity, by accepting the baseline of sustainability this project did not well attend to the impacts on people – especially less affluent people such as Bridgeviewers.

Fitting as it might seem that environmental concerns held up the environmental assessment, "socio-community," "noise," and "air quality" issues were among the five under examination by the EAO; and if they had been treated with similar weight as environmental concerns (including both "Burns Bog" and "agriculture"), then the technical bias of the review may have been challenged because what is good for people is contestable. Although the SFPR was initially conceived to address local concerns regarding the flow of traffic and safety of children in other parts of Surrey, little attention was given to those same concerns in Bridgeview.

Official perceptions of Bridgeview were not favourable to residential activity. The socio-community technical report describes an area between Bridgeview's residential core and the river as an eyesore: "Land intensive industrial uses with *significant yard-storage needs* dominate this area; few residential properties remain and the residential properties are often combined with small commercial or light industrial enterprises, and many appear to be in *poor condition*" (Emphases added. UMA Engineering Sep 2006, 85). More plainly put, the EAO depicts an area in which scrap is piled up, with the occasional dilapidated house mixed in. As I will explore in the following chapter, there

may be a more integrated way of thinking about such mixture of uses as having its own vitality. But for now it is enough to note that not coincidentally, the proposed freeway alignment cut through this in-between area.

A significant chunk of Bridgeview has literally been leveled to make way for the freeway. Even if one were to buy the Gateway Program's assertion that the SFPR could actually increase community cohesion in Bridgeview, by providing a "buffer zone" between residential uses in the neighbourhood core and industrial uses along the river (separating incompatible uses into distinct zones; SFPR 1), there are problems with aligning the freeway right next to the community school. Just think of the children choking on fumes. No comments to that effect were received in the second round of public comments, though. Even if there had been, the twisted response that might have been offered can be found buried in one of the many Technical Documents: "With increased air pollution there can possibly be increased employment (e.g., in the health sector) because of the economic activity associated with correcting the results of its impacts" (UMA Engineering Sep 2006, 39). Such tragic sublimations, *e.g.* of children's sickness into employment generation, can be used to inflate calculations of the economic benefits of the Gateway. But such magical disappearing acts seem to have affected Bridgeview residents more than other neighbourhoods along the SFPR.

The altering of the freeway's alignment in response to Fraser Heights residents' concerns and not Bridgeviewers' had something to do with their different senses of entitlement – encapsulated by Bridgeviewers' characterization of those up the hill as a bit "uppity." The FHCA president made submissions throughout the EA review process, calling for an independent review of a number of issues, and asking that the review be

extended through construction and the first couple of years of operation (Ian MacPherson as cited in, Environmental Assessment Office Jul 2007, comments 71 and 194), speaking with authority shored up through reference to texts (*e.g.* "an independent review of traffic projections and volume/mix details is not addressed in the Discussion Paper"; Ian MacPherson as quoted in (Environmental Assessment Office Jul 2007, comment 148). In contrast, the contributions from the BCA president and other Bridgeview residents, accepted the EAO's authority. Looking to the five submissions from Bridgeview in the first public comment period (speaking to the Application as a whole), we can get a sense for what the most vocal residents were concerned about. Almost all of their comments could be described in the terms of the EAO as related to "air pollution," "noise," and "socio-community."

The then president of the Bridgeview Community Association (BCA) had experience in consultative processes such as this, which was evidenced by his *very* detailed recommendations regarding alignment, traffic calming, drainage, and traffic flow. Some of these were explicitly related to the neighbourhood: "We already get pollution (AIR + WATER) from the industries in this area. Please minimize the vehicle pollution element *i.e.* no traffic lights." Such concern about the amplification of already existing problems threaded through the Bridgeview submissions, as we will see. One of the president's key concerns, however, was in relation to an asset of the neighbourhood:

> Residents of the Bridgeview area and Bolivar Park [just up the hill, but not quite part of Fraser Heights] have had access to the River for recreational purposes, mostly fishing, walking the dike with pets and children, sitting on the beach at sunset etc… It may not be the most picturesque beach but on a summers evening it's a refreshing stroll and the lights of New West make a beautiful reflection on the river. The Point is… can we still have access to the North side of the SFPR via a pedestrian under/overpass at 126th St. and/or 112th to give residents access to

> Brownsville Park. (Brian Brubaker, Environmental Assessment Office 9 Nov 2006)

This concern about maintaining connections between the neighbourhood and the River – despite the predominance of industrial uses there – challenges the Gateway program suggestion that the freeway could aid community cohesion by sharpening the geographical boundary around Bridgeview's largely residential core. The BCA president invited optimism that this concern could be addressed, by congratulating "everyone" for working so closely with communities in developing the highway (Brian Brubaker letter to Environmental Assessment Office 9 Nov 2006).

In contrast, another resident with a similar attentiveness to the process itself (which might be related to the fact that he too played a key role in community development in Bridgeview, as the business liaison for the ANC examined in the previous chapter) began his submission with: "*Notification of open houses not communicated properly or efficiently to residents that are backing onto new SPR road (hwy.)" (Ronald Thom comments to Environmental Assessment Office 9 Nov 2006). This difference of opinion might say something about the reliance of the EAO and other agencies on the BCA as the entry point to neighbourhoods; those who were affiliated with the community association were in the loop, whereas the majority, who rely on BCA newsletters and word of mouth, were not as easily plugged in.

A number of this resident's other comments are framed as questions, asking into the impact of the project in terms of noise, traffic, pollution, and flooding. His concern about the amplification of already existing problems in the neighbourhood, is articulated in one of his concluding comments: "Bridgeview does not need any *more* ditches to compensate for this project" (Emphasis added. He also asked into impacts specific to the

project, on the "quality of my property for living condition," and the "RE-SALE VALUE of my property" (Emphasis his Ronald Thom comment to, Environmental Assessment Office 9 Nov 2006). Significant as such concerns are, the EA does not seem to have afforded for them, as we will see.

While offering recommendations for an alternative alignment, in the event that the present alignment would not change, he asserted: "Residents backing onto this hwy. should not have to look at a wall barrier" (Ronald Thom comment to Environmental Assessment Office 9 Nov 2006). Another resident did not back off his recommendation for the re-alignment of the freeway. Instead, he used it as a punch line to his strongly worded comment: "The SFPR Project as it is planned now will have disastrous effects on our Bridgeview and neighbouring communities because it is too large an undertaking" (Fred Hesmert comment to, Environmental Assessment Office 9 Nov 2006). Another resident, the one "East Indian" to offer comments, was similarly attuned to "disaster," but he was more concerned about the weight than the scale of the project. In his words:

> I lived in Bridgeview for last – 9 yrs. There use to be lots of traffic on 128 – going to Industrial Rd. There were lots of dump trucks driving by – every time I drove beside them the road use to tremble. Not cause of the trucks drivers by but lack of earth [to support] the weight of trucks. If we have more heavy traffic in Bridgeview what measures are you people taking to fix this problem. Furthermore there's indication of noise depending of the volume of traffic. More heavy truck traffic, more weight on the roads, more noise, and more movement of the ground – that can lead to disaster, [accidents], environmental damage and wildlife. So please: {NO WAY – GATEWAY}. (Jassy Singh comment to, Environmental Assessment Office 9 Nov 2006)

Even this, the boldest comment among the bunch, was prefaced by the word "please," which can be read as an indication of acceptance of the subordinate role of the commentator vis-à-vis the EAO authority. The questions that characterize the deference

of these four submissions could simply be a matter of formalities, and/or an informal communications strategy for getting heard.

These residents each had their own particular concerns, but they shared a common experience of already having neighbourhood problems that were not well addressed by relevant authorities – such as air and water pollution, open ditches, noise, and trembling roads. Given this negligence, Bridgeview residents had little reason to expect other authorities to be careful not to add to those problems, let alone to mitigate prospective ones (*e.g.* declining quality of life and property values).

The one commentator on Bridgeview who expressed higher hopes of the authorities was someone who now lives up the hill. He commented at much greater length, and in a way that suggested he was not simply subject to the EAO. After situating himself on the side of the proponent (in "support" of the project), and giving the reviewers some political advice (*i.e.* to take a "second look") drawn from the long reign of the anti-socialist Social Credit party under "Wacky" Bennett (who, as noted earlier, spearheaded similarly ambitious transportation infrastructure projects), he went on to offer some specific recommendations. But he did not stop there.

> In doing this road, I'd like to see improvements flow to this Bridgeview neighborhood such as better streets, eliminate the open ditches, better lighting, etc. We are being asked to help with improving Canada's transport system and these are benefits that should flow into this community as a compensation for having the road SFPR come through here. I realize this is not in the scope of the project, but I think this should be looked at. It will be necessary to work with the City of Surrey on this but I feel this should be done. It may help *mitigate* people's feeling here that they're just being bulldozed. The improvements would also help the environment as well. (Emphasis added. Deryle Stewart comment to Environmental Assessment Office 9 Nov 2006)

Here the EAO's own language of "mitigation and compensation" (Environmental Assessment Office 29 Dec 2004, 21) was used to bargain for local amenities.

Expanding on this move, one might ask: If mitigation can be worked out for the impacts on the wider Burns Bog ecosystem from the loss of habitat (for birds etc.), why not for the impacts on the wider neighbourhood from the loss of habitat (for people)? "Old-time" people and their homes (like old growth trees) cannot be replaced. But, following this logic, if residents are uprooted with "sensitivity," and other parts of the neighbourhood are spruced up, then remaining residents might not suffer the highway. Some of the now-faded neighbourliness of Bridgeview might even be enhanced, in a restorative effort analogous to some of the mitigation measures proposed for Burns Bog.

Mitigation of this sort (*i.e.* neighbourhood improvements) seemed beyond "the scope of the project" to him, but it need not be. The approved *Application Terms of Reference* for the SFPR project clearly state: "Mitigation measures to avoid or minimize adverse impacts to socio-community values from highway construction and operations will be described" (Environmental Assessment Office 29 Dec 2004, 30). If displaced residents and their houses in Bridgeview were properly valued then there ought to be mitigation measures for the loss of a significant number of these neighbours and their homes. (But if the lack of heritage designations in this, the site of the earliest settlement in Surrey is any indication, then there are broader barriers to valuing features of the neighbourhood.) The commentator was, however, right to say that actually delivering such measures is limited by the scope of the assessment – which "*focuses on effects for which a reasonably direct causal link can be demonstrated between some aspect of the Project and the resulting effect. Relevant effects are usually (but not always) those for which the Proponent has the ability (including jurisdiction) to implement impact management measures to mitigate the concern*" (Environmental Assessment Office 29

Dec 2004, 21). But this jurisdictional limitation, to transportation in this case, is not necessary. It would be possible to make the delivery of a project contingent on getting cooperation from other agencies with jurisdiction – such as the municipality mentioned by the commentator. Such partnerships have been experimented with (as in the horizontal homelessness prevention project examined in the previous chapter) and are already a key feature of project development, as we will explore later.

Despite the pernicious impacts that the SFPR would surely have on Bridgeview, no comments specific to the neighbourhood were received in the second round – which likely had something to do with the tumult at the BCA at the time. The new "East Indian" board does not seem to have become hooked into the process. Granted, board members had a steep learning curve. Given the heavy reliance of neighbourhood residents on the BCA to connect them with such processes, however, an upshot of the new board's lack of engagement was that other residents were left largely out of the EA consultation loop. But as I hope to have already clarified, it is not clear what could have been gained from more active participation in the process. Even if mitigation measures for the pernicious impacts on Bridgeviewers were on the table, it is doubtful that they could actually compensate for declining quality of life – including health impacts, and the loss of neighbourly connections of various sorts.

By assuming that the SFPR was part of needed transportation infrastructure for sustainable economic development (*i.e.* the common good), Gateway proponents dismissed opposition throughout the consultation processes and the EA. As the director of the Gateway Program put it: "you always have your customers that are highly engaged

individuals, and you quickly determine who is rational and not. I mean that in a good sense; some people are so emotionally charged up that their whole goal is to stop a project or make a project go ahead" (SFPR 1). While the director was careful to note irrational boosters, given that the project was already on the table, the real concern was detractors who were so impassioned that there was no way to sell them on the SFPR project. Ultimately, these people were dismissed as an unreasonable, radical fringe element. Those who were taken seriously in the pre-design phase, for instance, "understood the need for the project, but were concerned about local impacts" (*e.g.* increases in noise, potential flooding; Kirk & Co. Consulting 1 Aug 2006, 7). To emphasize, there was really only space to consider mitigation measures, not significant realignments, let alone cancelling the project as a whole.

Skepticism about the EA as engaging meaningfully with reasoned opposition to the SFPR (on the basis of its negative impacts) was necessarily recorded, but buried under the category "Other" in the second round (See table below). This breakdown is more significant than that of the third round because the latter focused on specific technical issues. There were also more submissions in the second round (58) than in the third (40). The data for the first round – which spoke to the EA application in general – has not been collated, which suggests that it was not significant to the EAO in making its final decision (even though 127 submissions prior to the second round have been received by the EAO). Some 6 per cent of comments expressed concern about the EA consultative process, with two thirds of those describing it as a "sham" in some way. For example: "It has become quite obvious that asking for the public's comments on these issues is a farce made to lull the masses into thinking that they actually had a say in this process. The

decisions have already been made" (Leslie Slack as cited by, Environmental Assessment Office Jul 2007, comment 184). Some environmental activists claimed that if the federal and provincial processes had been separate (as they used to be), then there would have been a real opportunity to quash the project through the federal assessment – which had apparently adhered more strictly to environmental standards than the province to which the EA has been downloaded, with its responsibility for resource development (SFPR 2).

In addition to such explicit statements, a couple of the comments began with phrases such as: **"**If the building of a highway is absolutely necessary" (Bob & Ivadell Mengering, Environmental Assessment Office Jul 2007, comment 205). Implicit in such "If"-s is a preference for the freeway *not* to be constructed. In later comments, for instance, the Mengerings made explicit that they are opposed to the SFPR because of its impacts on heritage and archaeological sites (Environmental Assessment Office Jul 2007, comments 155, 156). Or "Do not add more pollution and trucks and deduct farm and wildlife from our already fragile society. Consider other alternatives to building a highway" (Hugh Hamill, Environmental Assessment Office Jul 2007, comment 203).

This raises questions about whether some of the other suggestions for alternative routings might have also been made out of a sense of resignation to the project going ahead regardless of opposition; 10 per cent of the comments suggested alternative routes. Taken together, as some indication of opposition to the SFPR plan, comments related to alternative design and the EA as a sham made up 16% of the comments made in the second round (not counting the one per cent of comments from regional officials who lauded the process).

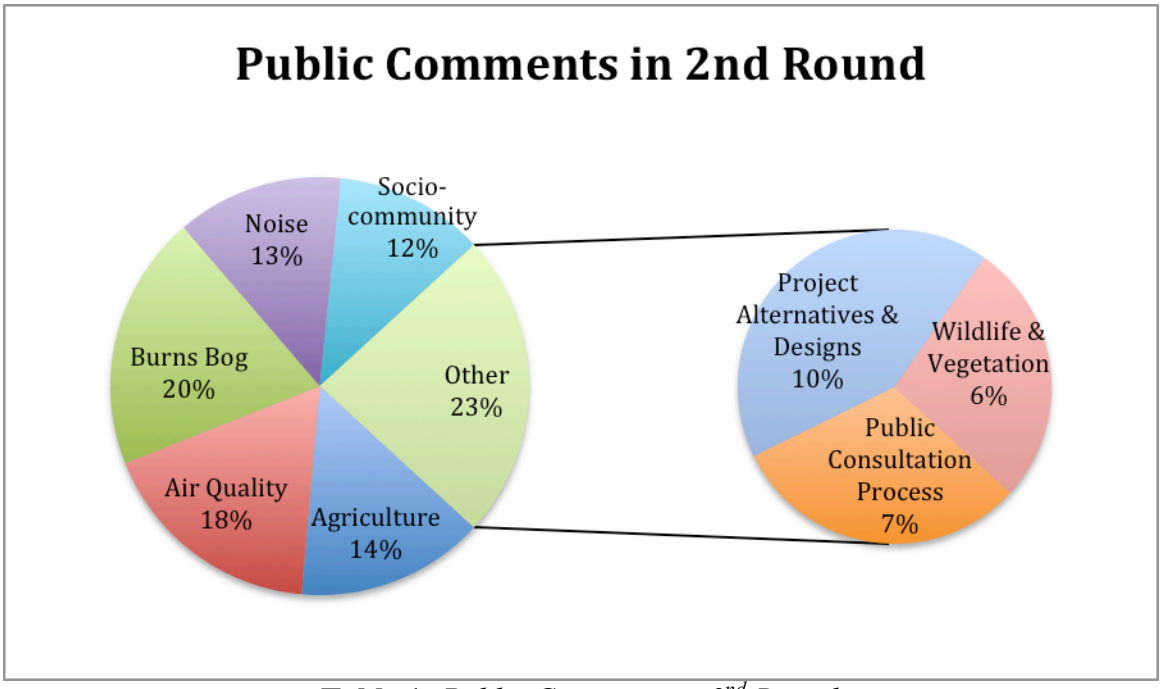


Table 1: *Public Comments in 2nd Round*

There was significant skepticism among many commentators about the desirability and design of the SFPR project, and the legitimacy of the EA process. While Other-ing such concerns might not have been nefarious, given that the five proper categories were determined in advance by the topics of the EA discussion papers, by sticking with those categories, the scope of the consultation process remained narrow and in line with the Gateway Program's treatment of opposition. Suffice it to say that "harmonized" provincial-federal EA certification was granted on July 7th, 2008.

The assumption here is that so-called "customers" who are anti-growth can never be satisfied; but as noted earlier, one can hear them out in order to tweak the project and repackage it for more reasonable customers. Regardless, customers have no binding say in decision-making; board members and CEOs do (in this case, members of the working group). So expert opinion was valued over a properly democratic process for realizing the common good. If residents had a binding voice, there would have been more

seriously engagement with air quality, noise, and socio-community impacts (which together made up 43% of comments). Furthermore, the politics of shifting the impacts of transport truck traffic from more affluent neighbourhoods to Bridgeview – as well as the two neighbourhoods actually recognized as facing "community cohesion issues," *i.e.* Sunbury and South Westminster (UMA Engineering Sep 2006, 81) – would have been more vital. Instead, experts assumed that *Some People have to Suffer* (chapter one) for the common good, and Bridgeviewers happen to be among them.

Tedious as the above tracing of Gateway and EA consultation processes might have seemed, I have presented but a cursory skim of the minutiae of a technocratic process. Hundreds of pages, meetings, and processes have been left untreated. It is common for government and activists, journalists and academics to mine EA reviews (among other technocratic processes) for the juicy tidbits. In doing so we fool others and ourselves about what this politics entails. Only the most technically conversant, detail-oriented and dedicated people have what it takes to participate in this politics (Beck 2002, 158-184). Even then, opposition to projects informed by the good intentions, means and needs of urban planning, is dismissed as irrational or parochial.

Like customers in the 'free' market, the choices made available to Bridgeview residents (among others concerned about the impacts of the freeway) were limited indeed. The SFPR was put on the shelf by transportation experts, and so the question was whether customers wanted buffering walls or bushes, a ramp or streetlights here or there, or at best, a slightly altered alignment. If there is a difference between the way this particular project was being marketed and some other commodity, it was in the extent of

its supposed benefits: for the good of the whole region in a global economy, and perhaps even for the good of that economy insofar as this transportation corridor could deliver goods more swiftly (and sustainably). Growth through the global capitalist market was presumed as automatic and good (as in Le Corbusier's global civil city, and in Jacobs' too, as we will see in next chapter; Leo and Anderson 2006, 169-189). In the following subsection I will trace how this market also provided for the actual construction of the SFPR.

(iii) SFPR construction: P3s

While Le Corbusier's global civil city was to be constructed through industrial production, a more expansive range of capitalist modes of production are involved in addressing the need for transportation in this so-called "post-industrial" economy. Whereas he was focused on materials such as concrete to construct cities that could provide for social equity, Gateway proponents worked with materials including language, "customer" opinions, and technical studies. As we will see in this section, the "Law of Economy" – by which ever-higher standards at ever-lower prices are achieved through competition in the free market, according to Le Corbusier – would seem to have been presumed by governments putting companies in competition with one another to finance and construct the SFPR. Here the bottom line is key, so companies are relatively free to use whatever materials and productions processes they see fit to achieve certain standards of quality. But as will become clearer, the lower prices promised by this law of economy may no longer be operative, which raises questions about the ongoing commitment to using competitive tendering for transportation infrastructures in particular.

The federal funding made available for constructing Gateway projects – *i.e.* $590 million came in 2005, following the Martin (centrist federal) Liberals' introduction of the Pacific Gateway Act (Bill C-68) and establishment of the Pacific Gateway Council to advise on funding allocation, which was topped up to $1 billion when repackaged by Harper's Conservative government as the Asia Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative in early 2007 as part of a national focus on infrastructure for "strategic gateways" (Government of Canada 2009) – was conditional upon "partnerships" with other levels of government and private industry. In short, construction was to be facilitated through public-private partnerships (P3s).

A call for tenders was to be issued, in response to which companies could make bids demonstrating why the government ought to support their particular approach to a project. As we will soon see, the actual means of construction is but one aspect of highly complex project proposals that include financing and operations arrangements. But in order to extend Le Corbusier's logic of planning *as* politics, I want to emphasize that although bids tend to propose using industrial means of production (*e.g.* machinery to lay concrete), it is conceivable that one could propose using traditional means (*e.g.* Temporary Foreign Workers using shovels and the like). So the particular means of construction that a bid might include are not as important as the crafting of the bid as a whole. If there is a dimension of bids that is valued above others, it is financial.

It is somewhat surprising that the BC government pursued a P3 for the SFPR, given the increasing recognition of the model's failure. The official justification of P3s is to privatize financial risk, but with the onset of the recession in 2008 governments in Canada were becoming burdened with that risk as private partners became unable to hold

up their end of the deal (Mackenzie June 2009; *c.f.* Hamel 2007). Saddled with just such a withdrawal on another Gateway project, the Port Mann/Highway 1, the then Minister of Transportation had said: "We have determined that a traditionally [read: publicly] financed arrangement is the better way to proceed at the current time" (Fowlie and Culbert 23 Jan 2009). After extended negotiations with the preferred bidder, Connect BC, both parties agreed to end the P3 procurement process in February 2009 (BC Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure 27 Feb 2009), and the province established a crown corporation, called Transportation Investment Corporation (TI), to implement the Port Mann project – including construction, operations and maintenance of the bridge and freeway section, as well as all aspects of the tolling required to pay for the project. Although Kiewit-Flatiron was part of the consortium whose funding had fallen through during the P3 negotiation, and that the company was being sued by BC Hydro and the BC Transmission Corporation for $400,000 (allegedly owed to them for monitoring the Sea to Sky Highway expansion project for the 2010 Olympics), the company was contracted by TI to design and build the Port Mann project. All this despite the fact that the BC government can get lower financing rates than a private partner – a point that had been well made by the NDP opposition. The Minister insisted: "as a Province, we remain committed to using P3 arrangements where they prove to be in the best interests of B.C. taxpayers" (BC Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure 27 Feb 2009). Apparently the SFPR was one of those instances, but it is not clear why it was in taxpayers/customers' best interests.

Although the SFPR was to be constructed through a public-private partnership, the province assumed more risk than is usual in P3 arrangements, by using public funds

to lay down the preload on much shifty ground along the freeway's alignment. Upon this solid ground, the private sector could bid on the design, construction, financing and operations of the freeway for twenty years.

Despite this head start, concerns about private partners' capacity to finance the project remained. Three groups made bids, and in each, an equity partner was riddled with financial troubles: (1) The Fraser Transportation Group, with Iridium Concesiones de Infraestructuras, S.A. of Spain and Zachry American Infrastructure of Texas as equity partners, the latter of which was caught up in a $160 million lawsuit alleging fraud in the construction of a highrise building; (2) South River Connector, with Babcock & Brown Public Partnerships and German-based Bilfinger Berger Project Investments Inc. as equity partners, the former's parent company, Babcock, suspended trading of it stock in 2009 while figuring out how to repay its considerable debt; and (3) The Riverway Partnership, with the Spanish firm of Cintra Concesiones de Infraestructuras de Transporte, S.A. and the Canadian firm of SNC-Lavalin Inc. as equity partners, the former of which took a loan in 2008 to refinance debt related to another road project (Fowlie and Culbert 23 Jan 2009). It is important to note that the equity partners with financial woes were those based in Europe, America, and Australia.

Furthermore, despite the proposals' global composition, none included firms based in Asia – which suggests that aspirations to open a Gateway to Asia did not translate into Canadian firms building working relationships with Asian firms in constructing that Gateway.

The Fraser Transportation Group won the SFPR contract, but the foreign equity partners were replaced by Canadian ones: ACS infrastructure Canada, and

Ledcor Industrial/Mining Group Ltd. Whatever the dealings behind the change, the group seems to have been successful enough that by spring 2012, Premier Christy Clark was celebrating the halfway point of South Fraser Perimeter Road construction – along with more than $12 billion in port, rail, air and road improvements completed under the auspices of the Pacific Gateway Alliance, with another $10 billion invested in key transportation projects that were underway (Gyarmati 13 Apr 2012). Phase one of the SFPR (from the Port Mann Bridge to just east of Bridgeview) was open to traffic in December 2012, with phase two (including the section through Bridgeview) slated for December 2013 – a full year behind schedule. The Gateway message seems to have been delivered on.

Clearly financial ability was one of the most significant aspects of the P3 procurement and execution process. Apparently less official opportunities for financial gain were being discussed in backrooms, as a number of developers profited from flipping properties along the SFPR alignment. For example, Vancouver lawyer Jeffrey Merrick, who is a known BC Liberal supporter, made $1.9 million in profit by selling a piece of industrial property to the government one week *before* the SFPR's official announcement in 2005 – a matter that has been taken to the courts (Gillis 21 Jul 2011). Residents do not seem to have been in this loop, because many would eventually become caught up in settlements and expropriation deals that were hardly reasonable, let alone profitable. Again, some taxpayers' investments are valued more than others, and Bridgeviewers seem to be counted among the latter.

By presuming that they were tapped into the Ideas of urban planning that would deliver on the common good Gateway proponents seem to have ushered in what I have called planning *as* politics, and so their focus was on working out the technicalities of implementation. Opposition was dismissed as irrational throughout SFPR consultations in Bridgeview, and concerns that could not be well addressed through technical fixes (*e.g.* a buffer wall) were twisted into benefits, which have been used to repackage the SFPR for "customers." Residents should be thankful for the SFPR, which aims to deliver on the need for transportation for facilitating economic, and in turn, community growth.

By taking sustainable economic growth as the primary intention, however, few checks on growth through the capitalist market are afforded. Presumably those in industry are more aware of what is needed for that growth than the rest of us, and so it is not surprising that the SFPR plan itself responded in large measure to the demands of the transportation industry (be it Fraser Port or the Gateway Council). Presumably the competitive market also provides for better quality work at a lower price, and so an ever-widening range of goods and services are provided through that market, *e.g.* government communications, and the financing and construction of government planned infrastructures. But as I hope to have demonstrated, the commitment to capitalist means of production has meant that they have been used even where it has been shown to be more costly. In any case, absent the intention of social equity, the suffering of Bridgeviewers (among others) was not registered as a significant concern. Thus sustainability lends a very bare form of civility to cosmopolis.

Although this analysis demonstrates that Ideas can be used to drive through projects (as suggested by conventional readings of Le Corbusier), how those Ideas are

realized is significant. Rather than a neat vision or visioning process (chapter two), what I found is that regional (and in turn provincial and federal) players were parasitical upon local efforts to conceive, research, and plan a freeway. This suggests that the global civil city is not so much an abstraction, as it is a threading together of various projects undertaken in various places, with a set of broadly shared Ideas that make that collation legible.

Distant as this might seem from Le Corbusier's thought (and some of the master planned cities and urban renewal projects developed using his thought), on his estimation (following the Greeks) Ideas were always already informing material presentations, and so it is by reflecting on materiality that one could get a sense of the Ideas informing our everyday lives. In workers' ghettos he inferred the need for housing; in changing production processes and materials he inferred the means of industrial production; and in the successful fight for shorter factory workdays he inferred social equity as the intention of urban planning. This corrective to conventional interpretations of how Le Corbusier came to Ideas, and in turn to his notion of the global civil city, is significant because it better explains the success of his work. He was expressing Ideas that were already being revealed.

Le Corbusier's global civil city is, therefore, not only to be found in plans that separate out functional uses (*e.g.* commuter traffic from shipping traffic); it is also to be found where various projects have been integrated into a single plan by inferring certain Ideas that connect them. With this broader understanding of the global civil city in mind, we can come to appreciate that those mobilizing state authority are not alone in positioning themselves as having a better understanding of the common good than most;

as I will turn to in the following section, environmentalists who opposed Gateway initiatives similarly threaded various projects together with Ideas about urban planning.

In recognizing that there are multiple plans for the global civil city that *should be*, struggles among those with different plans become visible; those struggles constitute the global city that already *is*. As I will demonstrate in the following section, it is in such struggles with the arts and crafts movement in particular that Le Corbusier actually positioned himself – as a product of a modernist milieu. Taking cultural movements and their milieus seriously pulls apart the distinction in Le Corbusier's writings between Ideas and material, and so civil intentions give way to the incidental (if not accidental) actions that inform our ways of living together.

(3) Rendering an urban myth from the civil city myth

(i) The global city: Cultural movements and the politics *of* planning

> If we try to imagine how folk cultures are formed, we will grow certain that the *folk culture of today* is in process of formation, indeed already exists, born of unanimous collaboration. We will be convinced that a work of perfection, of value, of lasting quality, conforming to our needs and reflecting our thoughts, is being built every day from the vigour and powers of invention of us all;" Le Corbusier 1987 [1925], 32)

To read Le Corbusier's doctrine as though it was written by a prophet – the modern Pythagoras who was able to reveal the human measure – is to take the character of Le Corbusier too seriously. In the author's "confession," he did not linger on himself as a person. Instead, he remembered Auguste Perret (with whom he connected in 1907, upon referral from M. Grasset) for saying: "I do reinforced concrete"; "I would study mathematics if I had the time. They form the character"; and, "One must build with perfection: decoration generally hides a want of perfection" (Le Corbusier 1987 [1925],

200-2). Obviously Le Corbusier was Perret's student. What is significant about this gesture toward his mentor, however, is that it positioned Le Corbusier, in his words, as "a man who is the product of a certain *milieu* and one who has benefited from his environment, and has, on occasion, created an environment to fit himself" (Le Corbusier 1973 [1954], 25). It is precisely this assumption that the environment (in)forms ways of living that underpins his commitment to Architecture – the art of constructing environments – as a means for cultural transmission and change. Hence Le Corbusier's mini-autobiography was not so much about *him*, as it was about an emergent modern *milieu* (that Perret was also a part of and in part responsible for creating).

To emphasize, since our milieu is of our making (as opposed to being given by nature), it can be understood as urban (Magnusson 2000, 80-104); and Le Corbusier goes so far as to say that it "encloses us and separates us from antagonistic natural phenomena"(Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 83). But our milieu is not simply physical. The "environment" that he described consisted of relationships with people, intellectual practices, artistic materials, and so on. In short, one might describe a milieu as a cultural context.

On Le Corbusier's account, the particular milieu that (in)formed him had revolutionary implications precisely because it was ordinary (as opposed to the high society milieu of most architects). His father was a watchmaker. As such, Le Corbusier's work could reflect actual changes in everyday life – in materials (from stone to concrete) and means of production (from artisan to industrial) – and thus could contribute to cultural change by creating architecture suited to these modern conditions. So to emphasize, his doctrine made an artistic intervention *of* and *for* the masses.

But in the context of European cities that were overflowing with the wastes of industrial production (human and otherwise), many of Le Corbusier's contemporaries contended that a socialist economy was needed to put an end to the exploitation of the masses. So despite his declaration that the needs, means, and intentions informing town planning are "clearly apparent," Le Corbusier was acutely aware that many of his contemporaries disagreed with his focus on town planning, as opposed to economic planning, for instance. Thus he posed the rhetorical question: "Now, are my contemporaries really aware that town planning is in actual fact a manifestation of resurgence?" (Emphasis added. Le Corbusier 1971 [1924], 8). The doubt expressed by this question tends to be missed by readers in part because of the confidence performed in and by his doctrine, and in part because of the apparent consensus these days that urban planning concretizes progressive movements (*e.g.* as inspired by Jacobs; chapter one); even with major economic crashes, socialist economic planning does not seem to be on the table in a serious way (VonHayek 1960). Thus within the same European city there were multiple milieus: modern, traditional, socialist, and so on.

Accepting the multiplicity of milieus in the cities in which Le Corbusier positioned his work affects the meaning of the human cell. If the human cell implied a universal realm of timeless Ideas that inform material realities, then almost every barrel or condo would reveal a sense of "human cell-ness"; but some people live in makeshift constructions on streets because they have no more preferable option for shelter (as opposed to thinking of themselves as citizens of a global city in which we could all survive if we attended primarily to our basic bodily needs), and some people live in very decadent industrially-produced condos (which cannot be afforded to all humans).

Instead, the human cell appears to have different meanings that arise from specific cultural conditions within particular milieus. Diogenes conceived of cosmopolis as a corrective to the parochialism and decadence of Athenian politics, and so lived as an outcast in a barrel dinking out of his hands to demonstrate how little was needed for a human to survive. Le Corbusier reconceived that barrel as a "human cell" – a condo within which anyone could survive and meditate on cubist art (which Diogenes might have considered decadent) – as part of a conception of cosmopolis that could be used to construct entire cities. While I have done much intellectual work in this chapter to make sense of his gestures to Plato and Diogenes, for instance, Le Corbusier *loosely* connected his concept of the "human cell" to the ancient Greeks – which helped him create a sense of cosmopolitanism, that is, a sense of belonging to a global city made civil with the intention of social equity.

As an architect, Le Corbusier did more than just write a doctrine; he drafted building designs and urban plans, for instance. The four books he published in the 1920s made up a collection that "comprised the theory of which the Pavilion [of *L'Esprit Nouveau* at the 1925 World Fair in Paris that spawned Art Deco] was intended to be the realization" (Le Corbusier, as quoted by Dunnett in, Le Corbusier 1987 [1925], vii). By demonstrating how industry could produce an entire city with mass produced buildings and goods, Le Corbusier constructed a "modern event" against the arts and crafts movement. Thus the tensions between these movements were not simply ideological; they could be seen in art shows, the choice of one's house, and so forth.

Struggles among the modernist and arts and crafts movements over our ways of living together (*i.e.* culture) are political, and planning can be seen as just one site among

many in which politics played out. Differently put, the politics *of* planning takes its place alongside the politics *of* production, the politics *of* art, and so on. So as opposed to a coherent cosmopolis (with Ideas that are realized in localities), the struggles among these movements can be seen as constituting a global city that is fundamentally political – which means to say that there is continuous jockeying over informing our ways of living together. Within the city as "an ensemble of movements" (Magnusson 2011, 19), each movement has its own cultural milieu. As shorthand, therefore, I will describe these movements as *cultural movements*.

In order to get a better sense of what Le Corbusier was struggling against, I will provide a brief sketch of the arts and crafts movement, highlighting its needs, means and intentions so as to facilitate comparison. In advance, they did not share much more than an intention of social equity.

The arts and crafts movement is said to have been initiated by an architect-gone-painter, then poet, craftsman, and socialist, named William Morris in the mid-nineteenth century. His roots were neither ordinary (like those of Le Corbusier) nor extraordinary (like those of a prince). His father was an affluent bill-broker, and when William was six the Morris family moved to a mansion on fifty acres of park, alongside a hundred acre farm (Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 4). Venturing with his father to medieval churches in the surrounding area, he developed an appreciation for the "mingled *beauty, history,* and *romance*" of cities of the Middle Ages (Emphasis added, Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 9). He valorized "producing for use and not for profit" through the

> freedom of hand and thought during his working hours, and interest in the welfare of his work itself; and further, that the collective genius of a people working in free but harmonious co-operation is far more powerful for the production of architectural art than the spasmodic efforts of the greatest individual genius;

> because with the former the expression of life and pleasure is unforced and habitual, and directly connected with the traditions of the past, and consequently is as unfailing as the work of Nature herself. (Morris 5 Dec 1888)

Under these conditions of freedom, work is thought to be pleasurable, and so too the works produced bring pleasure for the user; in short, what is made are works of art. In Morris' words: "The architectural arts, therefore, if they are anything real, mean the addition to all necessary articles of use of a certain portion of beauty and interest, which the user desires to have and the maker to make" (Morris 5 Dec 1888). Such emphasis on the ornate beauty added to things (and cherished by people) within the Arts and crafts movement is precisely what Le Corbusier was responding to by focusing on type-needs (*e.g.* "*When something answers a need, it is beautiful*"; Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 162). Differently put, Morris identified beauty itself as the need that planning ought to address, whereas Le Corbusier argued that beauty was to be found in meeting the need for housing.

While depicting craftspeople in the Middle Ages as relatively free, as a student of history (among other things), Morris was fully aware of the divisions that existed among the classes then. But he considered those divisions to have been relatively superficial; for example, everyone's basic domestic needs were met, and so only surplus went to market (Morris 5 Dec 1888). The division that concerned him was that of labour, by which the production of one item was broken down into various pieces, each of which would be made by a different craftsperson. Their hands were eventually replaced by a machine, and then the only people who enjoyed the pleasure of work (*i.e.* of adding beauty to things) were the designer of the item and the inventor of the machine; everyone else was reduced

to either operating a machine, or put out of work entirely (and in either case, their needs were not well met).

Machine-made stuff is, according to Morris, "sham art" because it does not express workers' joy in their labour, but rather their suffering under brutal working conditions. Since sham art can be produced in practically unlimited quantities, however, it tends to drive real art out of the market, and in turn, erodes appreciation of real art (Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 107). Thus industrial production squandered workers' labour on making ugly crap for pennies that would necessarily be used to buy such crap (given the loss of craftsmanship necessary for workers to meet their own needs), and on the rich (who would waste it); thus "[t]he world-market, which should be our servant, is our master, and ordains that so it must be" (Morris 5 Dec 1888). With the withering of the arts, and people buying virtually everything in the market, profit increasingly became the ends (as opposed to the means) of life(Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 118-9).

The means of addressing the need for beauty, on Morris's account, was to revive co-operative and hands-on modes of production (as opposed to the industrial production and competitive capitalist market that Le Corbusier assumed when positing his Law of Economy). Morris and some of his colleagues founded a Decorative Arts company in 1861 whose workshop was a place where honest hands – guided by a sound mind, and inspired by the love of nature – had the time, space, tools, and technique necessary to make something that was honest to the material (meaning that the same effect could not have been achieved using a different material) and added beauty to it (Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 110-1), while bringing down the costs of items through co-operation (Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 20). A year after the formation of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner &

Company, the members showed tapestries, furniture, and stained glass at the International Exhibition in London (Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 20). Some sixty-four years later Le Corbusier would mount his counter-show in Paris, but in the meantime, Morris' business flourished and he went on to pursue the social implications of his artistic practice, the intentions of planning if you will.

Behind the machines, Morris fingered "Luxury" – which he associated with "Riches," understood as the means of ruling over others (Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 128). By contrast: "Wealth is what Nature gives us, and what a reasonable man can make out of the gifts of Nature for his reasonable use" (Morris as quoted by, Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 129). The capitalist system was responsible for destroying wealth of both the body and mind, on Morris's account. It created massive riches, and since the rich need someone to work for them, the affluent few became masters of slaves; hence, he called the capitalist system "the great intangible machine of commercial tyranny, which oppresses the lives of all of us" by poverty of wealth and of material goods worth using (Morris 5 Dec 1888).

By 1877 Morris was issuing a rallying cry through a manifesto for the working and middle classes to realize "freedom and progress," "leisure and knowledge," by lessening the "inequalities" generated by the "Unjust [class] War" of "irresponsible capital" (Morris as quoted by, Von Helmholtz-Phelan 1927, 38). Whatever his bourgeois indulgences, Morris personally funded a number of publications and projects that challenged industrialism and promoted socialism. For example, he founded what would eventually become the Social Democratic Party in Britain, as well as the Socialist

League. The intention he shared with Le Corbusier, then, was social equity, but in order to achieve it, Morris looked to economic planning.

In response to this radical movement, Le Corbusier followed on social reformers such as Ebenezer Howard. They saw extreme social disparities as a problem of overcrowding in unplanned cities – which led to over-inflated land prices and developer-driven city building – and so they offered town planning as the solution (Howard 1946). Thanks in no small measure to Jacobs' civil city myth, Howard's Garden City is now infamous for how its separation of different functions of the city spawned suburban wastelands. Less remembered is the political economy that was meant to make the Garden City work: municipalities were to own all the land and cap populations according to housing stock and other available resources (at 32,000). Socialist measures such as these were proposed by Howard, as a necessary check on capitalist development:

> Some of my friends have suggested that such a scheme of town clusters is well enough adapted to a new country, but that in an old-settled country, with its towns built and its railway 'system' for the most part constructed, it is quite a different matter. But surely to raise such a point is to contend, in other words, that *the existing wealth forms of the country are permanent, and are forever to serve as hindrances to the introduction of better forms*: that crowded, ill-ventilated, unplanned, unwieldy, unhealthy cities--ulcers on the very face of our beautiful island--are to stand as barriers to the introduction of towns in which modern scientific methods and the aims of social reformers may have the fullest scope in which to express themselves. No, it cannot, be, at least, it cannot be for long. (Emphasis added. Howard 1946, 145)

On this view, tradition contributed to the production of *unsustainable* social inequity (as opposed to offering a solution to it). Thus Howard called for the construction of new cities, and Le Corbusier was optimistic that such construction was practical on a global scale in the machine age.

While accepting Howard's assessment that unchecked capitalist-driven urban development was unsustainable, Le Corbusier's doctrine asserted that with great architecture, town planning, and industrial tools the "Law of Economy" (*i.e.* lower cost and higher quality) was capable of delivering a more equitable society (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 286); municipal socialism was not needed. He applauded industrial production for having already liberated many men from some of the grueling extremes of labour, as exemplified by the institution of the eight-hour workday (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 296-7). He saw in factory specialization: freedom from the tutelage of one's father imparting his trade, precision demanded by the impersonal processes by which one part is made to fit with another, the potential for workers to move up the economic ladder, and contrary to those who see industrial labour as alienating, "a more collective spirit"; the example he offers is: "When *Auto* magazine publishes a car that has just gone 260 km an hour, the workers will gather and say to one another: 'It's our car that did that'" (Le Corbusier 2007 [1928], 296). So where Marx sees alienation, Le Corbusier sees collectivized work.

This sense of having a special part to play in the creation of a collective work is something that Le Corbusier envisioned elevating from the factory floor to all of humanity. According to his vision, everyone would have a role in the industrial production of an environment in and through which freedom could be realized.

Resisting mechanization, the arts and crafts movement declared individuals "free" to decorate buildings with accoutrements of all sorts, according to their particular tastes. But on Le Corbusier's estimation these tastes were always already defined by indigenous styles, and furthermore, the different materials of accoutrements indicated an economic

hierarchy: princes' homes were decorated with gold and marble, whereas the homes of "princelings" were decorated with "impure gold and imitation marble" (Le Corbusier 1987 [1925], 6). One could go on to say that workers' homes were decorated with iron and stone. Hence Le Corbusier claimed that leaving things up to habituated tastes actually meant "men are badly housed!" (Le Corbusier 1971 [1924], 8). He suggested that affluent people had a difficult time appreciating the need for housing, because they were so busy building monuments to themselves. Morris' Red House could be seen in this light; its opulence (albeit hand crafted) could not have been afforded to/by everyone (Henderson 1952, 58-78). While it is easy to critique Morris for the contradiction between his affluence and socialist affinities, to do so is rather disingenuous considering Morris' keen awareness of his own middle class position and leveraging of it for the socialist movement.

Contradictions are a problem when there is an expectation that universal Ideas be translated in a relatively neat way into materiality. But when we take the complexity of urban life seriously, contradictions are just one among many ways of characterizing the relations among various practices of self-government, commitments, and cultures. While Le Corbusier's work has been caricatured as that of a totalitarian technocrat (*i.e.* the man with The Plan), as part of the vanguard of the modernist movement it consisted of contradictory impulses. Driving with the modern art movement, his work broke art out of the confines of the conventional museum, by envisioning entire cities as works of art, whose units, in turn, could double as showrooms for cubist paintings. Simultaneously mobilizing the tradition of high art, however, Le Corbusier's work presented Architecture as something produced by the Artist struck by an Idea (in a divine sort of way). These

impulses need not be synthesized into one grand, coherent Idea. Instead, we can tend to the work that they do together: making an artistic intervention into traditional city building.

In sum, the arts and crafts and modernist movements agreed on the necessity of planning, and that such planning should intend toward social equity. But whereas the arts and crafts movement was focused on economic planning, the modernist movement was invested in town planning – which stems from their different estimations of the need that planning was meant to address (*i.e.* beauty and housing respectively). They also broadly agreed that production was the means by which social equity could be achieved**,** but they differed on the kind of production (*i.e.* cooperative craft within a socialist context vs. collaborative industrial within a competitive market). Given the significant differences between these movements, the civil intention they shared remained just that: an intention. The global city they constituted through their struggles was messy indeed.

From the common interpretation of Le Corbusier as giving us The Plan (an Idea) for constructing the (material) global civil city, *i.e.* cosmopolis, I hope to have rendered an urban myth of a global city that consists of the jockeying among cultural movements. When we become attentive to such jockeying, opposition to the SFPR becomes visible that was not captured by official consultation processes. In the following section I will trace the Western Canada Wilderness Committee's mobilization of Bridgeview for action against the SFPR (and the Gateway Program more generally), and will suggest that we may have realized a consensus on the needs, means and intentions of planning that Le Corbusier only dreamed of. But following that I will turn to an incidental (as opposed to

intentional) action that got in the way of freeway construction in Bridgeview – which suggests that such a consensus may yet be to come.

(ii) Environmentalist struggles against the SFPR in Bridgeview

For years there had been talk of a freeway to be laid through Bridgeview, just like there had been talk that proper sanitary sewers would be installed once the upper levels of government got their acts together. Apparently, people who bought into the neighbourhood were told about these transportation plans, and at the same time their neighbours told them about how governments did not tend to deliver on plans for improvements in Bridgeview. After residents' decades-long fight to make the neighbourhood more livable, ditches still sat open, the streets flooded during rainy season, there were few sidewalks and streetlights (let alone curbs and gutters), and so on. Not surprisingly, then, few Bridgeviewers apparently believed that the freeway would actually be constructed (BV 5; BV 1). But then, one day, before residents seemed to be able to get a word in edgewise, the South Fraser Perimeter Road was en route.

On May 7th 2008, a couple of months before the Environmental Assessment certificate was even issued, the Gateway people were back at the BCA doing a traffic management consultation – in working towards crafting a plan "to *minimize disruption and maximize predictability* for travelers" during the construction of the freeway (Gateway Program 30 Jun 2008, 4). Residents of Bridgeview and Bolivar Heights were invited to give the Gateway program information about their commuting patterns and communication preferences, as well as feedback about specific connections to the freeway from their neighbourhoods (Gateway Program 30 Jun 2008, 4). Differently put,

the question was *how* the freeway should be constructed. But there continued to be a significant proportion of consultation participants who wanted to be able to ring in on the question of *whether* the freeway should be constructed.

One of those nay-sayers was a newly appointed healthy communities campaigner for the environmentalist organization Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WC^2) – who I will refer to here as "Mark." His task was to connect up neighbourhood desires to protect beautiful places and/or concerns about human health with ecological issues. At one and the same time this was meant to raise the "ecological literacy" of local groups, and to "reframe" the Gateway program by showing how it disrespects residents *and* the environment by turning the area into a place to move goods through – thus contributing to global climate change (SFPR 2).

After hearing residents' usual concerns about the impacts of construction on commuters and children (as well as the perhaps less common concern that pre-loading might raise water levels, which could lead to flooding given the poor drainage in the boggy neighbourhood; Gateway Program 30 Jun 2008, 7), Mark approached BCA staff to see about forming a local action group. First, he was referred to "the vegetarian," who I will call "Kelly" – who was already involved with anti-SFPR organizing centred around agriculture in Delta (SFPR 2). She continued to carry much of the defiant spirit of her hippie youth, and welcomed an extension of her social network to include environmentalists (especially those with an interest in going back-to-the-land); they had something of the small town sensibility, *i.e.* the friendliness and willingness to act collectively (as explored in previous chapters), that had drawn her to Bridgeview some 15 years earlier, but that seems to have eroded with more and more people moving into

fewer and fewer houses (FW 11). In short, this environmentalist culture resonated with her experience of neighbourly Bridgeviewer culture – potlucks, commitment to shared goals, and all.

Kelly was not alone in this regard. She introduced Mark to "Sylvia" – one of the few Bridgeviewers who was born and raised in the neighbourhood, and returned to raise her son there – who, in turn, introduced him to "Betsy," who had lived in the neighbourhood for some 18 years (FW 11). These three women brought together other residents to oppose the freeway, and formed the core of the Bridgeview Action Group (BAC) – a retrofitting of the Bridgeview in Motion (BIM) committee formed under the rubric of the Action for Neighbourhood Change traced in the previous chapter.

In order to take action, however, group members seemed to Mark to need to be convinced that they could actually stop the freeway from being constructed. He screened the video *Some People Have to Suffer* (the NFB film about the fight for sewers) at a couple of community events to show Bridgeviewers their legacy of effective collective action. In doing so, I would suggest, he was manufacturing a history of activist culture in the neighbourhood in order to enculturate residents into it. Furthermore, he connected similar actions with the regional legacy of success in stopping freeway construction – as in the Strathcona neighbourhood where residents and activists had managed to stop construction even after it had begun, leaving a freeway viaduct hanging (chapter one). Inspired thus, residents started to become confident that they really could stop the SFPR, which means to say, that they really could be effective activists. Then it was just a matter of getting the anti-freeway message out there. The question was, how?

One of the Bridgeview Action Group's first projects was a video talk back to Premier Gordon Campbell (in the style of a speakers' corner). Despite their initial reluctance, with encouragement (or pressure, one might say) from Mark, the residents offered a range of compelling reasons that the freeway should not be constructed. A child spoke of premier Gordon Campbell's broken promises, a woman of neighbourhood destruction, and a man of environmental impacts. Although "the product" uploaded to YouTube might be seen as "silly," Mark insisted that it was closer to the ideal of the public voicing their concerns than the SFPR traffic management consultation. Some of the group's other actions were intentionally silly, such as "Freeway Come and the Snowmen Go."



Figure 13: *Snow people protest* (Keenan 31 Dec 2008)

Members of the Snow people who have been a presence in the South Fraser region of the Lower Mainland and North America for longer than recorded history, demonstrated on Boxing Day at the site of a temporary truck scale used

> by the contractors for the sand trucks dumping pre-load in preparation for construction of the South Fraser Freeway by erecting a symbolic snow barricade across the scale.
> "This Freeway may mean the end of us" indicated the spokesperson Mr. Snowman " since it promotes climate change by increasing Greenhouse Gas Emissions from vehicles. We have grave concerns about our future existence and think we could ultimately be facing extinction. Even the Polar ice caps are melting in our traditional homelands the Arctic Regions."
> The spokesperson pointed out that there were not representatives of the endangered species and displaced wildlife present at the demonstration because the ones not killed outright with the clear cutting of the trees and habitat destruction were frantically scrambling to find new homes and food sources in face of the relentless onslaught of the Freeway". (Keenan 31 Dec 2008)

In addition to such playful ways of connecting what was happening in the neighbourhood with global climate change, there were more serious initiatives. For example, action group members gave the NDP MLA for the area, Bruce Ralston, a tour of the SFPR alignment in and around Bridgeview, to give him a lived appreciation for the homes and trees that would be lost, as well as the school and streams that would be negatively impacted. Using a similar tactic the summer before, the BC Liberal MLA for more southerly Surrey and Minister of Transportation, Kevin Falcon – who apparently took credit for having ushered in the provincial Gateway Program – had given journalists tours (in his gas guzzling Pathfinder SUV) of the congestion leading up to bridges connecting Surrey to the rest of the region (Montgomery Jun 2006). Both environmentalists and Minister Falcon touted this lived experience of the place as effective for getting their message across.

In addition to undertaking myriad anti-SFPR actions in Bridgeview (of which I have offered but a few examples), the BAC often worked in collaboration with others. Similar action groups were formed in adjacent neighbourhoods, as well as in the municipality of Delta. The residents of Bolivar Heights were perceived as a bit uppity,

because they only reached out to Bridgeviewers when they wanted something (*e.g.* a delegation to go to council). Much closer communication developed with residents down the shore in Sunbury, and in Delta.

Different models of organizing these various groups were considered. Becoming local WC^2 branches would have involved taking on additional environmental campaigns (*e.g.* Safeguarding Wildlife). Joining the already established Gateway 40 Network (initiated by a so-called "farmland activist" it grew from the Fraser Valley Conservation Coalition, to the Gateway 25 Network, with 25 members, and has now grown to a membership of over 30), would have burdened the group with the common association of the Gateway with the twinning of Port Mann Bridge. Hence members opted for an *affinity group* model of networking. Based on the shared issue of the SFPR and ecological message (*i.e.* climate change), these action groups were able to come together in a non-hierarchical structure (with WC^2 playing a supportive role), using consensus-based decision-making. One of the early actions of this South Fraser Action Network was to plant trees with a tree farmer whose property the SFPR was slated to cut through, thereby highlighting that in spite of all the talk about the Gateway creating jobs, it would also destroy jobs (Stop The Pave 3 May 2009) – which was in line with WC^2's emphasis on green jobs (*e.g.* transit creating 21.4 jobs as compared with 4.5 in petroleum and 7.5 in automotive, for every one million dollars spent; Western Canada Wilderness Committee Spring 2008).

Expressed by concerned residents in various places across South Fraser, the ecological message could be more effectively communicated to the wider public through the affinity group model than through WC^2 and perhaps even the Gateway 40 network,

because apparently passionate environmentalists come in second only to politicians as people whom the public does not trust (SFPR 2). This understanding also changed the way that WC^2 communicated its own messages; their newsletter, for instance, has come to feature short experiences given by local residents, from a fire fighter who is losing his house, to a stay-at-home mom and small-business owner who was concerned about how cars threaten the safety of her children, to a fourth year college student who struggles to get to classes because of poor transit (Western Canada Wilderness Committee Spring 2008). On Mark's estimation, by providing the infrastructure and support system for community-based action – *e.g.* producing slick signage, and training residents how to get the climate change message out there – the WC^2 was able to achieve ten to twenty times what the organization had the capacity to do itself.

But as Mark was well aware, he was working at cross-purposes with himself, because in addition to trying to get the climate change message out as the healthy communities campaigner, he was the communications person trying to get the WC^2 brand out. People have to buy into the WC brand in order for the organization to continue to have operating funds, so that it can continue to do the support work involved in getting the message out (SFPR 2). So at the same time as doing skill development with Bridgeview residents, he initiated a communications audit of WC – identifying the best times to send things to the press, sending out one email a day from the organization (rather than having multiple emails going out from various campaigners, staff, and volunteers) and putting the rest in a blog, and so on. Difficult as it has been to get people who have been working there a long time on board this more strategic communications approach, they are seeing how effective it is, and so now press releases are a standing

item on the meeting agenda. Furthermore, he is facilitating the re-branding of WC Canada (SFPR 2).

After the video talk-back action, a trusted local journalist was invited to a Bridgeview Action Committee meeting to hear about their work, take a photo and interview members, which led to favourable coverage in the local paper. Television journalists were similarly in tow at a bus and boat tour of the entire SFPR alignment organized by the South Fraser Action Network on Nov 20th, 2009 (FW 3). In the course of undertaking actions, Mark trained BAC members how to do media work. This included teaching them how to write press releases that can be printed "as is" (and tend to be considering how little time is afforded for investigative journalism these days), and how to use Facebook to connect with politicians, potential allies, and others. By adding Mayor Diane Watts as a Facebook friend and making comments about Surrey, for instance, Mark was able to elicit a direct response from her in a "correct the facts" manner – a kind of response that had not been provoked by Bridgeview activists' "day to day" work, despite all their actions.

Betsy's online reflections on an action can help us appreciate the extent to which getting the anti-gateway and climate change message out became a key gauge actions' success, as well as the range of media skills she developed in order to do so:

> Small numbers, with just a couple of us showing up, but some large awareness raising. The notices out on facebook and by e-mail got some attention, with some regrets coming in and well wishing from other event planners. I invited people to send in e-mails or phone even if they couldn't show up and at least one person reported back doing so. I had a radio interview with Imtiaz Poptat of CO-OP radio and we are planning to send out a post event media release.
>
> It was fun and we got the message out. (Keenan 31 Dec 2008)

So intent on getting the message out did Betsy become, that she decided to run as a candidate in the federal, municipal, and provincial elections – an idea that had struck her while making signs for an anti-Gateway rally. With some tips from Mark about how to get nominated for the Green Party (drawing on his experience running for the party provincially and municipally, in Vancouver), she managed to get in under the wire. At all-candidates meetings, some accused her of being a single-issue candidate – known for saying things like "I don't want your trucking freeway, I want a fruckin treeway!" – but she had an uncanny capacity to connect just about any issue or person to SFPR, and so she was certainly not constrained by one issue. In speaking with residents of the affluent Panorama Ridge neighbourhood, for instance, she said: "when I was coming up here I wasn't sure how I was going to talk with you. But coming up here this is what I noticed…" a huge highway, no streetlights, and no sidewalks, "and so it seems like we have more in common than I thought!" (BV 5) Apparently the residents loved it. And that connection was taken as an invitation for her to talk about her vision of sustainable development.

Betsy's vision includes "Transit First," *e.g.* redirecting the funds from the Gateway Project to "transit expansion" as a way to reduce emissions in the fight against global climate change (Keenan 31 Dec 2008). This was in line with the alternative vision advocated by Mark (and many other activists): "If we're really trying to make the kind of changes that are needed to build a sustainable economy in the future we should be investing in renewable energy infrastructure, we should be investing in public transit… according to a poll by the David Suzuki Foundation, 60 per cent of people south of the Fraser would prefer to see their investment go into transit rather than highways" (Surrey

Now 15 Jan 2009). Significantly, while lobbying against the freeway, anti-SFPR activists shared Gateway proponents' intention of sustainable economic growth, and the need for transportation. Or again, environmental and economic activists largely differed on the technicalities of implementing a consensus on urban planning.

By emphasizing transit, activists were also advocating for a certain form of urban development. Whereas the SFPR would increase industrialization pressures in Bridgeview, it would also enable residential and other development to sprawl further down the road; and so congestion would likely return as a problem for the transportation industry and with people driving yet further to and from work etc. emissions would increase. By contrast, Bridgeview's prime transit location (*i.e.* right next to a skytrain station) could be better harnessed by increasing the density and mix of uses (Lamontagne and Lalonde 15 Dec 2008). The increased population of residents and workers would not need to drive elsewhere to do and get so many things. Unlikely as such redevelopment of Bridgeview might seem, it is in line with the liveable region logic (if not plan, which as mentioned earlier had long included the SFPR).

Even when Betsy was campaigning to get the anti-freeway message out, more direct anti-SFPR actions took priority. Perhaps most significant of these was an around-the-clock blockade preventing a demolition crew from leveling the "nail house" – *i.e.* the last house standing in the way of clearing the ground for the freeway to cut through Bridgeview. The blockade had started out as a day of action in solidarity with people fighting against coal burning in the United States. If constructed, the SFPR would facilitate the flow of more automobile traffic, and so, like coal-burning plants, would increase CO_2 emissions that are thought to contribute to climate change. It was this

bigger ecological picture that the Action Network drew attention to by connecting these seemingly disparate actions (*e.g.* one of the activists describing the SFPR as a "climate crime" because it is part of increasing global warming emissions; Doherty 10 Oct 2010).

Some of the anti-freeway activists from the eastside of Vancouver wanted to occupy the house, but assurance had been given to the one-time owner by the Bridgeview Action Committee that activists would stay away from it. He was a neighbour, who had lived in the house for some 54 years, after all. But this assurance is somewhat surprising given that he asserted that Bridgeview ought to become fully industrial – which is not merely a matter of opinion, considering that he is currently selling properties in the newly consolidated industrial park on the east side of the neighbourhood (BV 8). He did not hold out for expropriation on the basis of attachment to either the house or the neighbourhood. As a real estate agent, he knew that he would be in a better bargaining position under expropriation, which comes with certain rights. So whereas many of his neighbours were pressured into selling on the negotiating team's conditions of sale, he presumably cut a better deal for his house. Despite his willingness to sell the neighbourhood out to industry, as a lifelong resident he still had friends in Bridgeview who were willing to fight on his side (Read "Bridgeview and contestation. 2000s.").

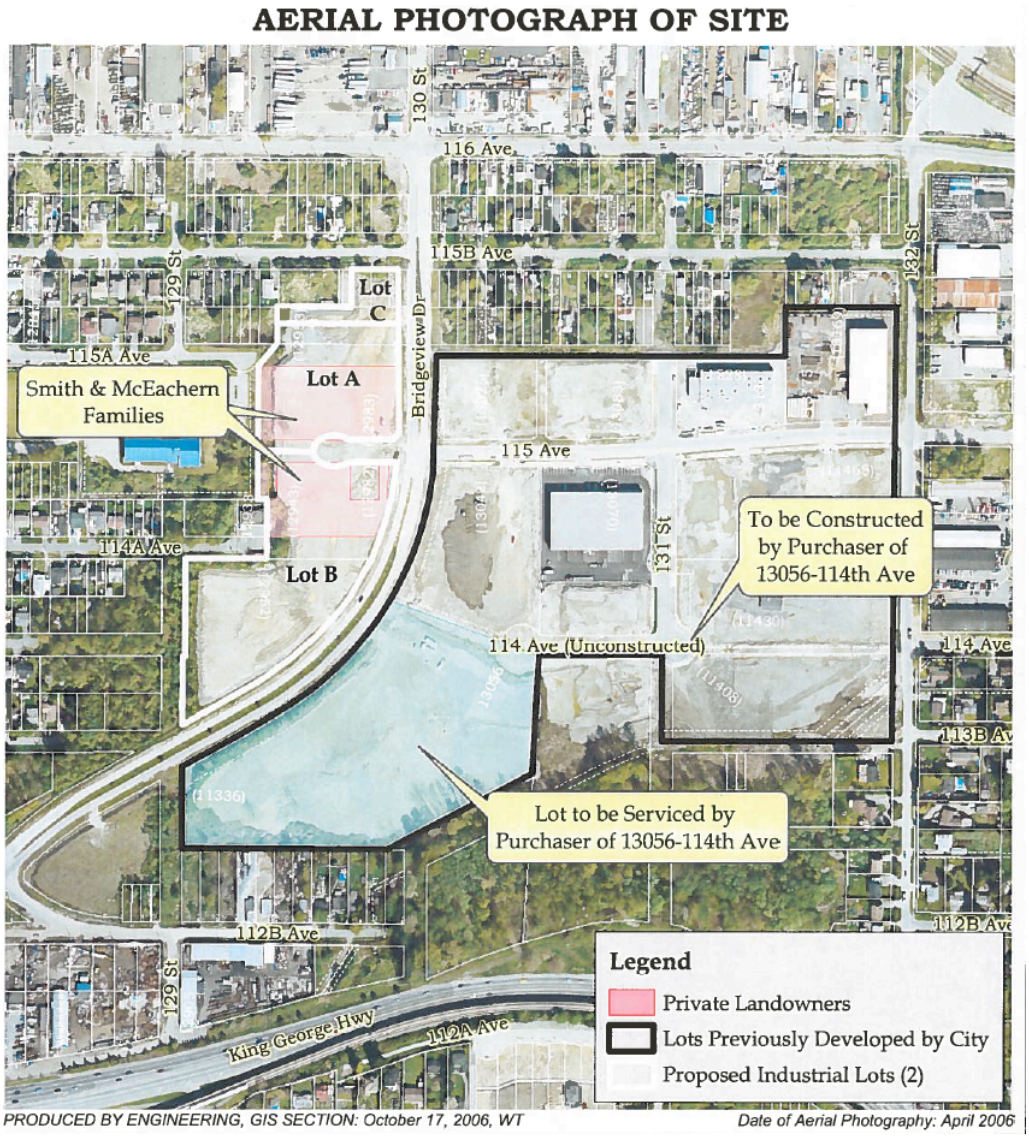


Figure 14: *Industrial Park Consolidation* (City of Surrey)

Symbolic as the eventual demolition of the nail house was, the Bridgeview Action Committee was not deterred. A guerrilla garden was planted in the path of the freeway as preload began to be dumped in the neighbourhood (which won an honourable mention from the Suzuki Foundation). Additionally, hundreds of sandbags were filled with preload, which were first used to shore up the dyke to protect Bridgeview against the rising water levels that increased emissions from the SFPR would contribute to, and then used to block the front door to the provincial cabinet building in Vancouver (South Fraser

Action Network 26 Jun 2012). With the memory of the viaduct hanging in Vancouver, it did not seem too late.

Some encouragement that the SFPR might actually be stopped came in Spring 2011, with two Aboriginal people suing the government for knowingly working to pave over Aboriginal grave sites and artifacts (CTV News Vancouver 19 Jul 2011; which I will examine further in the next subsection); and TransLink cancelling the North Fraser Perimeter Road portion of the Gateway Project (due in part to fierce resident opposition and in part to the municipality voting it down; Doherty 20 May 2011). Environmentalists established a Protection Camp on the route where construction was meant to be happening, but the SFPR continued nonetheless, albeit at a slower pace than anticipated.

From the above analysis, it should be clear that economic and environmental activists have significant differences of opinion. While the former are pushing through the SFPR, the latter would have the project abandoned; and while economic activists envision a region whose ports and railways are threaded together with wide ribbons of freeways, environmental activists envision a region in which the need for freeways is greatly reduced by public transit and higher density housing, as well as improved railway systems for transporting goods. But as I will demonstrate, they seem to agree on the needs, means and intentions of planning, which suggests that such differences are more technical than substantive.

Economic, environmental, and lest we forget social sustainability was the intention upon and with which the Gateway Council's vision of Greater Vancouver was articulated in *Transportation for liveable communities in a global economy* (Greater

Vancouver Gateway Council May 2007). And it was precisely in those terms that the WC^2 took issue with the project, as articulated on its website: "The Gateway Project is a plan to expand Canada's trade with the Asia Pacific region in fundamentally *un-sustainable* ways… to facilitate the import of more disposable goods from the Asia Pacific and export of more of B.C.'s non-renewable resources" (Western Canada Wilderness Committee 2011). In assuming that we ought to plan for sustainability, these activists actually share the same intention as the Gateway proponents – albeit with an emphasis on the environment, rather than the economy. Although sustainability was not a term used much by WC^2 in this campaign, sustainability continues to inform the organization (Appendix D).

Significantly, environmental activists did not challenge capitalism as the means of delivering on sustainable development. As Mark mentioned, he was happy to have luxury items such as a smart phone for communication, even though he had concerns about the production and distribution processes. But this is not to suggest that these environmentalists' simply embraced capitalism. Reflecting on his own political economy, Mark allied himself with C.B. Macpherson in calling for the "democratization of the workforce" (SFPR 1) – which would involve providing the conditions under which workers might actually be free to choose their work, to be "independent producers" of a sort (Macpherson 1962 [1953]). Significantly, critiques of Macpherson's thought suggest that it is not Marxist enough (*e.g.* lacking "a *theory* of transition to the fully human, classless society he prescribes"; Svacek 1976, 418); and he himself described his project as trying: "to work out a revision of liberal-democratic theory, a revision which clearly owes a good deal to Marx, in the hope of making that theory more democratic while

rescuing that valuable part of the liberal tradition which is submerged when liberalism is identified with capitalist market relations" (Macpherson 1976, 423). Whether or not one accepts Macpherson's rebuttal that it is actually in the spirit of Marx not to foreclose possibilities for that transformation (*e.g.* by prescribing revolution; Macpherson 1976, 424), his in-between position made him a target for liberals (*e.g.* Minogue 1976, 377-394) and Marxists alike.

I do not mean to deny the existence of ecological movements that might take stronger anti-capitalist stances (*e.g.* Bookchin 2007/06), but rather to highlight that in this instance there seems to have been a consensus on capitalism as the means of delivering on the need for transportation, even if a more democratized version of it.

Radical as activists' assessment of the Gateway and call for improved transit might seem to those in other regions, it is important to keep in mind that many urban planners in Greater Vancouver were saying much the same thing. As put by the director of the City Program at Simon Fraser University, Gordon Price:

> These through-roads that are meant to serve goods-movement capacity [under Gateway], they will become the main streets of suburbia. They will be congested. They will continue to frustrate the shippers who thought they were going to get access to additional asphalt for the purpose of getting through the region – unless, of course, you designate all those new lanes for trucks only. And if you are going to do that, you had better tell the people in the suburbs that those highways will not get them to work faster. (As quoted by Montgomery Jun 2006)

According to the Bombardier Chair in Sustainable Urban Transportation at UBC's School of Community and Regional Planning, Larry Frank, and his students, in order to facilitate the flow of what was anticipated to be a tsunami of containers from Asia (read: China), what is called for is rail that would connect directly with ports and carry containers to a "multi-modal terminal" in places like Kamloops or Prince George where

the goods could be sorted on cheaper land and shipped onwards to their destinations across the continent (as quoted in Montgomery Jun 2006). Meanwhile, congestion in the Lower Mainland could be relieved by improving transit and instituting tolls on bridges. This emphasis on transit is consonant with what had been laid out in the *Livable Region Strategic Plan* for decades, on the livable community logic outlined in chapter one. Perhaps what is more surprising, then, is that provincial support was forthcoming for a group of lobbyists in which the transportation industry played a key role (as exemplified, perhaps, by the SFPR), rather than for a stronger iteration of a liveable regional plan (with even more support for rail and transit).

As noted, transportation is treated as key to urban planning because it informs land-use patterns. While the Gateway Council advocated for a Transportation Management Strategy that would inform land-use plans, WC^2 laid out the choice in this way: "Ultimately, government can either plan for car-dependent sprawl or it can plan for healthy communities. Transit planning is inextricably linked to land use planning" (Western Canada Wilderness Committee Spring 2008). In either case, transportation is seen as informing the pattern of urban growth, and so transportation planning is seen as the appropriate way of influencing that pattern**.** By providing the infrastructure to move goods and people around in as efficient a manner as possible – whether by freeway or rail – there would be less interruption in the naturalistic growth of the economy or the environment respectively. To emphasize, both assume that we do our best when we stay out of the way of this growth.

Given the seeming consensus on the needs, means and intentions of urban planning, the global civil city would seem to be upon us. Activists in each of these

movements are able to describe their work using the terms of the other: the Gateway Council describes how freeways reduce emissions from trucks, and WC^2 campaigners describe how healthy communities contribute to thriving economies. To some extent, this may be a matter of co-opting one another's language, but it may be the case that the language of the other works so well for both movements because they are fundamentally on the same page.

So environmental activists' optimism about the possibility of stopping the SFPR was very realistic. Given the resonance between their ideas and existing regional plans (that built on past successes in stopping freeway construction in the region), their failure in this situation may have had a lot to do with the milieu. In contrast to the socially-minded milieu of the 1970s (including the proliferation of social movements, and a progressive federal government), following on the recession of 2008 the milieu in which environmentalists and Bridgeviewers challenged the SFPR was largely focused on the bottom line. Constructing transportation infrastructure was part of broader attempts to stimulate job creation and spending in Canada (*e.g.* Flaherty 29 Mar 2012, Annex 2, 258-356). Absent wider cultural and political supports, environmentalists were not able to stop the SFPR from being rolled out despite tapping into a broad seeming consensus on the needs, means and intentions of urban planning.

The successes of the WC^2 campaign can be measured otherwise. For example, one of the Bridgeview Action Committee members, Sylvia, found it increasingly difficult to reconcile her growing commitment to ecological values with her work at a trucking company in the neighbourhood (which was a drag for other reasons as well; BV 7). So she was thrilled to take a position that opened up at the Burn's Bog Society. Now there is

greater consonance between her values and work. She is heralded as a key success of WC^2 work in the neighbourhood, as someone who now raises climate change awareness by delivering the ecological message through her daily life (SFPR 2). Furthermore, her job is precisely the kind of recognition of residents' participation that had been expected of but not delivered by the Action for Neighbourhood Change initiative traced in the previous chapter. As dramatic as Sylvia's conversion was in terms of her everyday life, the vitality of the anti-SFPR movement, and the running of the Burn's Bog Society, significantly, it did not affect the overall drive for economic development, and nor was it meant to. The intention of sustainability includes economic, environmental and social "pillars," after all.

The South Fraser Action Group (*i.e.* the affinity group supported by WC^2) worked with and stood alongside a couple of indigenous activists (*e.g.* by inviting an elder to participate in and speak at the SFPR bus and boat tour in 2009), who were opposing the SFPR for a number of reasons that I will explore in the following subsection. For now, it is enough to note that having lived on the land for thousands of years "without destroying the functioning ecosystem on which they depended" lends indigenous people with significant ethical authority vis-à-vis environmentalists, in addition to legal claims to the land under issue (*e.g.* in the campaign to protect Clayoquot Sound; Shaw 2007, 377); but at the same time as wanting and needing their support, environmentalists in the province have struggled with indigenous people's different investments in economic development and resource management, for instance.

In the case of the SFPR, however, I am interested in how indigenous claims were moved by a sense of responsibility not only to future generations (which informs

ecologically sustainable ways of living, among other things), but also to generations that have come before. This sensibility, which one might call spiritual, exceeded environmentalists' and others' civil intentions, but in the end this holistic commitment to relations did not prevent SFPR construction. Nonetheless, recognizing indigenous resurgence suggests that struggles among cultural movements persist, which means that the global city may be vital after all.

(iii) Indigenous cultural movements' impacts on SFPR construction

The construction of the SFPR was affected by two separate attempts by Aboriginal people to protect ancestral burial grounds. While one site was directly along the SFPR alignment, the other was on the other side of the river, the acquisition of which involved compensation for traditional territory along the SFPR route. In both instances, claims to tradition are bound up with but exceed the civil intention of sustainability. To emphasize, I do not claim to speak to or about indigenous people's beliefs or ways of living as such; the following analysis is based on media reports because my interest is in the ways that indigenous activism was seen as interfering with SFPR construction, and on what bases.

A couple of weeks after environmentalists established the South Fraser Protection Camp (which functioned as a blockade) along the SFPR alignment west of Bridgeview, in May 2011, Bertha Williams of the Tsawwassen First Nation and William Burnstick of the Cree and Sioux Nations launched a civil suit against the BC government (or more specifically, against the Minister of Transportation and Infrastructure, the Minister of the Environment, and the Minister of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations) for

knowingly violating its own BC Heritage Conservation Act, which states: "No one is to damage, excavate, dig in, desecrate or alter a burial place... or a site that contains artifacts... or other physical evidence of human habitation or use before 1846." (Section 13-2; Gillis 21 Jul 2011). The SFPR was slated to run through the old Glenrose Cannery site – with undisturbed archaeological deposits from three distinct cultural periods, dating back some 8,000-10,000 years, making it one of the most significant sites in the province – as well as the neighbouring St. Mungo site – an Aboriginal burial ground (Vancouver Sun 24 Apr 2008). According to a leaked provincial government report, entitled "South Fraser Perimeter Road Archeological Assessment," the government had been warned about the disturbances to these sites by its own archaeologists.

But more than heritage conservation was at issue. In Bertha Williams' words: "my heart bleeds for the ancestors… I am also here for the future, today, this is my daughter… I'm here because of her future and the next generations to come" (as quoted in, Doherty 26 May 2011). Razing a burial ground to make way for a freeway would have disrupted her ancestors' resting place, and by extension her and future generations' connections to that land; it would have breached respect for relations that are fundamental to indigenous ways of living. So while the logic of sustainability is focused primarily on the generations to come, here we can begin to appreciate that such care is but one dimension of a broader and deeper commitment to honour one's relations.

Lawyer Jay Straith was retained to seek an injunction to stop SFPR construction, as work was underway to demolish the old cannery and excavate the site, but after a number of delays in the court hearing during the fall (Kerr 29 Aug 2011; Kerr 21 Oct 2011), the case largely fell off the radar. As of the summer of 2012, the province had not

been served (BC Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure Aug 2012, 5), and no decision seems to have been made on the case as of the summer of 2013 (based on a search of the court's findings). The Tsawwassen First Nation (TFN) had publicly distanced itself from the court case (Kerr 1 Sep 2011), and while Williams and Burnstick were fighting the SFPR, the TFN was negotiating with the BC government. This was not the first time that Williams had been working at odds with the TFN band council.

Bertha Williams, has long worked to defend what she describes as "Aboriginal rights to our traditional territory and waters" (Williams 23 Jul 2007). In addition to fighting the paving over of traditional territory, Williams was also "an outspoken critic of the Tsawwassen treaty" – which included replacing Aboriginal title "in which land belonged to families" with a modified form of fee simple (which means that title is registered with the Land Title and Survey Authority of BC, and the TFN can sell land titles to other TFN members or lease it to non-members for up to 99 years), taxation powers (under which members could lose title if they were not able to pay taxes). Furthermore, she took issue with the process by which such stripping of Aboriginal title was being facilitated, including cash incentives for elders in particular to vote for the treaty ($15,000 after ratification), and no minimum proportion of members required to vote for ratification. She went to Geneva, Switzerland, to file a protest about the BC treaty process with the United Nations, and although the chair of the UN Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination requested that the Canadian government respond to the complaints, the treaty was signed in Dec 2006 (Gyarmati 24 Aug 2012). A couple of patterns or tendencies of her political engagement can be drawn from these actions.

Committed to honouring (or at least struggling to honour) what she understands as Indigenous relations of and to the land (whether through protecting sacred burial sites or collective 'ownership'), Williams has worked with a member of another Indigenous community (*e.g.* Arthur Manuel from the Neskonlith Indian Band) on the TFN treaty. So in both cases she was part of forming Indigenous networks that cut across territories to make political interventions – which fits the urban form of networked authority sketched in the previous section – but rather than a civil intention, this Indigenous movement is informed by a sense of tradition that is living and lived. Thus, rather than an abstract ethic, there is a complex weaving of practices and stories that are continually re-created to make sense of what might be a respectful way of responding to particular challenges in particular places.

While distancing itself from Williams' formal activism, the TFN government also expressed concerns about the freeway that were not initially well addressed – a point that received significant media coverage. But as might be expected of what has been heralded as "a major player in the Lower Mainland" because of some very significant development plans (Gyarmati 24 Aug 2012), the TFN eventually established a cooperative relationship with the province. In the words of TFN lands and natural resource manager Andrew Bak: "It [Glenrose Cannery]'s a tremendously large and complex site of great antiquity and we wanted to make sure we had a hand in mitigating any potential impacts on the site, and we've had some great cooperation from the province." This is in line with the Ministry of Transportation spokeswoman's assertion that in the five years since the leaked report was written, archeological work has "informed the alignment of the SFPR to avoid the further degradation of the site and almost entirely avoids intact deposits." The re-alignments did

not, however, add up to anything near as significant as the proposed "Hoover-Naas route" – which would have used an existing rail right-of-way. Instead, "mitigation" measures included archaeological work preceding construction work, to locate and protect important artifacts; and an "accidental discovery protocol" to be followed in the event that unanticipated artifacts or human remains might be hit upon during construction. Thus the science of archaeology was put in the service of protecting inheritances of various sorts.

Furthermore, according to Bak: "We went one step further during our treaty negotiations to make sure that the site would be given all the protection it's entitled to under the existing provincial legislation by asking the province of B.C. to designate it as a provincial heritage site, and they've done that." The Ministry of Transportation is working with the TFN, the Musqueam, and a handful of other indigenous peoples to develop a site management plan – which no one has been commenting on publicly. Presumably a plaque and small park of some sort will signal the heritage designation to passersby. To emphasize, while acknowledging Tsawwassen heritage, the province was not made to work on kinship-based terms, preferring instead those of science; and in reverse, while leveraging available political processes and designations for protection, the TFN did not fix the meaning of the site for Tsawwassen people whose ancestors lay there. Whether the TFN's work within the bounds of Canadian government institutions can be understood in terms of Indigenous resurgence is not a question for me to engage with, but I cannot help but hear echoes of the Kwantlen being "persuaded" to have their ancestors who had been 'buried' in trees carted in two or three large cedar boxes and "hauled to the burial ground on the Kwantlen reserve". In any case, Williams has been

explicit about her commitment to that resurgence and refusal to settle for mitigation measures. On that count, her approach has been more in line with the position of those struggling on the north side of the Fraser.

The Musqueam there seem to have been fairly united in opposing construction that would disturb a burial ground, which as will become clearer would also affect SFPR construction. In the winter of 2012, prior to the construction of a condo development that was already 80% sold, archaeologists discovered the intact remains of an adult and two infants, believed to be ancestors of the Musqueam. This was just the most recent in a long history of archaeological excavations gone wrong; between 1884-1933 three excavations landed Musqueam ancestors' "remains" in museums, where some were burned up in a fire and yet others even thrown in the trash. This discovery was not all that surprising, considering that the site – known as the Marpole Midden to archaeologists, and c̓əsnaʔəm to the Musqueam – was once home to a Coast Salish winter village, and had been designated as a Canadian heritage site in 1933. That this designation did not provide protection against the permitting of the condo development in the first place could be taken as a cautionary note to the Tsawwassen about the limited or at least shifting commitment of Canadian governments to heritage.

The developer applied for permission to remove the remains that had been discovered, and in response the Musqueam launched a major protest in March. Construction was halted for four weeks (aside from that agreed to by the Musqueam, such as building demolitions). Negotiations during this time did not deliver on an agreement, however, and so the developer went back to work in April. On May 3, 2012, over 100 Musqueam people and supporters marched to c̓əsnaʔəm to "demonstrate

commitment to the appropriate and respectful care of our ancestors and to demand action" including repeal of the development permit (Musqueam Indian Band 2012). An around the clock (24 hours, 7 days a week) protest vigil was established in front of the site (Sarra 31 May 2012). Capping off the month's protest vigil was a blockade of the nearby Arthur Laing Bridge – which connects Sea Island and Vancouver International Airport with the Mainland, through Marpole. Support for the actions came from obvious sources, such as the Assembly of First Nations and the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, as well as from progressive Vancouver Mayor Gregor Robertson who participated in a drum circle with protesters, in addition to signing a petition alongside Vision Councilor Andrea Reimer. The Musqueam, like Williams et al, were not satisfied with mitigation measures. Nothing short of leaving the remains and artifacts undisturbed, and the conversion of the site into a public interpretive park would do.

More than just blockades, those protests were a sacred matter. In the words of Musqueam spokesperson Cecilia Point: "In our culture, we return to the earth, it's our ancestors final resting place, we don't want them to be disturbed" (Sarra 31 May 2012). Or again, as put by Grand Chief Stewart Phillip from the Union of BC Indian Chiefs: "Protecting the sacred burial sites of our ancestors is the most fundamental responsibility that we have to those who have gone before us" (Sarra 31 May 2012). Or yet again, as put by a Mayan woman who joined the protest and was made an honorary Musqueam member, Maudilla Lopez: "We recognize the richness of our cultures, the strength of our ancestors… With those, we're able to have the strength to protect our rights, and defend our rights" (Pablo 18 Jun 2012). To emphasize, in these descriptions of Indigenous ways of living, the land is not simply material; it is animated by spirit that connects all things,

including the dead to the living. One who accepts responsibility in and to these relations is never free from them, and it is perhaps that deep commitment that has enabled indigenous peoples to live in a responsible way.

One of the strategies used by Musqueam protestors was to try to posit respect for ancestors as a universal value. For example, some of the protest placards read: "Respect our ancestors as you would your own." Or as put by one protestor: "We're staying until we get our land back. First Nations' grave sites do not get the same respect that other people's gravesites get. This piece of land needs to be protected and we've promised our ancestors we will" (Sarra 31 May 2012). While Settler plots in cemeteries certainly seem to be governed by stricter guidelines vis-à-vis development as compared with Aboriginal burial grounds, the assumption that this says something about the sacredness of ancestors in Settler culture may be a stretch. Settlers are buried in cemeteries whose plots are clearly mapped out and purchased in perpetuity, whereas the burial grounds of Aboriginal people have neither been surveyed nor entitled within the private property system. So one might suggest that the differential treatment of ancestral sites is informed by the rationality governing private property. Excavation of unplanned Aboriginal burial grounds makes possible the inclusion of those grounds in the private property system on the logic of the market. Significantly, even Settler burial grounds can be excavated and relocated to make way for valuable projects (*e.g.* the St. Lawrence Seaway Project flooded the land where eighteen cemeteries were located; St. Lawrence Valley Cemetery). Development within an urban capitalist milieu is meant to be free, which is checked in some measure by the intention of sustainability, but its concern with future seems rather disconnected from previous generations.

Even though the province did not necessarily share the Musqueam concern for ancestors and the land, it eventually gave into the protests. The development permit expired and in September the BC Ministry of Lands and Forests said the permit would not be extended. Thus, the Musqueam were afforded political space to acquire the site. Initially the band had recommended a complex land swap involving the condo development team, the BC government, and the City of Vancouver. But in mid-June, the BC government offered the band $4.8 million for traditional Musqueam lands that had been used for the SFPR (Howell 14 Jun 2012). Combined with a deal on property related to skytrain development, and a condo development, the band was able to amass the funds required to buy the c̓əsnaʔəm site. In other words, the site was to become properly integrated into the property system, and so the Musqueam were 'free' to restore ancestral remains to their "original condition" within it (however haphazard it might seem as compared with neatly plotted Settler cemeteries).

So, in part, the protection of this burial site was conditional upon compensation for Musqueam territory used for the SFPR – which ran partially through a Tsawwassen burial site. But in both cases, an arrangement with Canadian government officials was reached that certain Aboriginal movements saw as demonstrating responsibility to their ancestors – whether through achieving heritage designation status for the bulk of the Cannery site, or by acquiring and preserving the c̓əsnaʔəm site. This difference highlights that both are interpretations of Indigenous ways of living, which as noted earlier, are not static. I certainly do not mean to suggest that one is more "traditional" or respectful than the other; such struggles over the living history of tradition are for those who are in and of those ways of living to negotiate. Furthermore, the analysis in this

subsection has suggested that while the settlements seem to have been reached in terms consonant with the global city (namely with rational scientific protocol or private property settlements), they have not been fully absorbed by it. Instead, these terms seem to have been used strategically to afford for the honouring of relations that cut across past, present and future.

Indigenous actions relating to the SFPR were rooted in a sense of being collectively in "relations of reciprocity" with one another and the land (Coulthard 5 Nov 2013). One might try to capture some Indigenous thought with the logic of sustainability, *e.g.* by focusing on ideas such as living in ways that consider seven generations, but indigeneity would seem to exceed that logic. For example, in addition to celebrating survival and acknowledging loss and pain, influential Kanawake scholar Taiaiake Alfred draws attention to Indigenous peoples' *responsibilities* to ancestors – which is to invoke traditional forms of power and organization (Alfred 1999). Here respect is a matter of doing *justice* in and through relationships in and of a particular place, as opposed to avoiding interfering with other individuals' freedom to do things in his/her own way in private.

To emphasize, this is not to undercut Indigenous claims to "self-determination," especially vis-à-vis the colonial state; rather, it is to draw attention to the multiple modes of government arising from particular traditions. Alfred's call for Indigenous leadership in a movement to gain respect for Indigenous people seems to have been realized in some ways by recent Idle No More actions – which make claims to and for legislation that recognizes and enable effective Indigenous self-determination. However articulated, as

for example in Williams' legal action and Musqueam blockades, Indigenous movements pose a fundamental challenge to the totalitarian impulses of the global city.

Perhaps because of that challenge Aboriginal peoples find themselves the target of would-be allies from environmental and other progressive cultural movements. But absent responsibility in and to relations, ensuing alliances tend to form networks within which activists with a clear sense of purpose try to mobilize 'locals,' to get them to buy into a project, or get them on message, or otherwise achieve certain purposes – as was the case vis-à-vis Bridgeviewers and the SFPR. Once the campaign winds down, these allies tend to move on to other fronts in the struggles among cultural movements (*e.g.* for environmental sustainability). While this makes sense in terms of abstracted ethical intentions, it makes little sense in ways of living that are kinship or tradition-based.

Similarly exceeding cultural movements with expressed intentions, Bridgeviewers got involved in anti-SFPR actions for many different reasons. Bridgeview Action Committee members, for instance, were moved by a desire for an engaged sociality, gainful employment, and care for neighbourhood children. While these seem to have been compatible with and contributed to the environmental movement, they were not entirely captured by it. Bridgeviewers such as Betsy were able to connect what was happening in the neighbourhood with global climate change (as demonstrated in the previous sub-section), but Betsy, for instance, was notoriously difficult to keep "on message" because she was attentive to a wider range of impacts that the freeway cutting through the neighbourhood would have, *e.g.* loss of many so-called "old-timers," and the health of children.

I do not mean to overemphasize the similarities between Indigenous people and Bridgeviewers – who are settlers, after all. I only mean to highlight the similar way that they tend to be approached by those with global schemes or within globalizing movements: as 'locals' to be mobilized. In the following chapter I will more fully explore Bridgeviewer ways of living and their relations to Indigenous people of that place. But first I will linger to reflect on the analyses here.

The global city that has been taking shape in this section involves struggles among cultural movements, the most prominent of which seem to have arrived at a disturbing consensus on the needs, means and intentions of urban planning (*c.f.* Magnusson's discussion of the similarities of liberalism and urbanism; 2011). This implies a totalitarian technocracy is emerging through struggles between economic and environmental movements over the Gateway, for instance. This does not, however, mean to suggest that the entire global city has become totalitarian thus. Assuming that the global city consists of struggles among cultural movements, it appears to have *different intensities* and *dynamics* in particular places at particular times. While I suspect that given the prominence of economic and environmental movements in most of the global north and much of the Global South, a similar consensus might be found in many other places, I can only speak to what was happening in Metro Vancouver vis-à-vis the Gateway. There, apparent struggles seem to have functioned as technical negotiations over transportation infrastructure plans, as part of a shared commitment to planning for sustainability.

In practical terms, both economic and environmentalist movements can be seen as having pursued sustainability through networked forms of authority that cut across conventional geographical scales, informed by multiple rationalities (Magnusson 2011, 5). Whether it be the affinity group model adopted by/for the South Fraser Action Network, or the more formal board organizational model of the Gateway Council, these networks brought various working groups together for practical purposes (*i.e.* to fight the SFPR and to pursue the Gateway vision; Magnusson 2011, 19). Once those purposes are served, these networks may wither or may be put to new purposes, as the Bridgeview in Motion committee was for anti-SFPR actions, for example. The same could be said about the constituent working groups – understood as networks themselves. In addition to such tightly knit networks, some are loosely woven. The relation between Panorama Ridge and Bridgeview that Betsy established, for example, was based on her observations of the neighbourhoods' similar physical geographies; but while residents up there had a lived experience of the problems of neighbouring a freeway, their commitment to fighting the SFPR was generally thin. Nonetheless, many such thin relations could play a key role in constructing a network.

Significantly, then, cultural movements (as constitutive of the city) can be understood as producing "[p]*olitical* authorities, in the sense of authorities that have the capacity to regulate and deploy violence, as well as articulate and enforce rules of conduct, [which] emerge for many different reasons" (Magnusson 2011, 19). This more expansive understanding of the political recognizes not only the "legitimate" violence of the state (concentrated in police and military forces, and evident in the demolition of houses to make way for the freeway), but also the "'non-legitimate' domination" of the

market (Weber as cited in, Magnusson 2011, 19). While the tendency is to assume that the latter "is insufficient practically as well as morally," as seems to have been the case with the blockade of the nail house, for example, legitimate domination necessarily adapts to the movements it is meant to regulate, and is often exceeded by those movements (Magnusson 2011, 17-8).

This complex urban politics is never fully transcended by an ethical plan or informed by one single cultural movement, as illustrated by the interventions of Indigenous movements. My aim is to challenge the tendency (including my own) to highlight consensuses on Ideas, especially intentions – which describe the ethical bases of politics (on "ethico-politics" see, Rose 1999, 195-6). Focusing on what should be distracts us from the possibilities here – in the struggles among cultural movements – that can be amplified. The shift from studying the man with The Plan to cultural movements will have been rendered nugatory if a well-intentioned plan continues to be derived from those movements. The promise of the global city is that we can struggle for ways of living together that we can be more proud of, perhaps.

Conclusion

As I hope to have shown in the course of this chapter, Le Corbusier's work was not so totalitarian as it has been made out to be by Jacobs and her followers. They have tended to take his performative claims too seriously, as though he was actually the planner of the global civil city. Thought thus, what comes into view are attempts to impose Ideas about the needs, means and intentions of urban planning – as in the Gateway Program's attempt to mobilize and enhance the province's centralized planning

authority. When we indulge such rational abstractions, it can even seem as though movements struggling with one another (*e.g.* economic and environmental activists over the SFPR) are actually working as part of one grand global scheme. There is a certain allure to such analyses. In addition to being relatively neat, they relieve us of responsibility for engaging in politics. The presumption is that technical details are being worked out by those in the know, and the rest of us will benefit from their work whether we realize it or not.

According to this iteration of the myth of the civil city, those in the know have been educated in the civil intentions (as well as attendant needs and means) of urban planning, and have the technical expertise required to deliver on those intentions. If we take the Gateway Project on its own terms, for instance, it is not so much that it stood in for the residents of the Lower Mainland (as in chapter one), or considered their interests (as in chapter two), so much as it was moved by an *ethical* intention of sustainability – an Idea of what is right for the economy, environment and people in the region and globally, simultaneously. Between people's sense of things and elites', a gap can open up in all three of these modes of representation, but the ethical mode provides a justification for overriding that gap.

What I have added to the usual analyses of Le Corbusier's global civil city is recognition that with growing consensus on the needs, means and intentions of urban planning, there would be no need to impose plans from on high. Each locality would have its own planning agencies (as sketched in The Plan), and would generate plans in accordance with those broader Ideas. Whereas Scott assumed that Le Corbusier was reliant upon state authority to impose his vision, taking localities seriously as key sites for

realizing cosmopolis suggests a very different approach than that taken by environmental activists in opposition to the SFPR, for example. The planning of the SFPR was initiated in Surrey decades before the Gateway program picked it up, and so by the time consultations about the project became serious, it was largely a done deal.

Intervening in the project would have been much easier in these early planning phases at the municipality, and since 1999 such preemptive capacity building has been provided in the province by Smart Growth BC – one of the many organizations that WC^2 is in a "partnership" with on its Healthy Communities priority (*e.g.* Western Canada Wilderness Committee 2009, 8). In addition to providing toolkits to assist municipalities in achieving more environmentally and otherwise sustainable development (*e.g.* outlining over a hundred land use policies and programs), Smart Growth BC provides advice and workshops to community groups to "enhance their own capacity to effectively engage in land use and development processes" (Smart Growth BC). Such capacity building may have enabled Bridgeviewers (among others along the alignment) to not only challenge the freeway project, but also to secure a land use plan for more liveable neighbourhoods.

As Smart Growth BC is well aware, however, having plans or policies on the books is not sufficient because development processes may not adhere to those plans. In the case of the SFPR, for instance, the Livable Region plan was informed by Smart Growth principles and yet came to include the SFPR – a project that will likely facilitate sprawl, and will certainly facilitate the flow of more gas guzzling traffic. So even with building capacity for more sustainable development, there would seem to be an ongoing need for activist organizations such as WC^2 to fight projects that get pushed through.

But the analysis in this chapter suggests that the differences between economic and environmental activists are not as significant as they might appear. Both seem to agree on the need for transportation planning within a global capitalist market, while intending toward sustainability; and furthermore, they proceed "as if" that consensus has been achieved, struggling largely over the technicalities of urban planning. Such consensus was but a dream for Le Corbusier, who struggled against tradition, but there was at least a sense of justice in the shared intention of social equity. Both the modernist and arts and crafts movements proposed that social equity would enable freedom (specifically a positive freedom of the will, expressed through leisure and work respectively). To emphasize, even traditionalists associated with a ruralesque way of living seem to have prized freedom, which challenges conventional distinctions between urban and rural ways of living by implying that the rural is urban (as I will pursue further in the next chapter).

By contrast, the currently pervasive intention of sustainability is concerned with the survival/health of systems (*e.g.* economic, environmental, social). Both agree that the global economic/environmental (and social) milieu is largely out of our control because the relations through which it arises are so complex we cannot get our heads around them; thus, despite being of our making, our milieu is presumed to be something of a 'natural' system. The following chapter will examine such naturalizing further, but for now suffice it to say that it leads to a focus on how to sustain that context and navigate within it (both physically and otherwise), and on educating people on the primacy of planning in doing so. Thus, it obscures the urban character of the seemingly dominant cultural movement (for planning with the intention of sustainability, need for

transportation and means of communication). Since in economic and ecological thought our actions impact global systems, they are of our making in significant ways, and so would be better understood as of the city rather than of nature. And again, we have no access to those systems from outside our particular cultural milieu. Ironically, then, ethico-politics no longer seems to be committed to justice. Injustices such as tearing a neighbourhood apart (literally), making less affluent children sick from air pollution, and trying to capture residents' concerns in one's own message, can all be justified in terms of benefits to a naturalized system.

Many movements remain committed to social equity (*e.g.* feminist, anti-poverty) but their claims seem to have less traction than they once did. One explanation for this decline is "the death of the social" – meaning that "the social is no longer a key zone, target and objective of strategies of government" – and the rise of community as a key political space (Rose 1999, 167-96). Bridgeviewers' mistrust of political institutions is not articulated in social terms (*e.g.* in the 1970s as immigrants, or today as people with lower incomes), and the persistent drive to turn the neighbourhood over to industrial activity seems to have been primarily informed by the costs and benefits of development (as opposed to government policy). Furthermore, residents of the neighbourhood tend to be uncomfortable identifying themselves and one another in social terms (chapter two).

Building on "the death of the social" analyses' focus on relations that exceed the bounds of state/society, I propose becoming attentive to what the diversity of cultural movements struggling in and over the global city means. Some movements may be struggling for the freedom of individuals or systems, while others involve giving oneself over to a higher power or committing to a community. Given the increasing influence of

cultural movements such as Evangelical Christianity, Islamism and Indigeneity, for instance, taking these movements seriously is crucial to understanding contemporary global urban politics. By expanding our understanding of the city beyond the notion of freedom from tradition, the global city appears to consist of encounters between different cultural movements, which struggle over forming their interconnected milieus. As I will explore in the next chapter, such encounters have a much longer history than is generally recognized.

The minimal assumption, that we are always already informed by and play a part in forming our environments, may provide a more functional basis for reinvigorating drives for justice. Whereas ethical and material approaches to justice both focus on drawing out broad principles that can apply across cases (*e.g.* regarding conservation and redistribution respectively), when grounded in struggles among cultural movements, the question of what is just must be negotiated among those impacted by a problem somehow. Bridgeviewers have a strong sense of justice in particular situations – as evidenced by their higher-than-usual "collective efficacy" and willingness to intervene in children's struggles (chapter one). So to admit the death of the social is not to leave behind questions of justice; to the contrary, it is to open up space for articulating justice in more specific terms. The increasing acceptance and use of "restorative justice" (*e.g.* Roach 2000, 249-280) and "healing circles" (*e.g.* Baskin 2005), suggests that this shift toward more nuanced negotiations of what is just is happening.

In sum, Le Corbusier seems to have been more concerned with questions of justice than his more contemporary detractors, and furthermore, the global city in which he actually engaged was politicized and politicizing. He burdened everyone with

responsibility for struggling to make our milieus in some way or another. By contrast, Jacobs' seemingly progressive approach to the city presumes a consensus on the capitalist economy as our shared milieu, and by treating that economy as a natural system, largely brackets questions of justice in favour of those such as "growth." In the following chapter I will trace her iteration of the global city, and highlight some of the pernicious impacts of ecological thinking on the likes of Bridgeviewers.

Chapter 4

"Post-Darwin": From evolution to history

We seem to have gotten ahead of ourselves, informed by the civil city mythology. Apparently we like to think we've already realized *this* street neighbourhood with civil codes, within *this* engaged civil society, informed by the ethical intentions of *this* global civil city; and having left behind *that* private community, with *that* authoritarian vision, within *that* traditional milieu, respectively. In previous chapters I have tried to demonstrate the pernicious implications of accepting the distinctions that underpin this presumed improvement (*i.e.* private/public, centre/margins, and Ideas/materiality). Rather than dismissing the urban romance that seems to move the embrace of civil city myths, I have taken that romance seriously by delving into those myths and drawing attention to messiness that cuts across categories (*i.e.* domestic violence, visual abstraction, totalitarian technocratic processes) and highlighted concepts therein that can be used to establish a less pernicious point of reference for studying the places where we live. In other words, I have tried to de-civilize civil city mythology in order to craft an urban mythology that consists of self-government, practical knowledge and commitments, and the jockeying among cultural movements. In this, the final substantive chapter of this dissertation, I turn to an analysis of the impulse from *that* to *this*, the automatic seeming shift implicit in myths about how cities have become civil.

My suggestion is that our political imaginations have become limited by evolutionary explanations of change, from *that* to *this*, in much the same way that the European imagination was limited by creationism through the Dark Ages and into the early 19th century. Churches were the obvious propagators of creation stories, but the

question of how something could be made out of nothing pervaded the Christian European milieu. In the mid-17th century, political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes, were concerned with how civil society could have been created out of a pre-social "state of nature." Towards the end of that century, an iteration of that creation story was published anonymously, with a sense of continuous progress through time. *The Two Treatises of Government* would eventually be attributed to John Locke, and would feature large in the imaginations of those fomenting the American Revolution a century later (and through the American national imaginary, those fighting for urban revitalization a century following that, as noted in chapter one). Locke and other scholars working in England were quite constrained by the Anglican church (as were those working in Italy under the Catholic church). Not surprisingly, evolutionary ideas seem to have been most actively developed where such institutional constraints were less strongly felt. Eighteenth century Scotland was one of these places, as was France, and scholars in both places were in conversation with one another.

In what follows I will first trace two influential evolutionary theories of how we have changed from *that* to *this*: a stages theory developed by Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, whose automatic-seeming progress from one stage to another has become something of a straw man for progressives; and Jane Jacobs' "post-Darwin" theory of evolution that applies his notion of "natural selection" to human environments, which I suggest has come to dominate common sense in Canada (and well beyond). Her application of the Darwinian logic of change seems progressive because it embraces Indigenous ways of living, such as that of the Qayqayt and others who gathered in the area now known as Bridgeview as urban (rather than dismissing Them as barbaric). All

peoples, then, have always already been urban, and so too civil. But as I will trace in the second section, by positing the economy as the ecological system fundamental to human relations, Jacobs reinscribed the distinction between urban places that have innovative economies, and dependent rural places and economies (including those of indigenous peoples that were unable to adapt to more complex economies). Urban places could compete by innovating, whereas rural places were consigned to whatever role they served for urban centres.

To emphasize, the global urbanism implicit in Jacobs' conception of change in and through the economy consists of a network of cities with vital economies and the rural areas that serve and depend on them – which is in line with conventional conceptions of global cities (*e.g.* Sassen 1991). While abstract intentions of social equity hold promise of redressing hierarchies of cities and people (which would be welcome indeed), as noted in the previous chapter, they do not necessarily deliver on justice – which must be negotiated in particular milieus. The injustices we face in the places where we live are not only produced by economic inequalities. A truck park, for instance, was a problem for many Bridgeviewers because of the way transport trucks shake the ground, kick up dust, speed along roads without sidewalks, and so on. As I will trace in this chapter, Bridgeviewers appeared for a moment to have been successful in fighting against the truck park (which was deemed illegal because unpermitted by the municipality). Government was working in the way that Jacobs had observed: getting in the way of growth (read: evolution) in and through the capitalist market.

Surrey council would eventually permit the truck park, however, and so come to appear as though it were facilitating growth by supporting new economic activity. But

while the truck park was certainly a new use for that particular plot of land, it was hardly an *innovation* (of the sort Jacobs associated with urban economies); rather, it *imitated* other such businesses that served a demand for truck parking generated by vital urban centers. Yet again a myth of the civil city makes Bridgeview appear backwards, in this instance, as having a dependent rural economy. Furthermore, the residents' hold in the neighbourhood is cast as an "old" economic use that is interfering with growth through "new" economic activity (in this case truck parking associated with industrial activity).

But in the third section of this chapter I will undo the innovation/imitation distinction that informs the rural/urban one, by highlighting the re-creation that cuts across the categories. Jacobs, like Le Corbusier, conceived of creativity as putting (already existing) things together differently. While "creativity" is the term they used, given its baggage (not least of which being the creationist notion that something can be made out of nothing), I will use the more accurate (if also awkward) term "re-creation" to describe the activity of putting things together differently. This capacity is not limited to central cities, and so as I will demonstrate, even places like Bridgeview appear to be urban. As with other urban places described by Jacobs, different uses mix in the neighbourhood, but in this case that mixing includes industrial activities. So while taking Bridgeview's rural sensibility seriously, I characterize its overall culture as "ruralesque urban."

While re-creation is compatible with Jacobs' Darwinian story of urban primacy, and surely plays a role in informing our ways of living together, change is not entirely of our making. In the third section of this chapter I will develop a "*post*-Darwin" approach that is informed by scientific discoveries that exceed Darwin's theory of evolution.

Highly complex aquatic fossils from the Cambrian Era in BC's Burgess Shale, for instance, demonstrate that complex forms can emerge and disappear for no good reason, but because of historical contingencies. For example, some residents' problem with the truck park appears to have had more to do with its coincidence with freeway construction, than with the incursion of industrial activity. While this historical approach does not provide us with general prescriptions (such as a formula for planning), or processes (such as visioning), or ethics (such as sustainability), it does provide us with a methodological attentiveness to contingency and change.

While perhaps more obvious in Bridgeview than elsewhere, my suggestion is that we have always already had a ruralesque urban way of living, in which complexity erupts in often unpredictable ways. Whereas the myth of civilization (as the process of human evolution in and through cities) implies that Bridgeviewers' hold in the neighbourhood is stagnating, their surprising persistence can be seen as a function of effectively leveraging historical contingencies – such as environmentalists' recent attention to whatever neighbourhoods or places might be affected by Gateway freeway construction, for instance – to protect and foster ruralesque urban ways of living together.

At the same time as denigrating (chapter one), marginalizing (chapter two), and imposing upon (chapter three) Bridgeview in creating spaces of freedom, the civil city mythology also fosters a romantic gaze upon it (among other places relegated to the surviving spaces of tradition) for those ties that bind in a good way. Thus even while claiming to have moved beyond intimate neighbourly relations, for instance, urbanites up the hill often look fondly upon the "sense of community" down there (*e.g.* POL 1). Accepting our ruralesque urban inheritances, this analysis will suggest that we are always

already responsible to our relations, in all their ever-changing complexity. Thus the key question is not growth (Leo and Anderson 2006, 169-189), so much as justice. Preoccupation with freedom gets in the way of meaningful conversations about justice (by leading us to believe that what affords the greatest freedom for individuals and/or collectives is most just); what is just in a struggle in a particular set of relations may involve constraints or impositions on some or all those involved.

(1) Civil city myth: Civilization as human evolution in and through cities

(i) Stages theories of evolution: The Scottish Enlightenment

Critical of "the desire" evident in creationism, "of laying the foundation of a favourite system, or a fond expectation, perhaps, that we may be able to penetrate the secrets of nature, to the very source of existence" (Ferguson 1789, 2), Scottish Enlightenment thinkers based their analyses on observations of what was going on around them. The assumption was that whatever natural processes one could observe now must have been operative previously. This *principle of uniformity* informed a theory of rock formations proposed by James Hutton – an agriculturalist turned geologist who was actively involved in the Scottish Enlightenment. With fossils of seashells turning up at the top of hills, for instance, he assumed that seashells must have always been deposited in the ground in the same way that they are today, on the ocean floor. Hence, he theorized that the layers of the earth must have been stratum formed at different times under conditions corresponding to what was found in each stratum (in contrast to then popular theories of spontaneous creation; Hutton 1960 [1788]). This approach to

interpreting the past, as though it developed through similar processes as those we see in the present, was used to make sense of the social as well as the natural world.

Among Scottish Enlightenment thinkers a "stages" theory of history was developed through various sites. Of particular interest in relation to this dissertation, is Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, which was published in 1767. As opposed to theorists who imagined the creation of civil society out of a state of nature (in which people acted nasty or nice, but in either case, independently from one another), by agreeing to a "social contract," Ferguson argued that people are always already social, and so the practical question was how a civil *form* of society comes to replace a rude one. In sketching rude nations, he referenced his colleague David Hume's *History of England* with its analysis of the barbaric Irish (Hume 1975 [1754-62]]), but he drew more heavily on studies of societies in "the temperate climates" – such as the Six Nations in America. Following Montesquieu (*e.g.* Montesquieu 1989 [1748]), who was writing in Paris, another sanctuary of intellectual activity in Europe at the time, Ferguson attributed the character of societies to different "situations" (understood in terms of climate and geography), but to this he added the particular "genius of the people" (*e.g.* for battle or commerce, or some combination of the two). In "the temperate climates" Ferguson saw people who are both nasty *and* nice, but who are governed more by passions than by principles. Presuming that this rude state roughly describes where all societies begin, in order to trace the transition to civil society, he shifted attention to the barbarians of Europe. To emphasize, Ferguson assumed that the barbaric cultures of today must operate in roughly the same way as did those of yesterday.

While acknowledging the key role thought to have been played by the creation of a legal system, Ferguson's story drew attention to the myriad *practices* through which civil government evolved. For example: "The model of government was taken from that of a military subordination, and a fief was the temporary pay of an officer proportioned to his rank. There was a class of people destined to military service, another to labour, and to cultivate lands for the benefit of their masters" (with reference to Dr. Robertson's *History of Scotland*, b.1; Ferguson 1789, 131). Thus the movement of history on Ferguson's telling, just as on Hume's, was not only to be found in that which took place on high – *e.g.* princes establishing their leadership through alliances in the context of "domestic war" and trying to maintain that leadership by reducing competition from among the nobility by raising peasants, who through the mechanisms of representation were sometimes able to "establish the government of law" (Ferguson 1789, 131). More importantly, that movement was to be found in everyday contexts, dispositions and practices – such as the habit of perpetual subordination through which nobility and peasants alike became accustomed to a condition of living in civil society (*c.f.* Hume 1975 [1754-62]]).

(ii) From wild to settled Bridgeview

Conventional histories of Surrey assume that the city has been settled, and so the founders of the city are depicted as settlers (Johal 2007, 179-205). As the old colonial story goes, "pioneers" brought civilization to a place – *e.g.* by "cut[ting] a path through the virgin forest" – of a place that had been occupied by a barbaric "race of Man" with a subsistence economy that did not reach far into the forests where malevolent spirits were

thought to have lived (Pearson 1960 [1958], 2). In trying to decolonize Canadian history, *i.e.* to leave British colonists' egregious erasures of Aboriginal peoples behind, some local histories begin with an introduction to so-called "First Nations." History upon history shelved at the Surrey archives, begins with a sketch of the wild lands and people who once inhabited this place, and moves quickly on to details of settlement efforts (Read "Bridgeview and Settlement. 1860s."). Even those that recognize "that before the coming of the white man the Indians were a well regulated, peace loving and virtuous people, far from being squalid and miserable" (Professor Charles Hill-Tout as referenced in, Pearson 1960 [1958], 4), blame the decline of indigenous peoples (from some 100,000 people in the 1800s to about a tenth of that by 1910) on them, or more accurately, their "alcoholism and its attendant evils", or prior to that, on "acts of nature" such as "the Great Flood" "rather than by the genocidal effect from contact with the white man" followed by smallpox (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 4-5).

The consideration given to Aboriginal peoples is largely unconnected to the following explanations of settlement, however. Implicitly, then, there remains a break between civil settlements and the preceding barbarism. By contrast with the cursory treatment given to Aboriginal peoples, fantastically mundane details are offered about settlers' lives, as we will soon see, which contribute to the impression of the area as part of the wild west or a civil settlement. In terms of stages, then, as the old colonial story goes, first there were wild lands used by barbaric Aboriginal peoples, then there was the wild west animated by somewhat barbaric non-Aboriginal peoples, and then there was the west settled by properly civil people. In this section I will trace the improvement from the wild west to civil settlement.

Tales of sailors who jumped ship and hunkered down in the area, persist; and in the face of land nearly devoid of critters, yarns of over-zealous trappers are spun (Pearson 1960 [1958], 12). But it was the Cariboo gold rush of 1858 that brought thousands of would-be diggers and criminals (mostly American) into the area (Pearson 1960 [1958], 4).

In the midst of this rush, the colony of British Columbia was formed, and the capital city was shifted from Fort Langley (just east of the area now known as Bridgeview) to the freshly laid out New Westminster across the river (Treleaven 1978, 9-12). Most of those rushing to (or more accurately, *through*) the area were coming from America, sailing into Victoria where they would get permits and gear before making their way up the river – thus "[d]evelopment passed Surrey by in all the informal ways (gold rushers etc.)" (Treleaven 1978, 9-12).

The most direct connection between America and New Westminster, however, was by the Semiahmoo Trail – which began at present-day Bridgeview, and extended southwards to the border (which was drawn in 1846). Apparently that trail had been beaten over thousands of years by the Semiahmoo people, while retreating from their shoreline village just north of the border when war parties from further north descended (*e.g.* Haida), or while going fishing on the Stahlo river. Thus "engineers came, put a road in from Semiahmoo Bay (now White Rock) to Langley" (Treleaven 1978, 9-12). Since the road facilitated trade and communication to the south, apparently it also became known in New Westminster as the exit strategy for men shooed away or wanted by the police (where "he hit the Semiahmoo trail" meant that he had fled south of the border; Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 15). Where it touched the riverside at present-day

Bridgeview became the first so-called "settlements" in Surrey (although Hall's Prairie had been surveyed in 1859).

The very same survey that established the Indian reserve in the area now known as Bridgeview-South Westminster, laid out 13 additional lots that were "pre-empted" in February 1861. The logic of pre-emption was "settle now, survey and pay later" (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 21). All one had to do to "pre-empt" land was to plant a post at one corner and give a description of the land to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works (Treleaven 1978, 9-12). The idea was that pre-emptors' contribution was made through improving the land. Thus pre-emption (like homesteading) is a colonial administrative system that was meant to enable "men of small means" to work towards owning land (*i.e.* holding title) and to establish civil settlements. In Surrey, these "poor" men tended to take work at HBC farms in Langley, flour and feed mills, and later the saw mill and salmon cannery in New Westminster (Treleaven 1978, 9-12), so as to be able to pay the annual dollar per acre pre-emption fee (among other things). Through such work, but more significantly by improving the land, pre-emptors themselves were supposed to have been improved upon (read: civilized; *c.f.* Li 2007, 9-12).

In the area now called Bridgeview and South Westminster, however, the pre-emptors were 12 professional men who were established in New Westminster or Victoria (*e.g.* as an architect, treasurer of the colony, or with the Church of England; Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 21; Pearson 1960 [1958], 23). One of these men, Ebenezer Brown, a wine and spirit merchant of New Westminster, pre-empted two adjacent lots (No. 3 & 4) and established Brown's Landing, which included a dock, hotel, and bar; issuing a retail liquor license for Brown's landing was among the first things the Corporation of Surrey

did upon its formation (according to the minutes of the meetings printed in the *Mainland Guardian,* that is; Pearson 1960 [1958], 23).

The entire area would come to be named after this hub, as Brownsville (by 1884 this name was used in municipal minutes). It consisted primarily of hotels, livery stables, and stores catering to transient populations, fishermen on the Fraser, and the Indians (Pearson 1960 [1958], 21). Settlement was thus a verb, a practice of improving land by intensifying the economic activity that took place on it. Just beyond the reach of law enforcement in New Westminster, bootlegging and gambling, among other nefarious activities would flourish in the area (See Bridgeview and investment. 1880s.).

Settlers tend to be depicted as "courageous settlers," pioneering individuals who came from the east (Bruce county ON largely, but also Nova Scotia etc.) of North America, England, some from Ireland, and a small handful from Germany and Nordic countries, and invested in making Surrey into the kind of place that civilized folks would want to stay (Whiteside 1974). This influx of "pioneers who were to form the backbone of Surrey" started to arrive in large enough numbers to maintain law and order around 1870, but law and order was necessarily backed by force. Wars against Indians had been waged, and vagabonds were tried or chased out of the area. Apparently guns were part of normal attire, as noted in a description of the first church service just up the hill at Elgin in 1875: "But even then, they had to have their guns within easy reach, even when attending a Christian service, as was the case of the first one held at Elgin in 1875, when everyone from near and far carried a gun" (Pearson 1960 [1958], 26). So committed were those settlers, that even the heavy earthquakes of 1872 did not send them running.

Tales of the heroic efforts required to tame the area abound. For example, in much of the region the trees were so big (200+ feet by 5 feet was not uncommon) that it could take a whole year to remove just one or two of them; hence, there were often upwards of seven or eight preemptors on one plot of land before someone had cleared enough land to actually grow the crops required to generate an income sufficient to pay the annual pre-emption fee (Treleaven 1978, 53). Nothing so massive as those trees could take root in the boggy land of present-day Bridgeview, which could go some way in explaining why this particular area made such a convenient place to begin settlement. Although I have not seen it noted that the land came ready to throw up a shelter, that would seem to be an implication of the boggy geography.

Successful as those preemptors apparently were in clearing land for cultivation and crowding out Aboriginal peoples and vagabonds, by the end of the 1870s, there were less than 35 white people living in Surrey, and there was not yet a school, post office, or railway. Given that there were few white women among the bunch, men who managed to clear their pre-emptions and build cabins would often seek an Aboriginal wife, and failing that, many would abandon their claims. Most of the chiefs' daughters were married to white men, and apparently their descendants have boasted of royal heritage. Surrey's "whitest woman" was said to have been an "Indian princess" from the Fraser Canyon, whose pioneer home became a popular rendezvous for people in the area (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 22). While her difference continued to be marked by the assertion of her whiteness – an "invisible norm" that need not be noted for those who are recognizably white (whatever their skin colour might be:Andersen 2003, 24-5) – civil settlement was not only available to, but also created by, those who were both willing and

able to perform civility. While celebrated in and by settler histories, assimilation is a mode of ongoing efforts at "cultural genocide" (Kimelman 1985).

The few visibly white women in Surrey tended to suffer upon their arrival from Eastern Canada and Britain where they were used to sociality that was lacking in homes that were not even connected to the outside world by roads. But apparently neighbours would eventually come around, and women learned to take care of themselves and their families. As legend has it, in the early 1880s one pioneer woman, called only "Mrs. Johnston," living with her family and a few cows on property owned by Mr. Brown saved her husband from drowning in the river. He had been making his way back from taking milk to the market in New Westminster, when the bottom of his skiff was ripped off between two large ice floes. While men on shore stood agape, she ran past them, jumped in a boat and pushed off between the big floes, and smashed smaller ones with a heavy fisherman's club, until she finally reached her husband – who by then had given up hope of being saved (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 22).

Far less exciting are the more common, mundane ways that early settlers made themselves at home. Brownsville, for instance, became home to a school in 1891, in addition to its "Indian chapel" (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 22). By the 1890s, Reeve Thrift was writing "that every lot available for settlement through the district traversed by these roads is occupied, that the settlers are on the whole a very intelligent class they are all or very nearly all registered voters, and… are friendly to the Govt" (Reeves of Surrey). By the following decade, "the days of pre-emptors and homesteaders were over: land was for sale" (Treleaven 1978, 54); and curiously, non-landowners paid a total of $7

per year in taxes, which was more than many landowners. Ownership had its privileges, and they seem to have been guarded against "men of small means."

By 1915 there was a church and a two-room schoolhouse just up the hill from Brownsville, but it was not keeping pace with some of the more than a dozen other villages in the municipality. Surrey Centre emerged as the new hub, and Cloverdale (down by the border) boasted an Odd Fellows' hall, a resident physician, a Bank of Montreal, a Court House, and an office of the Municipal Clerk and Collector. Thanks to a short-lived "Edwardian building boom" there were even "residential parks" here and there (anticipating post-war American suburban developments), which were taken as markers of development to come. Apparently the Board of Trade went so far as to claim that Semiahmoo Bay would become "the Naples of BC" (Anonymous1887).

So in Bridgeview – as, I suspect, with many settler neighbourhoods – there are two key stories about how the process of civilization proceeds: (1) through settlers' *displacement* of barbaric peoples who are associated with the wildness of a mythical past; and (2) through *working the land*, settlers themselves became more disciplined, came to appreciate the fruits of their labours and thereby became more civil. These two stories are intertwined; in either case, each stage in the improvement from barbaric to civil has its own space. In this story of human evolution as progressive narrative, time itself is spatialized, one might say, given that it is "laid out chronologically, a linear time, defined by a succession of instants" (Ricoeur 2002, 37).

(iii) Jacobs' "post-Darwin" ecological thought

Although the stages theory of evolution has been debunked (not least of all by Darwin himself, as we will soon see), the organic growth of cities has long been observed

as the radial expansion outward from the city core. The Chicago School marked that growth by successive patterns of urban development – stages, if you will – and that pattern of the city spilling outward continues to inform common sense assumptions about the physical geography of suburbs, as sprawling low density developments (*c.f.* Young, Burke Wood, and Keil 2011). Furthermore, the stages theory continues to inform our common sense assumption that cities are civil, and so through the virtually inevitable process of urbanization civility comes to triumph over the barbarism of rural life (as traced in the introduction).

Jacobs herself presumed the evolution of American society from rural to urban stages, in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Informed by Jacobs' myth of the civil city (as well as her nemesis's), much effort has gone into trying to facilitate development from *that* rural barbarism to *this* urban civility – whether by planning for diversity, community action, or sustainability. She relied on this common sense notion of urbanization in part because her attention was focused on the then immediate threat to the survival of cities posed by urban renewal programs. But in her second book, Jacobs took aim at the stages theory of evolution.

Having effectively exposed the simplifying and totalitarian ideas underpinning urban renewal programs, and defended Greenwich Village from urban renewal, in *The Economy of Cities* Jacobs pulled back to consider "why some cities grow and why others stagnate and decay," or as she rephrased it, "to develop a theory of city economic growth" (Jacobs 1969, 3). In this slide from city growth to city *economic* growth, Jacobs partially answered her research question in advance: cities grow because their economies

grow. More concerning than the stages theories of urban growth for her, therefore, was the stages theory of economic growth that underwrote it.

Jacobs targeted Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. While Ferguson's *History of Civil Society* seems to have faded, Smith's history of the progress from an Age of Hunters, to an Age of Shepherds, to an Age of Agriculture, and finally to an Age of Commerce, seems to have grown in influence – if not in letter, in the assumption that economic development culminates in "the invisible hand" of the market, and so we would do well to let it do its thing (as much as possible). Although Jacobs did not explicate the role of the city in this economic trajectory, it is clearly but a footnote to commerce.

Her first move in correcting this diminutive role was to challenge what she called "the dogma of agricultural primacy" – under which the cultivation of crops was deemed necessary in order to provide for people to live in cities (Jacobs 1969, 5). Its dogmatic status stemmed in part from having been developed in an "intellectual world" dominated by Christian creationism, according to Jacobs, in which the Garden of Eden came first. She argued that this creationist assumption led Smith to conclude that agriculture came first, that is, before cities. Furthermore, she suggested, this conclusion flew in the face of his own observations that agriculture lagged behind industry in England and seemed to thrive most closer to cities; were he not blinded by the Garden of creationism, Smith might have been able to see these signals to the crucial role of cities in agricultural development, in particular (Jacobs 1969, 44-5), and by extension, economic development in general, as I will now explain.

Breaking from "pre-Darwinian intellectual history" (Jacobs 1969, 5), Jacobs proposed a theory that is compatible with Darwin's thinking. Building on the well-

accepted notion that cities are "primary organs of cultural development," her second book aimed "to show that cities are also primary economic organs" (Jacobs 1969, 6). Using her phraseology, one might describe this notion of "urban primacy," as one that is fit within and to an "intellectual world" dominated by the Darwinian theory of natural selection. Jacobs' detractors would seem to have been on point when accusing her of "organicism." Drawing upon Darwin's theory of evolution, she provided an evolutionary explanation for the change from *that* rural barbarism to *this* urban civility. Jacobs argued that agriculture was just one among many urban inventions to be exported to the rural world. By looking to her explication of urban growth in *Economy of Cities*, I hope to show that Jacobs does not assume that the complexity of city streets will necessarily exceed the strictures of zoning, the rallying of the margins will undermine centralized authority, and the value of seeing ourselves as members of a global city will come to be widely appreciated. Improvement is not inevitable. *This* could remain but a vision.

The interaction between political and economic theories of development, and similar theories emerging in the natural sciences became thicker still following the 1803 publication of Erasmus Darwin's poem *The Origin of Society* (later called *The Temple of Nature*), and the 1859 publication of his grandson Charles' theory of natural selection, in *The Origin of Species*. The Darwins' work is the exception that proves the rule of the stagnation of intellectual life in England at the time. The supernatural simplicity and unity of spontaneous creation gradually gave way to a rational understanding of the development of social and natural forms from simple to complex, through what has become known as the "survival of the fittest." This is a shorthand for the process of "natural selection" – which involves the variation of traits (*e.g.* by mutation or

migration), the more frequent reproduction of beings with traits that are better suited to the environment, and the hereditary passing on of those traits. For example, a beetle that lives on the ground whose colour is brown, would be camouflaged and so preyed upon less than a beetle that is green, and so the brown beetle would reproduce more, passing on the brown gene; eventually there might only be brown beetles that live on the ground. With continuous variation, differential reproduction and heredity, a single species can branch off into multiple species adapted to specific environments, and in competition with other species for survival within those environments, ever more complex features can develop to adapt to those environments. Furthermore, those features could come to be used in entirely new ways. A feather, for example, might have been developed initially for warmth in a cold climate, and eventually used to direct flight. The notion that our ways of living together are informed by our environments, and that we adapt to survive (and perhaps even thrive) within those environments is complicated by the human capacity for making our environments.

In *The Economy of Cities,* Jacobs told an evolutionary tale that echoed Darwin's theory of natural selection, which explained the continual unfolding of the city through diversification, differential production and heredity. Cities make economic development possible, on her account, because they enable the mixing of different things required for new things to be created or copied. Thus cities were required for the development of all innovations, including agriculture – which is, therefore, just one among many economic activities to have been exported to the rural world. Cities came first.

Jacobs illustrated this order of things through all manner of examples in which rural work was developed in cities and then exported to the hinterland: from the fattening of

cattle on corn before slaughtering them, which originated in the city stockyards of Kansas City and Chicago and is now practiced in fattening pens that are increasingly located in rural areas; to the boom of Japanese agriculture in the post-war era, with the use of fertilizers, machinery, research, and other such advances made in cities; to the eighteenth-century agricultural revolution, which was made possible in large measure by the use of fodder crops (that "replaced nitrogen used up by grain and at the same time supported cattle"), which had been grown in urban gardens in France for nearly a century before being used in rural farming (Jacobs 1969, 7-8, 16-7). "The logical inference" that Jacobs makes "is that in prehistoric times, also, agriculture and animal husbandry arose in cities" (Jacobs 1969, 18). In order to explain this prehistoric urban primacy, she inferred the story of a city called New Obsidian on the Anatolian plateau of Turkey, allowing it "only the same economic processes that I have found operating in cities of our own and historical times" (Jacobs 1969, 19). Differently put, she applied the principle of uniformity that was used during the Scottish Enlightenment to derive the very stages theory of history – with its agricultural primacy – that she argued we ought to leave behind.

After tracing the prehistory that Jacobs inferred, I will draw attention to the Aboriginal village that becomes apparent when we use it to approach the place now known as Bridgeview, and then will go on to demonstrate how Jacobs' theory of urban economic evolution is haunted by the stages theory, which casts Bridgeview in another light entirely.

(a) New Obsidian: diversification and differentiation

New Obsidian was imagined by Jacobs as having been established around 9000 BC

as a place where obsidian – a sharp rock used to make tools for hunting that became a necessity to its users – was traded, at a distance from the volcanoes where it was sourced, which were controlled by hunting tribes. Some of those tribe members eventually settled down in New Obsidian with some of the settlement's founders, and there craftsmanship flourished, with "the opportunity to specialize" (Jacobs 1969, 20). Building on the local economy, new exports were added to obsidian (*e.g.* crafts made from obsidian, and hide bags used to carry obsidian down from sources became sought after by traders from elsewhere to transport their new goods). Later in the book, Jacobs described this basic process of development as "adding new work" to old. The formula she provided for this process was: D + A ➔ nD Where: D = division of labour; A = new activity; and nD = indeterminate number of new divisions of labour (Jacobs 1969, 57). We might call this process *innovation*, and it is the primary process of economic diversification that Jacobs observed in cities. Although she did not explicate the parallelism, innovation, like mutation in Darwin's theory of natural selection, involves a change internal to a system (in this case to a city economy).

Jacobs suggested that there are "three different processes by which organizations can first become exporters: They can add the export work to other people's *local* work. They can add the export work to different *local* work of their own. They can export their own *local* work" (Jacobs 1969, 197). Regardless, "they all depend directly on local economies" (Jacobs 1969, 198). Local must not be mistaken for simple and neat, however. The trial and error underpinning development work is necessarily inefficient, and productively so, according to Jacobs. "Development work is a messy, time- and energy-consuming business of trial, error and failure. The only certainties in it are trial

and error. Success is not a certainty. And even when the result is successful, it is often a surprise, not what was actually being sought" (Jacobs 1969, 90). Without such experimentation there would be no innovation, and so no economic diversification.

She went on to argue: "a city's exports and some of the goods and services produced locally to serve the export work act together to create an economic reciprocating system" (Jacobs 1969, 126). For example, since obsidian is sharp, it needed to be carried down from the volcanoes in hide bags, and so in order to gather more obsidian for export, more hide bags would need to be produced. So crafting hide bags, as well as collecting and preparing hides would become work unto itself to support the export of obsidian – which Jacobs described as a new "division of labour". With more obsidian being exported, there would be more goods to support the work related to hide bag production, and eventually the bags themselves would become an export product. In addition to increasing the volume of obsidian that could be exported, the gains from this new hide bag export could support new work in decorating those bags, which in addition to supporting the export of obsidian, could become a service contributing to the export of hide bags, thereby generating new divisions of labour and capacity to support the development of new work, such as obsidian sculpting. As an ecological system of sorts, if there is failure in any part of the process from trial and error, through production, to export, or the export serving work – the entire system fails (Jacobs 1969, 126).

Traders from elsewhere seeking obsidian tended to bring goods from their hunting territories (*e.g.* cattle and non-perishable seeds) to barter, while traders from New Obsidian would take obsidian to barter in other cities known for their stocks of copper, and so on, Jacobs inferred. Those other cities thereby became secondary centres of

obsidian trade, and New Obsidian became a secondary centre for copper and other trade. Thus in addition to obsidian, and supporting goods and services, the settlement provided "the service of obtaining, handling and trading goods that are brought in from outside and are destined for secondary customers who also come from outside" (Jacobs 1969, 21). In short, it provided a market.

With new things coming into the local economy, as in the introduction of new traits in an environment through "migration" in Darwin's theory of natural selection, the conditions were in place for the second process of economic diversification that Jacobs observed: *imitation*. Craftspeople elsewhere copied New Obsidian's hide bags, while craftspeople in New Obsidian copied baskets (made to carry ochre) and wooden boxes (made to carry fossil oyster shells), for example. Later in the book Jacobs described such import replacement as:

> another reciprocating system of growth, though more complex than the [export oriented] one… Its workings can be stated this way: a city builds up its imports and thus becomes capable of replacing many of them. By doing so it becomes capable of generating more exports. It thus builds up imports and becomes capable of replacing many of them. By doing so it becomes capable of generating more exports. It thus builds up imports… and so on. (Jacobs 1969, 166)

So by the time the hide bag trade declined in New Obsidian, a small export trade had developed in import replacements. No longer having to buy baskets and boxes, and with more work in making these goods (both for local consumption and export), more wealth was generated with which to acquire yet other imports – which could themselves eventually be replaced, and so on. The "explosive growth" that followed from import replacement and shifting is what Jacobs hypothesizes would have led to the formation of a city such as Catal Huyuk (Jacobs 1969, 31) – distinguished from other kinds of settlements by its "creative local economy" (Jacobs 1969, 35). In Jacobs' words: "If my

reasoning is correct, it was not agriculture then, for all its importance, that was the salient invention, or occurrence if you will, of the Neolithic Age. Rather it was the fact of sustained, interdependent, creative city economies that made possible many new kinds of work, agriculture among them" (Jacobs 1969, 36).

A brief sketch of how Jacobs inferred agricultural development in New Obsidian is called for because it involves major revision of common sense (read: stageist) understandings of evolution from rural to urban. Agriculture, on her telling, was just one of many developments added to old work. "Just as these people combined manufactured cloth with the fur clothing of huntsmen or trappers, and just as they had added hammered copper to huntsmen's materials of bone and antler, so they had added domesticated food to wild food" (Jacobs 1969, 33-4). It is no accident, she insists, that Catal Huyuk is the oldest city, as well as the site where the oldest cloth and agriculture have both been discovered. Interestingly enough, the processes that she describes are essentially those described by Darwin under the heading of "unconscious selection" in his examination of variation under domestication (Darwin 1964 [1859]).

Initially, obsidian was exchanged for wild food from hunting territories that traders could travel with – which means to say animals and hard seeds (*e.g.* beans, nuts and edible grass seeds). Local "stewards" managed these resources to ration them over time. With animals, a significant amount of selection was involved, sending the hardest to feed or the most difficult to manage (or both) to slaughter first, eventually leaving those docile animals that fed on grasses to breed with one another (Jacobs 1969, 25). Domesticating animals such as sheep and goats was not the intention, according to Jacobs, but the

unintended outcome of this process of human selection. Plant foods, on Jacobs' analysis, were later domesticated through a similarly unintentional process. Initially, seeds were all mixed together, both in storage and consumption (Jacobs 1969, 27-9). In good years, there would have been seeds left over after winter and sown in wild patches – again, not with the intention of domestication, but rather, to make gathering wild seeds more convenient. Seeds may also have been 'planted' through spillage in the area where the seeds were husked or pounded before cooking, and by little predators, like mice and birds. The upshot of this mixing of seeds was the crossing of plants in unprecedented combinations, some of which would have been observed as special in some way. This inference of the mixing of seeds in early cities seems to more convincingly explain the hybrids that have been observed than the fantastical stories that pass for science, such as: "fortuitous showers of cosmic rays created an unusual incidence of mutations among grains and thus greatly reduced the element of chance for those who might come upon them." As she rightly questions, "the trouble with relying on natural marvels is of course the question: Why did these marvels selectively transform wild grasses? Why not everything that grew?" (Jacobs 1969, 42). Jacobs' point in highlighting such stories was to emphasize the force of common sense upon our ways of thinking. Selection among various strains of crosses, mutants and hybrids in New Obsidian, would have happened when household batches had especially high yields and so had seeds left over, and these more productive seeds were traded locally in exchange for crafts.

With increases in food yields achieved through the breeding of animals and the planting of seeds, food imports to New Obsidian were eventually replaced, affording for the import of yet other things (*e.g.* hides, fibers, horn). With the explosive growth of the

city following on this and other import replacements (*e.g.* baskets and boxes), eventually agriculture itself would have been exported. Jacobs described the agricultural village that was thereby founded as "a specialized community, rather like a company town, to handle one fragment of a city's work" (Jacobs 1969, 37). This poses a challenge to Jacobs' readers, to consider the rural village as a product of the city.

In the first, then, on Jacobs' telling, there were cities trading with one another, affording the specialization and mixing required for innovation and imitation – the primary and explosive processes, respectively, by which a city economy becomes diversified. Through that diversification and trade, many cities went from producing hunting tools in exchange for food, to producing a wide range of things including food, in exchange for an even wider range of things. In short, their economies became differentiated.

Whether or not one accepts the details of Jacobs' prehistory, one of its most significant implications is that the very peoples who have been cast as the prototypical barbarians are revealed as the prototypical urbanites. If we take Jacobs' prehistory seriously, then urban life began long before colonial settlement efforts.

(iv) Qayqayt

In histories of Surrey, the area of so-called Bridgeview is said to have been a fishing camp and burial ground, the northern extension of Qayqayt (Qiqá:yt) – which roughly translates as "resting place" (The Record 6 June 2009). It was a village of "Saquayas" (slaves of a sort, who were free to go) who worked for the vital and affluent Kwantlen city on the far side of the river, called Squaimetl (upon whose footprint New

Westminster was eventually laid; Mather and McDonald 1958; Pearson 1960 [1958], 7-8). According to "Indian legend" the "level gravel bed" upon which Brownsville was eventually laid was apparently "formed by Kwantlen slaves carrying gravel in baskets from the hill above (Scott Hill). This gravel bed probably extended well above the high water mark and provided an ideal foundation for the white man's stores and hotels" (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 15). Such improvements to the land run counter to the stereotype of indigenous people as merely using the land for survival.

In Jacobs' terms, fishing and burials were functions of the Kwantlen city economy that had been exported to the rural area of Qayqayt. The other key function that Qayqayt played was as the trailhead for an escape route used by the Kwantlen and Musqueam in particular, to get to higher and more sheltered ground when so-called "war parties" came down from more northerly networks of Aboriginal cities (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 11, 19). This trail also connected these closely related Coast Salish peoples to another network of Aboriginal cities through the Semiahmoo – who are more closely related to the Samish and Lummi peoples further to the south, as well as to the Lekwammen and T'Sou:ke peoples on what is commonly known as Vancouver Island.

In 1782, decades before a face-to-face encounter with colonists, people in and around Qayqayt were hit by the smallpox virus carried over the ocean by European colonists. Thousands of Kwantlen were killed, leaving less than 200 standing. Apparently the Royal Engineers were shocked when they encountered skeletons hanging in "all" the trees along the river, which says something about the strangeness of the visibility of death for those who were accustomed to tucking it under the cover of earth,

and perhaps more significantly, the use of the term "all" says a lot about the number of dead (Pearson 1960 [1958], 8). More shocking still, is that those few who survived maintained their ways of living. Qayqayt continued to be used as a fishing camp across the river from the Royal Kwantlen city.

When Simon Fraser (after whom the river would eventually be named) and his exploration party touched down at Qayqayt in 1808, apparently they were received as "Sky People" – pale supernatural beings who could take fire into their stomachs without getting burnt (*i.e.* smoke), and had the power of thunder in a stick (*i.e.* shotguns). Awestruck as the Kwantlen supposedly were by these powers, some young warriors were more interested in knives and ropes, which they gathered from the explorers' camp over night. In the morning the Sky people kicked the young warriors for what they saw as property crime, and apparently the only thing that prevented retribution for this humiliating offense against the warriors was an intervention by the affluent Chief from across the river, which included giving his own things to warriors to take their shame away, and asserting: "If you try to kill them, more will come and they will kill us all" (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 7). Such long-term thinking has been associated with civility – as opposed to the "present-mindedness" of "backward" people (Banfield 1958) – and is an example of how the Chief planned for the future of the city.

That city Chief apparently welcomed the Sky people when they returned in 1827 to build Fort Langley just east of Qayqayt, but the Chief of Qayqayt tried to defend his rural village by sending out a fleet of war canoes. So awestruck were the 150 warriors, however, that apparently they did not respond to his calls to sink the ship (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 10).

Within three years of the ship touching down at Langley, most of the Kwantlen from the city across the river and Qayqayt had moved to the area around the Fort – where they controlled the flow of furs, salmon, and other goods that the Hudson Bay Company wanted. The Fort had become the new centre of the region. The Musqueam and Katzies also allied themselves with the Company men, so their warriors fought alongside Kwantlen warriors in 1837 when a Yuculta war party came down from the north; together they killed whatever Yuculta survived the initial volley of cannons and gunfire. Some say that this marked the beginning of an "everlasting peace", which means to say that the Yuculta and Haida ceased to send war parties into the area (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 7). With British firepower backed by Kwantlen, Musqueam and Katzie warriors, trade with HBC Forts could proceed relatively unhindered.

But this "peace" in the region came at great costs, one of which was to shift investments away from indigenous city networks toward the distant metropolis of London. So in Jacobs' terms, the Royal Kwantlen city across the river became but another rural outpost, alongside Qayqayt, both of which were ultimately dependent on creative cities of Britain.

The story I have told in this section has accepted Jacobs' reasoning that cities were formed in the first by hunting (or in this case fishing) cultures, but even so, the same old story of Bridgeview as dependent on an urban centre has simply been extended further back in time. Furthermore, even while making the royal city of Squaimetl appear as urban, Jacobs' post-Darwin theory leaves it too in the past. While noting the diverse work of "pre-agricultural men" (Jacobs 1969, 47), Jacobs also described their more

contemporary ancestors as "*primitive* people" who have lost much of their old work in the course of "contact with new goods, services and work brought in from outside" (Jacobs 1969, 69). While affording hunting and gathering peoples with more economic abilities than has been conventional, she treated them as simple. Older cities were simpler than newer cities. And while particular innovations may not necessarily be an improvement upon what came before (as suggested by stages theories), taken together, they constitute a more complex system and complexity is good in Jacobs' account. Simple forms tend not to survive competition with more complex ones.

With so many Kwantlen living in Langley, their old settlements sat virtually empty. The fishing camp at Qayqayt was established as an Indian reserve, based on the work of Surveyor General J.W. Trutch in 1859, where the foot of the Patullo Bridge would eventually touch down. It was tiny. Apparently it was thought that Indians who relied heavily on fishing did not need much land. Furthermore, only one reserve was laid out despite the claims of both the Musqueam and the Kwantlen at Fort Langley to that fishing camp – a matter that was not recognized for another 20 years (in 1879) when the reserve was split into Musqueam Reserve #1 and Langley Reserve #8. This recognition was among the administrative boons that came with the introduction of the Indian Reserve Commission, the Indian Act, and the establishment of the Department of Indian Affairs. But in 1916, even these tiny reserves were "cut off" as part of a more general "reallocation of Indian Reserves;" hence many of the Qayqayt were assimilated into other reserves in the area, such as the Musqueam (Metro Vancouver Sep 2012, 15).

The real boon seems to have come for local Settlers who arrived to find oodles of land available to be improved by them. As the histories go, indigenous peoples' "natural

heritage had been taken from them and they huddled on the reserves while events in local history passed them by" (Treleaven 1978, 43), so that "only a scattering of descendants remain of the once proud and powerful Royal Kwantlen People who ruled the domains along the mighty Fraser River" (Pearson 1960 [1958], 9-10). The colonial state was supposed to have been taking care of the so-called "Indians," but what that meant to state officials is questionable given that the last Qayqayt Chief supposedly died in 1908, only "[a] few families remained on the Kikait reserve…. until the early 1940s" (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 6), and the last two registered band members died in 1975 and 1992. The Qayqayt seem to have become extinct, making way for the largely unchallenged settlement of Bridgeview.

Through this movement from simple indigenous cities to complex diverse cities, Jacobs interprets a trajectory of improvement in economic systems that suggests she was haunted by stages theories of evolution.

(2) Myth of civilization at work: Economic development

(i) Haunted by stages theory

While the bulk of Jacobs' analysis dismissed progressivist theories of evolution, focusing instead on the unpredictable process by which some innovations survive while many others die off, her conclusion to *The Economy of Cities* told a grand story about the progress in who tends to organize the economy, and by extension, our ways of living together. On her observations, "economic development, no matter when or where it occurs is profoundly subversive of the status quo" (Jacobs 1969, 248). This subversion, as it turns out, is the motor of progressive history in Jacobs' theory. She argued: "The

primary economic conflict … is between people whose interests are with already well-established economic activities, and those whose interests are with the emergence of new economic activities" (Jacobs 1969, 249). With each victory of new development over old, the economy becomes more complex because every bit of new work that is added (to old work) produces new divisions of labour, according to Jacobs. Eventually, various innovations (including new technologies and production processes) culminate in a new mode of production.

Since economic development was, for Jacobs, subversive of the reigning status quo, her sweep of history consisted of revolutions in the mode of production and corresponding organizational work. In times of craft production the organizing was done by merchant guilds (a relatively affluent group of dealers); in times of mass production the organizing was done by manufacturers (or more specifically the heads of manufacturing corporations); and in the emergent era of what she called "differentiated production" (in which many smaller companies each manufacture a different thing so that there is a wider range of products on the market) the organizing might be done by the services. While tentative, Jacobs seems to suggest that this mode of production is the culmination of the trajectory of historical progress because it reflects and caters to real differences. In her words:

> Differentiated production, in spite of its disproportionate requirements for design and development work, is not an extravagance. In real life, real and important differences abound, whether in nature or in a market, whether in the resistance of trees to diseases or in the information about current events needed by people in differing districts. And with economic development all kinds of differentiations increase; they do not diminish. (Jacobs 1969, 241)

Thus Jacobs provides a teleology that threads together the seemingly chaotic processes of

diversification and differentiation, which is realized in and by a mode of production that serves and reflects "real and important differences." While improvements could be made to differentiated production, given its fit with "market" reality, its displacement would presumably mean the decline of either production or of the (capitalist) market.

Importantly, historical progress is not the intention of those involved in innovation. The logic of adding new work to old, according to Jacobs, "is supplied by the person who is adding the new work" (Jacobs 1969, 60). It draws from their practical knowledge of previous work – generally their own work, but sometimes work that they have been tasked with observing. What this means is that the logic is always particular, and its innovations (as well as applications of those innovations) are utterly unpredictable. This line of analysis affords for accidents, whereby something discovered in the course of doing old work might turn out to be of value for some other use. Thus, "the addition often cuts ruthlessly across categories of work, no matter how one may analyze the categories" (Jacobs 1969, 62). An example Jacobs offered was the brassiere, which was invented by a dressmaker to make her dresses look better on customers, rather than by the undergarment industry to satisfy consumer demand. Those invested in the old categories of work, therefore, are threatened by innovation.

The trouble, according to Jacobs, is that those invested in old industry tend to find friends and a friendly mode of regulation in government. She expressed concern that "people who run government activities, the world over, tend to seek sweeping answers to problems; that is, answers capable of being applied wholesale the instant they are adopted" (Jacobs 1969, 209-10). Thus "the kind of logic" involved in adding new work to old, is distinct from consumers' logic and "the abstract logic of the economic

statistician or the city zoner" (Jacobs 1969, 60-2). In other words, innovation neither responds to demand, nor can be understood with (and by extension controlled by the use of) categories.

What this means is that attempts to drive innovation with demand or abstract plans actually have the opposite effect. The invention of the brassiere, for example, would likely have been preempted had the dressmaker only produced what her customers requested, or had there been strict regulation of what could be done within the dressmaking and undergarment industries in New York at the time (as had previously been enforced by guilds in medieval cities, for instance).

In addition to interfering with the formation of new work, such "sweeping" policies tend to respond to problems associated with old economic forms, leading to a "conservative" approach to business – which means to say one that upholds the status quo rather than embracing innovation (Jacobs 1969, 209-10). While this approach is "bad for business" (*i.e.* city economic growth), Jacobs suggests that it is good for government "because development subverts the status quo, the status quo soon subverts governments" (Jacobs 1969, 250). It is, therefore, in governments' interests to protect the status quo to stay in office, that is, to prevent innovation.

Jacobs cautioned that if the status quo was effectively maintained, then the economic conflict would be put "to rest" by "economic stagnation" (Jacobs 1969, 249). With the broader interest of city economic development in mind, Jacobs called on governments to rise up above their own petty interests in staying in office, by acting as a "third force" to mediate economic conflicts (*i.e.* between those with interests in the old and new economic activities) with an eye to protecting the "weak and still incipient

interests" of new development (Jacobs 1969, 249). So although government can quash innovation, Jacobs was very clear that it ought to facilitate development in order to enable historical progress to proceed.

In the following section I will sketch a conflict that has played out between old residential uses and new industrial uses in Bridgeview, over a truck park. As will become apparent, even when government opposes innovation, it is not necessarily effective in stopping business from proceeding, as it likes. This analysis will raise the question of when economic activity can be considered new, which will lead, in turn, to a discussion of the distinction between urban and rural – which will be undone to render an urban myth of historical contingencies.

(ii) Truck park in Bridgeview

A parking lot for transport trucks, a so-called "truck park," began operating in 2007 on one of the long properties in the transition zone between light industrial and residential uses in Bridgeview. It would seem to have been an appropriate use of the property, considering that the neighbourhood was already hemmed in by a highway, and another was being laid down. Whereas railway construction includes building yards to park rail cars that are not in use, freeway construction does not afford space for parking the vehicles that use them. Individuals are responsible for finding places to park their private cars, public transit providers construct lots to park buses, and companies with their own fleets tuck vehicles beneath and below their buildings. But independent transport truck owners who have yet to develop "the client base or the seniority with their existing clients to provide a steady and sufficient revenue stream" struggle to find

affordable places to park their trucks (which cannot be parked in residential areas) (Lamontagne 5 Nov 2007). The truck park in Bridgeview helped fill this gap.

Many neighbourhood residents, especially those with adjacent properties, were upset about the impacts that the truck park was having on their everyday lives. They complained of noise, dust kicked up by the trucks filling their yards and homes, as well as the dangers associated with trucks speeding down narrow neighbourhood roads (and with open ditches running alongside the roads, getting out of a truck's way could, itself, be dangerous). The problem of overloading the roads could also be viscerally felt, with the boggy ground rippling under the weight, causing some houses to tremble. A delegation of residents took their complaints to City Hall in February 2009, and council decided not to issue a temporary permit for the truck park (Read "Bridgeview and local government. 2000s."). Sympathy for residents, perhaps, but more obviously contempt for the business owners' disregard for due process, was reflected in this decision.

One might associate residential use with old economic activity in the neighbourhood. While fishing persists, agricultural activity has been prominent in the neighbourhood more recently. Bridgeviewers' agricultural way of life would have been more obvious a few decades ago, when neighbours were generally familiar with one another (Read "Neighbourly Bridgevew. 1970s."), and when it was still common for residents to keep pigs, ducks, chickens and other such animals in their backyards (Pinney 1976; Pearson and Reitz 23 Nov 1960). Love of rural life was evidenced by the prominence of horseback riding in neighbourhood celebrations until recent decades. Although keeping farm animals in the area is no longer permitted, some sense of Bridgeviewers' ruralesque way of life can still be felt when entering a house through a

corridor of canned vegetables from the year's harvest (albeit from a grocery store), for example. Thus, one might describe council's initial ban on truck parking as an attachment to generalized rules, which Jacobs associated with a "conservative" approach to business that favours the old economy and kills innovation.

Despite the municipal decision the new industrial activity persisted. The truck park continued to operate as it had been. So the city by-law office took the business to the courts, where the operation was deemed illegal. And the truck parking continued.

Again, residents launched formal complaints about the truck park, at a council meeting on June 15th 2009, which I attended with them. Council decided to pursue a way of permitting the (now illegal) truck park despite a number of impassioned pleas by residents, such as that of a woman who was nine months pregnant when a truck broke down in front of her house for four hours (meaning that she could not have driven to the hospital in the likely event that she had gone into labour). Some sympathy for residents was expressed by the mayor herself as well as by a couple of council members, but there was an overall acceptance that the trucks have to park somewhere, and that that somewhere ought to be Bridgeview. One councilor noted that the municipality's capacity to accommodate industrial activity was the envy of other municipalities at the recent Union of BC Municipalities convention (although she failed to mention why, which presumably has something to do with the municipal revenues associated with such activity). Later, she noted that available land in South Surrey is largely zoned agricultural, making Bridgeview (as part of North Surrey) a better place for truck parking.

While protecting old uses in Bridgeview was council's initial impulse, there was little incentive for council to continue to do so because Bridgeview is such a small, not-so-affluent neighbourhood, and so disgruntled residents do not have much impact on municipal elections – especially absent wards. It is possible to overturn the residential status quo in this neighbourhood while maintaining it in the municipality more generally, as is suggested by the City's new motto: "The future lives here." Since city council need not worry about the problem Jacobs identified, regarding governments being overturned after mediating economic conflicts to protect new development, it makes sense that council decided to go back on their initial decision.

By permitting the (illegal) truck park, the municipality could be described as having shifted from its conservative role to acting as a "third force" protecting the "weak and still incipient interests" of new development (Jacobs 1969, 249). Although not discussed in the meeting, City staff had been playing this role for a couple of years, by working with the owners to "legitimize the use" because the truck park helped the City determine that there is "a market demand for well located truck parking with minimal amenities at $300 or more per month," thus saving the municipality from using its own lands to make this determination (Lamontagne 5 Nov 2007). In other words, the City had been prepared to use its own lands and funds to do precisely what the truck park owners had.

Residents' assumption that "The City" was conspiring to industrialize Bridgeview, to usher in new economic activity, would seem to have been well founded. Council's sympathetic gestures towards residents took the form of trying to find ways to address Bridgeviewers' specific concerns while accommodating the truck park – by, for

example, requesting an investigation into concerns about the use of the road, and ways that the dust problem could be reduced (*e.g.* by installing more sprinklers). Residents, especially those living adjacent to the truck park on properties that have been partially re-zoned for industrial use, left the meeting suspicious that the municipality is complicit in the movement to squeeze them out of the neighbourhood. This suspicion seems to be confirmed by the City's Realty Services Division work (beginning in 2002) to develop and create ten serviced industrial lots in east Bridgeview, based on "current strong market demand for serviced industrial sites within the subject area, especially with the imminent construction of the South Fraser Perimeter Road" (Ham 24 Oct 2006). In short, the municipality seems to be actively facilitating the industrialization of the neighbourhood.

(iii) Pioneering in the shadows of government

Although it is common to assume that those who are concerned primarily with economic growth think we ought to stay out of the way of that growth (as explored in chapter three), Jacobs more accurately described the key role that government is expected to play in facilitating that growth (*c.f.* Foucault 2008). She offered this scenario:

> If such beings [*i.e.* creatures from other solar systems who poke curiously into our earthly affairs] were to arrive, with their marvelously advanced contrivances, we may be sure we would be agog to learn how their technology worked. The important question however, would be something quite different: What kinds of governments had they invented which had succeeded in keeping open the opportunities for economic and technological development instead of closing them off? (Jacobs 1969, 250)

But my analysis in this section has suggested that here on Earth, in places such as Surrey, governments can sometimes effectively keep development opportunities "open."

But perhaps more significant than what the municipality did or said vis-à-vis Bridgeview, is: (1) the City's tendency not to pay much attention to what is going on in the neighbourhood, which was a key condition under which the truck park developed in the first place; and (2) some Bridgeview residents and business owners' willingness to defy government decisions. Perhaps Jacobs (among others) took government decision-making too seriously.

Whereas an innovative bus company she depicted stopped its activities because there was an injunction against it, the truck park continued to operate despite having been deemed illegal. Had the bus company continued to operate anyway, it may have eventually been permitted by government, and this model of transportation provision might be more widely practiced; but it is also possible that the government was more concerned about the bus activity than Surrey was vis-à-vis the truck park (given its own interest in learning more about the demand for truck parking in the municipality), and so may have imposed its decisions more actively. In any case, the analysis here suggests that the willingness to press ahead with one's activity may be just as important as government playing a permissive or facilitative role vis-à-vis the economy.

It would be easy to overstate the significance of the municipality permitting activities that it previously condemned, as opposed to simply turning a blind eye to what goes on in the neighbourhood, what with the current value given to decision-making (*e.g.* sovereignty). While Jacobs herself made such an overestimation in moments, as traced in chapter one, she was also very attuned to neighbourhoods' functions as "organs of self-government." What is perhaps more obvious in Bridgeview than in many other neighbourhoods in Canada is that residents and business owners are willing to seek or

defy government decisions in pursuing their projects; and furthermore, those decisions are just one set of resources to be mobilized along with laws (as in the case launched against the BCA), community development initiatives (*e.g.* the Action for Neighbourhood Change), activist interventions (*e.g.* Stop the Gateway), and even researchers such as myself (in presenting to council). Perhaps if the initiating capacity of self-government were more widely appreciated, then innovation would not seem as fragile as Jacobs observed it to be.

Bureaucratic organization is meant to eradicate the capture of local governments as growth machines (which Jacobs described as facilitating innovation, but is more commonly known as corruption), but clearly it is simply making the work of the Surrey growth machine more complicated and drawn out; in short, less effective and efficient. Those invested in the truck park surely hoped to have avoided spending significant time and money on repeated rounds through the administrative ringer, only to gain permission to do what they were already doing.

Historically, in Surrey (as elsewhere), such protection has come by way of personal favours. Developers in the municipality talk romantically of a time when they paid 'taxes' under the table, in the course of acquiring permits for property development (FW 11). That clientelist mode of government made the operation of the city as a growth machine smoother. By contrast, developers are now caught up in costly and lengthy administrative processes. If the municipality's turnaround on the truck park is any indication, speculators banking on industrial development in Bridgeview will cash in, eventually. I do not mean to suggest that we ought to figure out how to grease the wheels of the growth machine. Rather, I want to highlight that being less effective in this regard

does not mean that the city is more effective in others – such as, acting as a government by and for the people who use the land.

What is significant about these observations is that in either case, government may not necessarily be as influential as a stagnator/facilitator of new development as is commonly assumed. Government only seems to be as influential as it does because people assume it is influential, and so abide by and enact its decisions.

The capacity of people to initiate development as we see fit may be more obvious in Bridgeview than in other neighbourhoods, I would suggest, because there is less investment in regulations down there – both on the part of the municipality and on the part of residents and property owners. As far as many Bridgeviewers are concerned, regulations have not brought covered drainage, curb and gutter, or sidewalks to the area. Tucked out of the sightlines of those invested in civil codes (whether guiding construction or interaction), behind freeways and industrial activity, people in the neighbourhood have become accustomed to doing things on their own – which the municipality is happy enough to go with because it does not require much staff or financial support.

So the government that is most clearly operative in the neighbourhood is self-government. If one wants fallen leaves off the roadside, then one sweeps them into the ditch. If one wants a ditch clean, then one cleans it. This "roll-up your shirtsleeves" attitude is associated with rural areas (where local government is largely a matter of coordinating volunteer efforts), and has made community development projects in the neighbourhood, such as the Action for Neighbourhood Change, effective in the ways that they have been.

So the truck park debacle suggests that regardless of what role the City of Surrey plays, it has a limited capacity to regulate what goes on in Bridgeview (Read "Bridgeview and industrialization. 1960s."). The "do now, ask permission later" approach is not limited to industry. Just as the truck park continued to operate despite having no permit and having been deemed illegal, in the 1970s it was reported that: "Though there has been a ban on home construction in the Bridgeview district of Surrey for more than two years, since the district was declared polluted, a Yugoslav couple who do not speak English have built a home there to replace an older one" (Anonymous 8 Oct 1969). Similarly persistent, the house construction continued despite repeated stop work orders having been issued by the municipality, and despite the refusal by the Boundary Health Unit to approve the installation of a new septic tank. Following much debate (and concern about setting a precedent), a municipal committee eventually authorized the issuing of a permit (which was later ratified by council) (Anonymous 8 Oct 1969). The parallel with the eventual permitting of the truck park is striking indeed. In both cases, people in Bridgeview decided to improve their own lot – to make better use of their property as they saw fit to do so. This pioneering approach cuts across divisions in the neighbourhood – be they racial, investment type, lifestyle, or whatever else.

I do not mean to exaggerate the extent to which Bridgeview is self-governing, or to minimize the ways that regulations have informed the neighbourhood (*e.g.* by facilitating dike or community hall construction). Furthermore, I do not mean to suggest that this self-government is somehow radical. For the most part, Bridgeviewers are invested in improving their lots, for themselves and for their children, which is the same overall effect that Vancouverites and others are going for. I simply mean to highlight that

practices of self-government seem to be more significant than tends to be assumed (by political scientists in particular).

Given that providing truck parking simply responds to a demand, however, it does not fit Jacobs' definition of innovation. Similarly, the industrial park in east Bridgeview is a "lead development" – with which the municipality shows what can be achieved in the area, with the aim of inspiring developers to follow suit, to make similar investments – but it is not really what Jacobs called *new* development. The area had been zoned for industrial use in the 1970s, in large measure thanks to then Mayor Vander Zalm's tenacity during the struggles over the neighbourhood's future; but even his persistent work to usher in industrial activity was not innovative, as such. It was simply a matter of serving the needs of the central city of Vancouver (as traced in chapter one). In permitting the truck park and establishing the industrial park, therefore, the City of Surrey may be rankling some Bridgeviewers, but it is merely imitating property developers' use of capital, as opposed to inventing new uses (Jacobs 1969). Industrial activity in the neighbourhood is, therefore, just a service within an old mode of production, and on her logic there was no significant conflict within a particular mode of production.

Thus what appears to be a conflict in Bridgeview would, in Jacobs' theory of city economic growth, be cast as nothing more than the death throes of uses associated with an old economic activity that no longer serves a city centre. But on the ground, how is one to decide whether the tension one is observing is better understood as a conflict between those invested in old and new economic activities that deserves our attention, or

the messiness of decline or retooling with which we should not trouble ourselves? Given that new economic activity is conceived by Jacobs as emerging in cities, answering this question requires distinguishing between the creative city, and the dependent rural economy. In the following section I will trace how Jacobs makes that distinction using Darwin's theory of heredity, and will challenge that distinction by drawing on more recent scientific discoveries. Then I will outline a ruralesque urban culture in Bridgeview, and gesture toward the possibility that this culture is pervasive; and this to unsettle civilized folks' sense of entitlement to settle.

(3) Rendering an urban myth from the myth of civilization

(i) From innovation/imitation to re-creation

It would seem easy to simply bracket the developmental story that Jacobs offers (contrary as it runs to her own attempt to leave stages theories of development behind, and contained as it seems to be in the concluding chapter), and so too the focus on conflicts between old and new uses. Then we would be able to adopt her compelling evolutionary story of city economic growth, and take seriously whatever conflicts we encounter in the places where we live. Remaining would be the "logic" Jacobs used to explain a number of things that under "agricultural primacy" have been understood through recourse to conjectures such as cosmic forces. In short, she argued for:

> an 'epigenesis' theory of cities: the idea that a city grows by a process of gradual diversification and differentiation of its economy, starting from little or nothing more than its initial export work and the suppliers to that work. If I am correct, cities radically differ in their growth processes from inert towns and from villages *even when they are still as small as towns or villages*. (Jacobs 1969, 129)

So although she left behind the notion of development from a rural to an urban stage, Jacobs reasserted the distinction between urban and rural areas: cities are creative

(meaning that they are not only vital, but also virile/fertile), whereas other places are stagnant (meaning that they are dependent on cities for their growth). In her words: "city economies invent the things that are to become city imports from the rural world, and then they reinvent the rural world so it can supply those imports" (Jacobs 1969, 40). To emphasize, the rural is conceived as dependent on the urban, and so even if we leave aside her developmental story, what happens in rural areas continues to be dismissed. What really matters is what happens in cities.

Jacobs was committed to observing the "real" according to accepted scientific understandings. She prided her work for being "post-Darwin," *i.e.* for taking his research seriously, and poked fun at "pre-Darwin" ideas for their silliness (Jacobs 1969, 5, 44). But scientific discovery continues apace, and so while Darwin's theory of evolution seemed to be the way to get at reality when she penned *The Economy of Cities*, there are other more compelling scientific stories these days. Thus it makes sense, on her reasoning, to render Jacobs' theory of city economic growth properly *post*-Darwin, that is, to take seriously theories that have exceeded his evolutionary logic. Interestingly enough, just as with stages theories of evolution, through the study of life forms in layers of the earth, these new stories of 'natural' change have been developed – this time in the Burgess Shale, in the Rockies of British Columbia.

Thanks to an accident, a mudslide to be precise, all manner of wondrous and fantastical creatures have been preserved in the Burgess Shale. Rather than having to guess at the structure of animals based on some fragments of skeletons and shells, in this instance paleontologists simply had to do the work of un-squishing the soft-bodied creatures. Without getting lost in the details of the processes by which they did that

filling out, or of the creatures they discovered, I want to highlight a couple of key implication of the research findings: (1) these early Cambrian creatures were highly complex, and (2) there was no apparent logic informing why one creature with a certain set of traits survived over another. In this section I will bring these findings to bear on Jacobs' theory of city economic growth, while drawing out its final parallelism with Darwin's theory of natural selection. In doing so, I will render useless the distinction she made between urban and rural places, and remaining will be an attentiveness to history, which means to say, how particular places and the tensions we encounter in them, have come to be.

While using naturalistic systems to think through city economic growth, Jacobs did not depict cities as arising naturally. In her words: "cities simply cannot be 'explained' by their locations or other given resources. Cities are not ordained; they are wholly existential" (Jacobs 1969, 141). To emphasize, "cities are places where adding new work to older work proceeds vigorously. Indeed, any settlement where this happens becomes a city" (Jacobs 1969, 50). But how does a place come to be a site of such vigorous innovation? Just as Darwin before her, Jacobs was concerned with inheritance, and so argued: "every city has a direct economic ancestry, a literal economic parentage, in a still older city or cities. New cities do not arise by spontaneous generation. The spark of city economic life is passed on from older cities to younger" (Jacobs 1969, 178-9). This "heredity" is, I suggest, the final aspect of the parallelism between her theory of city economic growth and Darwin's theory of natural selection. It is not clear how exactly that spark is passed along, however.

Innovation would seem to be accorded a privileged place in Jacobs' definition of

city economies, despite the fact that imitation is the mechanism of "explosive growth" that she provided, because innovation is what opens up entirely new divisions of labour that afford for that explosive growth elsewhere. Thus, if we observe a tension in a place with "vigorous" innovation, *i.e.* a city, then it could be considered a conflict between old and new economic activities.

But this analysis raises the further question of how we can distinguish between innovation and imitation. Differently put, how do we know when something is actually new? Was industrial production only new with the initial mechanization of spinning and rolling wool in the mid 18th century, for instance? What of more minor changes to that mechanization, or of different ways of mechanizing those activities? It would seem 'academic' to get tangled up trying to pull the *really* new apart from the somewhat new, or the new here but not there (*c.f.* Robinson 2006), especially since Jacobs defined innovation as simply adding new work to old (as opposed to creating something out of nothing, which provides a much clearer originary moment).

According to Jacobs' theory of city economic growth, the truck park would seem to be evidence of a rural economy picking up "city-created work"; as she puts it: "city economies invent the things that are to become city imports from the rural world, and then they reinvent the rural world so it can supply those imports" (Jacobs 1969, 40). If it were possible to consider truck parking a proper innovation (made alongside other innovations in the neighbourhood), then Bridgeview would be considered a city, having demonstrated the ability to create new work – which defines cities as "primary economic organs" (Jacobs 1969, 6).

Straightforward as the distinction between innovation and imitation/servicing might seem, it becomes quite fuzzy once one considers the role of materials in the creative process, as Jacobs did:

> Even innovations created specifically for farming depend directly upon earlier developments of city work. For example, McCormick's first horse-drawn reaper was a tremendous innovation for farm work; here was a machine that replaced hand implements and supple, complex hand movements. Although this idea and the device to carry it out were new to farm work, the same idea and devices similar in principle were already commonly used in industrial work. Nor could McCormick have manufactured the reaper if other industrial tools had not already been developed. The industrial revolution occurred first in cities and later in agriculture. (Jacobs 1969, 9)

If the use of ideas and things that are "already commonly used" elsewhere (including in another mode of production) is sufficient to disqualify an invention from acquiring innovation status, then it is hard to imagine what could actually count as an innovation. As Jacobs was so keenly aware, we are always already making stuff out of existing stuff (as opposed to out of nothing, following the creationist logic). To emphasize, even those ideas and devices created in cities 'first' were made by putting already existing things together differently.

If we cease trying to elevate urban above rural places by distinguishing between innovation and imitation, then what we are left with is a process of putting things together differently common to both that we might call "re-creation". Putting things together differently is what defines creativity for both Jacobs and Le Corbusier, after all.

Even having rendered useless the distinction between innovation and imitation, remaining is the broader process of which Jacobs suggested both were a part: diversification. Her theory of city economic growth also marked one place as urban and another as rural depending on whether or not diversification is "vigorous". While more

contemporary analyses based on more rigorous research have affirmed that such diversification is indeed associated with "growth in cities" (*e.g.* Glaeser et al. Dec 1992), the Burgess Shale findings suggest that we should not put too much purchase on logical explanations about why one place might have survived or thrived vis-à-vis another.

As scientists became increasingly familiar with the complex creatures they encountered from the Burgess Shale, they were more able to provide explanations for why those that became extinct could have survived (Gould 1989). Put in reverse, those creatures that did actually survive were not necessarily better fit to the environment or the competition therein. In his eloquent and fairly accessible description of the "revision" of common sense Darwinian ideas about evolution, Stephen Jay Gould emphasized that extinction is a rather random happening, which means to say that in order to understand it, we must become attentive to its particular historical conditions. In order to explain this, Gould draws attention to a model that his colleague, Stu Kauffman, developed "to demonstrate that the Burgess pattern of rapid, maximal disparity followed by later decimation is a general property of systems, explicable without a special hypothesis about early relaxed competition or a directional history for genetic material" (Gould 1989, 232). In short, while there are some overall patterns, they seem to arise through very different processes under different conditions.

This understanding of change as contingent may be thought of as an extension of Jacobs' observation that there are particular reasons for the survival of a product of re-creation that cannot be captured by the logics of consumer demand or categorical thinking. Even particular processes of diversification do not explain why one place survives or thrives. Each place has certain *chances* for surviving that are neither

predictable, nor logical, nor are they simply instances of some generalized notion of chance; they can only be understood through familiarity with its particular histories – in much the same way that what Jacobs tries to capture under the rubric of innovation is often what she more accurately describes as "a surprise" that happened under specific historical conditions (Jacobs 1969, 90).

Under the early Cambrian conditions that formed the Burgess Shale, highly complex creatures developed, suggesting that "nature" can be creative – which was inconceivable to Darwin (1964 [1859], chapter six). In terms of Jacobs' theory of cities, this means that complexity can have independent "origins," if you will; it need not emerge through the export and import reciprocating systems that Jacobs described. While these processes surely inform some city economic growth in some ways, there must also be other processes that we do not (and perhaps cannot) understand through the rationality of the creative city. Since these other processes do not follow the logic of diversification and differentiation, they also undermine the macro-evolutionary development from simple to complex that Jacobs drew from Darwin.

This analysis challenges the story of human evolution as a process of civilization (on the ecological model noted in the introduction) from simple barbaric ways of living to complex civil ways of living, which Jacobs assumed. By looking to one surprising eruption of barbaric violence in the early days of settlement in Surrey, we can see some of the cracks in this story of civilization. British colonial civilization was supposed to have been ushered along primarily by white male emigrants who had families with Aboriginal women (out of necessity), but those men were often the bearers of barbarism. Take Sam, for instance, who arrived in 1845 and (like a good settler) built a log cabin on

one of the tributary rivers in the area where he lived with his common law "Indian wife". Rumour in the early 1860s had it that Sam shot her – a crime that he was eventually hung for in New Westminster.

While made out to be an exceptional case, apparently settlers assumed that "it is all right to kick a squaw" (a derogatory term that sexualizes Indigenous women), even among Indigenous peoples themselves (Bruce McKelvie, "the foremost authority on the Fraser River Indians" (as cited in, Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 7). Differently put, the assumption seems to have been that violence is endemic to spaces inhabited by barbaric peoples, and so *those* people (*e.g.* "squaws") are accustomed to that violence; whereas civil folks moving through those spaces may enact violence, but return to a space of civility where they ought not be held to account for that violence because it belongs over *there*, to *them* (Razack 2002, 121-156). The "cultural" explanation of such violence against racialized women does not hold much water (Ng 1992, 20-23), however.

While one could make a "cultural" counter-argument, *e.g.* that indigenous women have traditionally had relative equality with men in their communities and have been respected as the givers of life (which seems to have been the case, but is not for me to speak to), violence against women – and especially Indigenous women – would seem to be a structural part of civil society (Baskin 2012). British institutions treated women as men's property, and also set aside private spaces in which masculinzed control over women (children, and other property) could go largely unchecked (chapter one). So while criminalized, femicide would seem to be an extension of normalized violence against women that was (and in different ways still is) tolerated, if not condoned, by a supposedly civil society.

By chastising Sam as an individual, and relegating him to the (imagined) rank of violent barbarian, the overall process of civilization would seem to remain unaffected. But the so-called "justice" meted out to Sam was itself violent; the literal or social killing of those charged with crimes does not effectively facilitate healing or work toward justice among those affected by violence in the first, which requires sinking into the complexities of a conflict. Institutionalized violence against women in homes and against men in the penal system has long been a defining feature of Western civilization and implicates all civil folks, not just the individuals who enact that violence (Baskin 2012). So settlers (both historical and contemporary) constructing civil cities are also institutionalizing barbaric violence – especially against Indigenous peoples – as a simple way of dealing with complex problems in relationships.

On the flipside, the Indigenous wives of early settlers were presumed to have come from simple barbaric cultures, and yet were often the source of civil status. Most of these women were described as "princesses," to indicate their elevated status in their home communities (often the Chief's daughters; Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 22). To emphasize, indigenous women were often the ones bringing respect to mixed families – "it became a measure of distinction among their descendants to boast of royal heritage" (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 22). As a corollary of this romanticization of the "Indian princess," it has been suggested "that the bad strain sometimes apparent in the half-breed in most cases were inherited from their white fathers" – of the gold rush sort, as opposed to the "solid pioneer settler," of course (Pearson 1960 [1958], 7).

In recent years, scholars have begun to take seriously numerous indications of complexity in ways of living previously presumed to be simple, as in Indigenous peoples'

agricultural practices (*e.g.* DeWait 1994). Furthermore, the logic by which city economic growth determines urban vitality has also been challenged. Although Jacobs frames her economic analysis as though it were but a supplement to the already existing one of how cities are primary cultural organs (Jacobs 1969), the analysis itself suggests that through innovation city economic growth makes cultural development (along with technological and every other sort of development) possible. But if we take seriously Jacobs' acknowledgement of cultural (among other) modes of structuring city life, then innovation can hardly be positioned as the primary condition of urban development. In revising Jacobs' theory of city economic growth to align it with more contemporary scientific understandings of change, then, the focus is on *urban histories* – in which reciprocating systems of various sorts play a part, but in which there are also many other processes that we can only begin to appreciate through careful consideration of specific scenes.

What is left of Jacobs' theory of city economic growth, then, are processes of re-creation and unpredictable happenings that are informed by particular historical conditions, which do not form a neat story of macro change. No single factor, *e.g.* innovation or diversification, remains in the privileged position of determining the urban as distinct from the rural. The urban myth rendered here, is that *we have always already been urban*; even places like Bridgeview. In the following section I will demonstrate what we see of Bridgeview when we take this assumption seriously.

(ii) Ruralesque urban Bridgeview

The impression that new industrial activity is winning a battle with residential uses associated with old agricultural activity is all too neat. Local planners have long

dreamed of being able to get rid of residents. By contemporary standards, the land upon which Bridgeview has been built is not fit for residential use. As noted, it lies in a floodplain, and so its soil is 3 meters below sea level and is shifty, which makes servicing the area extraordinarily costly; neighbouring South Westminster flats, for instance, came "under the Forestry Act because of the peaty composition of the soil" (Anonymous12 May 1961).

Municipal officials remind me that there was an effort in the 1970s to buy Bridgeview residents out, and to support them to make the move 'up the hill'. The failure of this effort has been attributed to the lower property values in Bridgeview, which meant that the move would have involved giving up a house down there for an apartment, or something of the sort, elsewhere. Had it been effective, municipal officials would be happily working to facilitate the development of Bridgeview as an industrial zone. Instead, they have resigned themselves to delivering costly services to a group of residents because if these residents were to move (which would be in line with rational planning principles), they would have to take a personal downgrade. And that would be irrational. Respect for property owners making rational choices, which means to say according to their economic interests, has thus been accepted as a limit on rational planning. This is a reminder that the city government as a facilitator of growth (*i.e.* as a growth machine) can become bogged down where there are competing land-based interests (Molotch 1976, 309-32).

Unable to get rid of residents, planners have adapted to planning Bridgeview for two contradictory seeming activities side by side – a strategy that was initially conceived by a committee, and agreed to by council in order to receive neighbourhood support in

seeking NIP funds (as noted in chapter one). While inscribed in the local area plan, however, the distinction between industrial and residential activity has not been effectively imposed on the neighbourhood. As the mayor herself indicated in response to a disgruntled resident, looking at a satellite map of Bridgeview, it is easy to see that the truck park is not alone in terms of using land there in a way that has not been planned for or permitted by the municipality. There are plenty of houses (not to mention many more trailers) on industrially zoned properties, for instance.



Figure 15: *Living with industry*

My presentation at the council meeting at which Bridgeviewers were contesting the illegal truck park took the *de facto* mixing of industrial and residential uses in Bridgeview as a starting point. I went on to urge council to seriously consider how these uses might be allowed to better co-exist. Council asked me to look elsewhere for models of how industrial and residential uses have been effectively mixed, which is in line with

"evidence-based" approaches to local government. At the time I grasped at examples such as Victoria's Rock Bay, for instance, but it is clear to me now that the "evidence" that they sought could arguably be best gleaned from Bridgeview itself. Just because something has worked in one place does not mean it will work in another. More important (following the discoveries of the Burgess Shale) are the particular, historically specific conditions that make certain things possible (and not) in a certain place – key among these being political (Harrison 2000, 207).

From the very early days of the neighbourhood, residential uses were accompanied by economic activity that was pretty heavy for the time. In Qayqayt this activity included fishing, and following the settler preemption of the neighbourhood, it included shipping produce and other goods across the river, which eventually included loading and unloading rail cars, and with the shift to automobile transportation, has increasingly included scrap yards, repair shops and the like.

In the 1960s, there was a fight not only for sewers and dykes, but also against the regulation of industrial activity such as council's proposed restriction of new auto-wreckers in the area (Anonymous12 May 1961). While technically in nextdoor South Westminster, the two neighbourhoods were historically connected (together constituting what was called Brownsville), and in the fight against The City limiting industrial uses of land in the area, they met jointly with Reeve and other councilors to speak on keeping options for industrial activity open, as well as about shared concerns such as ditches (Anonymous12 May 1961). Such meetings over the decades-long battle that ensued were often held at the Bridgeview Community Association (Risdon 7 Feb 1979). In addition to the municipality's proposed deletion of salvage industry zoning, Bridgeviewers and

their neighbours were concerned that small lots (less than ¾ of an acre) could not be rezoned for industrial activity – which was meant to be contained within a specific zone with large lots. As one unnamed "resident" was quoted as saying: "I'd like to build a shop on my single lot… I think I can make a living out of it" (Marler 18 Aug 1985). This gestures toward a mixing of industrial and residential uses that I will elaborate on further below.

Some four decades after the struggle had begun, the strongest voice speaking out against the restriction of industrial activity came from the very interest that had planned to displace that activity: the Pacific National Exhibition (PNE). After having invested millions in a 38 acre plot, the province pulled the plug on the PNE's relocation (Now 23 Mar 2002), and suddenly there was grave concern about the drop in property values that would follow from restricting the use of the land (Jantzi 15 Apr 2000). But even that strong voice of a public investor was not able to sway council; Surrey rezoned the area for lighter industrial use. As was noted in the media, the municipality was effectively putting businesses out of business that it had once celebrated, such as Ralph's A-Scott Discount Used Parts – which had "received a business achievement award from the City of Surrey in 1996 for the company's environmental code of practice" (Holmes 2 Aug 2000, A3). By the end of the month the biggest salvage yard, United Used Auto Parts, went bankrupt and closed its doors, and with that one company about half of the salvage permits were expired (Diakiw 20 Aug 2000, A3). The City was working at odds with Bridgeviewers and their ilk, again.

In speaking with Bridgeviewers about their refusal to sell out for Vander Zalm's urban renewal scheme in the 1970s, a reason other than the housing downgrade emerges:

they liked life down there. There was, and to a lesser extent still is, a different way of living in Bridgeview than in the subdivisions up the hill. Down there, one's yard could be used as a barnyard, or a scrapyard of sorts, and the fishing dock was just a quick jaunt away (BV 1). In some instances, raising animals, fishing and the gathering of automobile parts etc. was an extension of business activities that residents undertook outside of the home, such as rodeo competition, industrial fishing, automobile repairs and recycling (BV 7). In this ruralesque urban way of living, industrial, agricultural, and residential activities need not be segregated. In one's house, scrap-related business is organized, duck eggs are cooked, fish are canned, and so on.

This mixing suggests that the apparent problem of conflicting uses has been manufactured (using the zoning logic Jacobs so effectively chastised) – which does not mean to minimize its impacts. In claiming a plot of land for rail activity alone, for instance, CN effectively cut local fishermen off from accessing their boats at the dock; those who have continued to cross the property to do their work have been taken to court by the company, and fined for trespassing (BV 1). So much to say that Bridgeviewers have not taken kindly to impositions of single use zones in or around their neighbourhood.

It would be a mischaracterization of Bridgeviewer opposition to the truck park to suggest that it was opposition to "new" industrial activity. One of the residents who spoke out against the truck park at the council meeting, for example, has worked for a trucking company in the area for years, and spoke in support of the ongoing development of industry in Bridgeview. Aside from a couple of newly minted environmentalists (as explored in the previous chapter), most of the residents presenting at that council meeting

seemed to share her comfort with industrial activity in the neighbourhood. As I would put it, many Bridgeviewers' opposition was to the operation of that *particular* business in that *particular* place at that *particular* time.

For example, whereas other trucking-related companies in the neighbourhood are located along the outer ring of the neighbourhood, allowing trucks to bypass small neighbourhood roads, the truck park is inside that ring, in the transition zone to residential activity. Access to roads along that outer ring was even more limited by construction activity related to the South Fraser Perimeter Road, which happened to coincide with the truck park beginning operations; so rather than going half a block west to the road running around the north of the neighoburhood, trucks going to and from the truck park were forced to go three to four blocks east and south through the fringe of the residential core. Thus, for some residents, opposition to the truck park was also opposition to the freeway (BV 5), which could very well mean many more trucks coming through the neighbourhood (regardless of the Gateway Program's plans to preempt such disturbance to the residential core). All these historically specific conditions must be taken into consideration if we are to make sense of Bridgeviewer opposition to the truck park. Such conditions are obscured by broad understandings of politics based on the battle between those invested in new economic activities versus those invested in old economic activities.

When we approach Bridgeview with an appreciation for the consistent mixing of residential and industrial activities (among other things), we can come to appreciate that this ruralesque-seeming neighbourhood has its own urban culture. As one would expect, following Jacobs' logic of city economic growth, the mixing of different activities in

Bridgeview has provided for a way of living in which re-creation is common. Metro, for example designed and constructed a car-crushing machine (BV 1). Less original perhaps, but more noted, was the electronic glueing equipment that was installed in Brownlee's Industries' hardwood manufacturing plant, which was a first for Western Canada (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 26). While not necessarily *new* inventions, each of these examples demonstrates Bridgeviewers' capacity for putting things together differently in the neighbourhood.

So while certainly disturbing in some ways, industrial activity has long been a feature of neighbourhood life, and given that, more than the incursion of industrial activity was at issue in conflicts over the truck park. Bridgeviewers' way of life was dismissed, which I would suggest is a function of its rural appearances. Bridgeviewers themselves often describe their neighbourhood in rural terms, as "a small town in the big city" (FW 5). This image has long been associated with dominant *Canadian*-Canadian culture, which is part of why Bridgeview tends to be seen by outsiders as something other than urban (*e.g.* one of its houses has been used as part of the white lower-middle class ruralesque backdrop for a rock music video for the Canadian band called Nickleback; BV 7).

Yet many of those same outsiders regard a similarly ruralesque and homogeneous-seeming culture in Bridgeview as cosmopolitan, because many of its members happen to have an affinity to rural Punjab rather than to rural British Columbia. For example, Bhangra – the Punjabi harvest dance that one might consider the cultural equivalent of the square/line dance – has been showcased at the last couple of Bridgeview

Days, and was treated by dignitaries that attended as an indication of the increasingly diverse, and so too cosmopolitan, nature of the neighbourhood (FW 5; FW 14). Hence, while ruralesque *Canadian*-Canadian Bridgeviewers are chastised for being too attached to their backward ways, ruralesque East Indians are celebrated for their progressiveness by officials.

In raising the similarity between these two ruralesque cultures, I neither mean to flatten the two (with their different histories, including roles as British colonies), nor do I mean to suggest that they ought to be treated the same – by signing and celebrating Bridgeview as *Canadian*-Canadian (what with its flea market and amateur wrestling), for example, in much the same way that Scott Road (just up the hill and down the road) is marked by municipal street signs as a "Punjabi Bazaar" where people of South Asian heritage "live/work/play". Rather, my point is to challenge the rural/urban distinction that casts the rural as dependent and backwards (or more accurately, lacking the vitality of the city required for innovation), by working towards the proposition that ruralesque urban culture is pervasive.

While the ruralesque tendencies of those who celebrate familial or agricultural traditions are fairly obvious, as I hope to have demonstrated in previous chapters, even strong proponents of civil cities are haunted by barbarisms associated with rural life – be it violence tucked away in private (chapter one), paternalism (chapter two), and muck (chapter three). An upshot of admitting such haunting, and its implications – *i.e.* that every place is self-governing based on practical knowledge and commitments, and struggles among cultural movements – is to add nuance to the earlier claim that we have

always already been urban, by suggesting that we have always already had a ruralesque urban way of living.

Although people up the hill may not live with the same mix of uses that Bridgeviewers do, or explicitly embrace a small town aesthetic at neighbourhood events, many (including myself) have found a pull/affinity to Bridgeview or other ruralesque places (*c.f.* Stewart 1996). Implicit in longing for the seeming Other is an appreciation for intimacy among neighbours (chapter one), desire to challenge and change our ways of living together (chapter two), and preference for firing from the hip (chapter three). Repressed as such tendencies might be in the civil city, however, I would suggest that they are realized in moments – which show the cracks in the civil city edifice.

Accepting the pervasiveness of ruralesque urban culture preempts the recasting of the truck park conflict in primarily racial terms. The truck park business owners and the truck drivers who made presentations to council appeared to be East Indian, and the argument for the protection of agricultural land was made by one of the two East Indian councilors (on an otherwise white council). Furthermore, much of the agricultural land in South Surrey has been bought by East Indians, and is being used primarily for luxury crops such as blueberries. On the other hand, the residents fighting against the truck park were all white. One might use comments made by Bridgeviewers' at other times to make sense of this apparent racial divide.

Some of the techniques that Bridgeviewers use to relate to one another – such as racist, sexist, and homophobic quips – would likely offend those with a civil sensibility because they are hostile to diversity, and more troubling for me, hurtful to those who are cast as, identify with or interpellated as Other. A number of Bridgeviewers I spoke with

referred, provocatively and playfully, to the "EI [East Indian] Invasion." One man, for instance, told me about how he had moved to Bridgeview to escape the "EI Invasion" of Cloverdale – home of the rodeo, and also now the multi-generation "monster home" (Allen 10 Dec 2009; *c.f.* (Mitchell 2004), and lamented that even Bridgeview was coming to lose its smalltown feel (FW 5). So race continues to be invoked as a convenient marker for changes in neighbourhood culture, differences in styles of communication, ways of relating to outsiders, and so on. But Bridgeviewers insist that such stereotypes do not run very deep; without prompting, everyone I spoke with in the neighbourhood insisted that apparent conflicts are not reducible to race, for instance.

For the most part, Bridgeviewers could be characterized as white, but there are exceptions. One might argue this proves the rule (Agamben 2005). A couple of East Indian people seem to be counted among them (*e.g.* one by way of being the partner of a Francophone Bridgeviewer, and another by way of progressive political activities). An especially visible exception can be seen in *Some People Have to Suffer*, in a scene where Chuck Marr's visible difference, as Chinese Canadian, made him the target of a question from mayor Vander Zalm that none of the other (white) Bridgeview spokespeople faced during showdowns at City Hall: "How long have you been a member of Bridgeview?" (Pinney 1976) Implicit in this questioning of a Chinese man's claim to legitimately represent the community, is the mayor's identification of the Bridgeview community as white; this despite the fact that "Kwong Wok" was among the early settlers in the area (with lot #13 on the 1892 & 1897 survey maps; and which was passed on to "Sam Tung" and "[*illegible first name*] Chung" by 1910).

But I do not mean to suggest that diversity was embraced. Representatives from the "Anti-Chinese Association," for instance, filed a petition at the second meeting of the corporation of Surrey at Brown's landing in 1880 (Treleaven 1978, 23). Many Chinese labourers were working in Surrey during the 1880s, as well as some Japanese and "Hindu" labourers, and as Mrs. Ada Rife reflected: "The only ditching machine they knew in the early days was a Chinaman, and he was an artist. With a spade he could dig a ditch better and cheaper than any machine would do it" (as quoted in, Treleaven 1978, 31). While there is a certain measure of respect in her words, it would seem to be that which one might have toward a favoured tool. They were generally paid about 25 cents an hour to do work that no one else was "available" to do, such as hand clearing land by brushing and blasting out tree stumps (Treleaven 1978, 76). Some distance between these labourers and their bosses was provided by a Chinese 'Boss' who acted as a middleman negotiating contracts, *etc*. (Treleaven 1978, 57). Nonetheless, "[a] by-law to 'prevent the employing of Mongolian labor on Municipal works in the Municipality of the District of Surrey' went on the books in 1894" (Treleaven 1978, 45). Anti-Asian sentiment in the region was strong indeed (and would eventually culminate in the so-called "Vancouver riots" of 1907 (Roy, 1989; Magnusson and Kataoka 2011, 241-294).

Increasing diversity in the area, with the spike in immigration to the area from the Ukraine and Japan after world war one, does not seem to have lessened the racism. While the (anti-revolutionary) Ukrainians have been described as "good settlers," to this day the clown at the Cloverdale rodeo (who is made out to be a buffoon) is introduced as "my friend from another race" (FW 16); and the Japanese were said to have made "competition very difficult" because they were so self-reliant that they were not hiring

outside help, and so drove the price of berries down. Jim Ardiel, along with others, "formed a local [read: white] berry co-op in the twenties" and it was not the first one (Treleaven 1978, 78). In response, a Japanese berry co-op that was open to wider membership was formed by Mr. Inoyue (who served in first world war, and was described as "a natural leader"). These groups seem to have been committed to settling in the area, whereas the Chinese were perceived as wayfarers en route to San Francisco in particular (Treleaven 1978, 31) – and commitment seems to matter in Bridgeview in particular.

In addition to racializing Marr, the mayor's question gestures toward a common way that commitment is gauged by Bridgeviewers: length of residency. Nonetheless, Marr was able to turn the heat back on the mayor, by saying: "Does it matter? It's not how long I have been in it, it is how long the problem's been there!" His defiant outspokenness resonated with other Bridgeviewers who cheered enthusiastically. Marr was fighting for and with them, after all; eventually he would chair the Neighbourhood Improvement committee, which drove the construction of the community hall and playground, as well as other priority projects. This is just one of many indications that significant as race might be to the Bridgeviewer cultural imaginary, it is not determinative. Thus the exception can also debunk the rule (Mill 1894).

Based on my observations, I would venture to suggest that stereotypes are among the many resources Bridgeviewers use to make fairly *personal* jabs at one another; if the particular characteristic of a neighbour that one wants to poke fun (or fire) at can be hung on a stereotype, then one's work is made easy, but otherwise, some other explanation will be crafted. I do not mean to downplay the significant impacts of stereotyping; it surely

plays a role in making some peoples appear to Bridgeviewers (among others) as targets for denigration or exploitation, for instance. Rather, I mean to emphasize that stereotypes are put to work for many more reasons than those internal to the stereotypes themselves.

Racial stereotypes were not used around me to explain the conflict over the truck park, but Bridgeviewers did talk about "them" (a euphemism for Others, in this case East Indian people) as not communicating well about the project. One could use cultural difference (and associated racism) to explain this communication breakdown, *e.g.* East Indian business owners may have been speaking in their way about the project, but were not (and perhaps could not have been) heard by Bridgeviewers because of their different cultural and/or linguistic practices (*c.f.* Clifford and Marcus 1986). While I trust that much could be learned about those practices and associated cultural gaps and slippages, as an Anglo speaker I am not well-equipped to do so. Furthermore, Bridgeviewers have made this same complaint about The City (chapter one), community developers (chapter two), and the Gateway Project (chapter three) – which suggests that there is also something more persistent at play.

Whatever role racism may have played, conflict over the truck park was broadly marked by one group of people taking initiative without regard to regulations – which in this case involved East Indian property and business owners, but in other instances has involved white home-builders, scrap yard owners, etc. – and one group of people taking issue with that initiative because of its significant impacts on their way of living. This tells us very little, however, except that regulations may not be as informative of our ways of living together as political scientists, among others, tend to acknowledge. Regulations can be thought of as a proxy for official political processes, and

Bridgeviewers seem to prefer to be involved in making decisions that could significantly impact their ways of living together – a preference that I would suggest is held by most people across this country (as reflected in government requirements for community consultation on major projects).

In order to appreciate what is at stake in the truck park conflict and what a just resolution might look like, therefore, we must necessarily sink into details such as the coincidence with freeway construction, shifty ground that ripples under the weight of trucks, open ditches that one could fall into when ducking out of traffic, a truck breaking down in front of a pregnant woman's home, etc., not to mention significant investment in an industrial property that has yet to be properly serviced to support higher uses, municipal interest in meeting regional demand for truck parking, and so on. Thus, rather than seeking environmental justice by trying to separate industrial, and other uses with significant impacts away from people (which may be appropriate in some situations), this approach suggests negotiating justice in relation to specific struggles in particular places. Where people are not to be relocated and the impacts of industrial activity are significant, this may involve stopping that activity altogether, as opposed to simply mitigating impacts (*e.g.* Luginaah, Smith, and Lockridge 2010, 353-370).

In sum, Bridgeviewers who took issue with the truck park invoked values other than economic, signaling to attachments to a ruralesque urban way of life. While marked by the mixing of activities (which Jacobs associated with the urban economy), that way of life also includes looking out for one's neighbours on the basis of intimate knowledge, and commitments based on practical knowledge, within a global context that consists of

jockeying among cultural movements (as traced earlier in previous chapters). As noted, these practices cannot be explained by the kind of rational explanations that Jacobs had in mind when she drew out the evolutionary logic of city economic growth. In order to make sense of how various structures, practices, and so on inform our ways of living together, I have followed scientific discoveries that take history more seriously. This involves attending to particular scenes in order to appreciate the specific functions and impacts of categories (*e.g.* race), geographical features (*e.g.* of the land), contingencies (*e.g.* coincidence of different happenings), and relations (broadly understood). What is very disturbing in one place may not be in another, and what may be called for in response to certain impacts may also be different.

The surprising persistence of residential activity in Bridgeview is not, therefore, a matter of an old use holding sway in some grand history of the battle between uses. Furthermore, Bridgeviewers are not necessarily more fit than others to battle pressure from The City and others that have been convinced of the desire to separate out uses, and to ensure the "highest and best use" of property. While their commitment to struggling for the neighbourhood is remarkable indeed, myriad historical contingencies must be taken into consideration in order to appreciate Bridgeviewers' persistence, not least of which being the increasing sway of social movements in the 1970s, and the attendant value put on community consultation by the federal government in particular, as well as the NFB's Challenge for Change project in the neighbourhood (chapter one). While more contemporary battles seem to have been lost – with the flip of the BCA board and by extension staff (chapter two), and the freeway being laid across the neighbourhood (chapter three) – Bridgeviewers have gained much in the way of resources (*e.g.* for

neighbourhood improvement) and skills (*e.g.* communication). That they continue to live in or visit the neighbourhood, I take to be significant.

Even if in a decade the neighbourhood will have been rezoned for industrial activity alone, I imagine that people will continue to live there, as many do now, in homes of whatever sort on industrial properties, for instance. But of course, it is possible that some sort of high profile and likely high maintenance business (*e.g.* Microsoft, which is currently located in neighbouring Richmond) might locate there and draw the disciplinary gaze of those up the hill whose lack of attention is part of why people down there have been able to do this sort of thing, or perhaps more likely, that the river will have risen past the dikes and washed the neighbourhood away.

(4) Conclusion

Jacobs' "post-Darwinian" theory of evolution through diversification and differentiation is helpful for shaking loose our attachments to progress – based on a stages theory of change that is inscribed in the ongoing emphasis on "progressive" politics. One of the most significant implications of challenging progressive theories is that hunter-gatherer peoples – such as the Qayqayt – that have tended to be dismissed as "primitive" come to appear as the first urbanites. Acknowledging indigenous peoples as innovative is an important intervention, but the evolutionary logic that underpins it produces a series of problems that we cannot well address using that same logic. The trouble is that many of us scholars struggle, along with others, to think beyond Darwinian evolution in much the same way that others have struggled to think beyond creationism and stagist theories of development.

A fundamental problem, as I have explored in this chapter, is that evolutionary thinking trains our attention on "cities" that have the innovation trait required for competing in the market, and leads us to dismiss other places – categorized as "rural." Accepting that rural areas simply serve a need produced in cities and necessarily decline when they cease to serve that need (for whatever reasons), Jacobs did not lament their decline. She analyzed rural areas to the extent required to hypothesize alternatives to dominant stories about the emergence of agricultural villages and nomadic herding. At the root of both, Jacobs posited the decline of early cities; "orphaned villages" that had been "under protection of a parent city" would have continued to do their agricultural work so long as they retained seeds and such (and so constituting relatively independent agricultural villages), but if seeds or some other crucial aspect of the local economy were lost, then only the work of animal husbandry would have remained (leading eventually to nomadic herding). While logical, this story has the effect of devaluing self-sufficient and nomadic ways of living, as tenuous because lacking the capacity for economic development.

A key assumption here is that dependent rural areas do not have the innovative capacity to generate the "new technologies" required "to develop further" on their own (Jacobs 1969, 38). As my analysis has shown, however, it is not at all clear where innovation ends and imitation begins. Rural seeming places, like Bridgeview, can actually have an immense capacity for making stuff and doing things in different ways. If we leave aside the preoccupation with categorizing places as urban or rural, what is left of Jacobs' story of city economic growth is the urban myth that we have always already been urban. Rather than seeing some places as innovative and other places as dependent,

we can come to appreciate the complex inter-dependencies among all places.

Another problem produced by Jacobs' "post-Darwin" conception of the urban as an engine of economic growth is that it implies that the economy is determinative of our ways of living together. While framing her project as a supplement to the notion that cities are "primary organs of cultural development" (Jacobs 1969, 6), Jacobs seems to treat the economic as at "base," if you will; a place's economic development defines its culture (*e.g.* urban, rural, or nomadic). An upshot of economic determinism is that despite being described as democratic, the political space opened up for participation is quite narrow. Most notably, following a "neo-liberal ideology" it is always already decided that there should be as many different things with as few restrictions as possible on them, so that they can be combined otherwise; and yet, a free market of that sort is not to be found in "actually existing neoliberalisms" – which are marked by varying government supports/interventions and "uneven spatial development", not to mention significant resistance (Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2009, 50-1).

Forging bonds of solidarity or intimacy, or otherwise 'restricting' or resisting how things can come together has enabled Bridgeview survival, for instance, and so Jacobs seems to have overestimated the economic and underestimated the cultural in assessing possibilities for change. Accepting that capitalism is but one of many significant structures informing our ways of living (Kataoka 2009, 73-87), means letting go of a single rational explanation for how change happens over a single arc of time, and so too becoming attentive to multiple temporalities at play, which produce singular seeming events (without historical precedence or parallel). Thus what I have rendered in this chapter is an urban myth of re-creation and contingency.

It may seem strange to put so much emphasis on *The Economy of Cities* for explaining the change from *that* to *this* implicit in the myth of the civil city because the text has had little direct influence in urban studies, but the evolutionary logic underpinning it is pervasive. For example, the "survival of the fittest" notion that cities are in competition with one another, and so we should not lament the decline of those places that do not effectively compete in the market (*e.g.* by offering an attractive package of "public goods"), is influential indeed (Ostrom, Tiebout, and Warren 1961, 831-42). This competition has produced a lucrative business in advising cities on how best to compete. One of the most influential advisees of the last decade – regional economist Richard Florida – offers a digestion of Jacobs' urbanism, which I have similarly tried to do in this dissertation.

While supportive of Florida's basic assumption – that everyone is creative (which is implicit in my suggestion that we have always already been urban) – I am concerned about how he reinscribes the distinction between "the Creative Class," whose members use their creative capacities to drive economic growth, and those whose creative capacities are stifled (*e.g.* service workers). His thinking may be true to Jacobs', given that she similarly reinscribed the distinction between urban/rural, but I dare say that she would take issue with his privileging of the Creative Class, not to mention kowtowing to urban planners. Florida has focused on how cities can attract the Creative Class by fostering "progressive" environments (*e.g.* by working with universities and developing "lifestyle amenities," such as community-based arts and outdoor recreational infrastructures; Florida 2002, 291-97). By his own admission some ten years on, however, "talent clustering provides little in the way of trickle-down benefits. Its benefits

flow disproportionately to more highly-skilled knowledge, professional and creative workers" (Florida 30 Jan 2013). Cities attracting the Creative Class are thus divided in some ways that can be considered different than divisions of yore (Marcuse 1993, 355-365).

A complement to trying to attract affluent people as a way to make cities competitive is highlighting the ability of those living in poverty to compete in the market. Jacobs herself made an argument of this sort in *Death and Life – i.e.* what appear to be decaying neighbourhoods are actually vital places that are best understood as hotbeds of innovation – that has been mobilized by *Globe and Mail* journalist Doug Saunders, in his depiction of "arrival cities." He suggests that the 'affordable' fringes of big cities where new migrants to the region pool their resources and save money to improve their living situation – places such as Liu Gong Li and Mississauga (and could even include Bridgeview) – function "as an instrument of integration, a platform for urban inclusion" (Saunders 2010, 314). "The crucial paradox of the arrival city is that its occupants all want to stop living in an arrival city – either by making money and moving their families and village networks out or by turning the neighbourhood itself into something better" (Saunders 2010, 321); regardless, he suggests the arrival city itself class-climbs, if you will, becoming part of the fabric of the big city in time. All that Saunders' analysis requires of affluent readers is to offer some "money and support" to arrival cities (however counter-intuitive it might seem, given appearances of "perpetual poverty and ethnic isolation" (Saunders 2010, 314), while implicitly maintaining our ways of living.

The affluent-serving assumption, I would suggest, is twofold: (1) that less affluent people are creative and with hard work are able to raise themselves up to the middle

classes; and (2) that everyone has bought into this myth of "middleclassification" – which a conservative urbanist insisted was a delusion of progressives (Banfield 1958) – and so want to class climb. At least some Bridgeviewers' commitment to staying in the neighbourhood belies these assumptions.

Instead, I suggest that we take responsibility for the barbaric impacts of assuming that people will behave in civil ways in order that we might each improve our lots – whether it be dumping on other places (chapter one), creating an industry for ourselves to help those others (chapter two), buying into an ethic that is imposed paternalistically (chapter three), or dismissing those that are dumped on, marginalized, or off message, as unfit for urban life. In challenging the evolutionary logic underpinning civilization, I hope that my analysis is more in line with Jamie Peck's influential critique of Florida's work – as having thrived in "the profound policy vacuum that characterized the neoliberalized urban realm" and "the now-extensive circuitry of the fast-policy regime that has been constructed around cities" (Peck 2005, 767). Peck describes cities "as crucibles of innovation" and as "places of progressive political possibility" (Peck Nov 2010), and while I have used different language (*i.e.* "re-creation" and "justice" respectively), I share his emphasis on political struggle in and over our ways of living together particular places.

In attempting to stretch beyond the evolutionary thinking that informs Jacobs' explanation of the change from *that* to *this*, I have rendered an urban myth that tells of how we have always already been urban. This urban myth invites us to grapple with the complex inter-dependencies among places and to think through how various structures and practices have come to inform particular urban scenes. By stretching thus, I suggest

that we become better equipped to engage with some of the problems we have inherited, by which the places that most of us live in are dismissed. By focusing our analyses on such places, we can more easily get a sense of the ways that our ways of living together are informed because such places are not as overcoded by the myth of the civil city as the central cities that have been the focus of much analysis.

To emphasize, this urban myth does not equip us to provide logical explanations about what is going on in the places where we live (on the retrospective rationality of evolutionary thinking), let alone to predict (following the progressive line of thinking). On a logical explanation, the Bridgeview neighbourhood would seem to be losing the battle against newer industrial uses. But as demonstrated in this chapter, the presumed mutual exclusion of (and conflict between) these two uses hides the ways that they mix in Bridgeviewers' ruralesque urban way of living. On a predictive analysis, the Bridgeview neighbourhood would seem to be on the way to extinction. Even in the 1970s, for instance, Alderman Ed McKitka observed that Bridgeview seemed to be growing 'naturally' into a light industrial area irrespective of council's policies (Anonymous 15 Nov 1972). The neighbourhood used to be big enough to support a thriving local commercial scene (BV 7), but it has shrunk to the extent that it cannot even support a grocery store, and so one might expect that this decline will continue. Such indicators say little about remaining Bridgeviewers' commitment to the place, however, or about the broader shift toward shopping in regional big box stores; even in "old timers'" homes, a bento box from the Asian superstore is a tasty lunch option. Difficult as it might be to let go of outcomes that empower (us?) expert tellers of the past and the future, since neither explanations nor predictions are ultimately supportable, admitting our loose sense of

urban scenes enables us to provide more accurate assessments of their implications and possibilities.

Looking to Bridgeviewers' opposition to the truck park, we can see that the effectiveness of formal decision-making and administrative processes is at stake. While portending a rational and clean form of local government, such processes simply complicate the ways that people negotiate more personal investments and benefits. Appalling as money passed "under the table" from the hands of a developer or business person to officials as City Hall might be, it does not seem to be much less just or democratic than drawn out processes in which money is passed through the hands of lawyers or other experts (be they City staff or 'independent' researchers) who can craft compelling stories about how the interests of the whole will be served by certain projects, and/or who can identify technical means to "mitigate" concerns about the negative impacts of projects. In either case individuals, who have and are willing to use resources to push through a project from which they will reap disproportionate benefits, are largely able to do so.

Dismissing informal means as "corrupt," and imagining that formal means simply need to be improved upon in order to effectively preempt or stamp out "corruption," is to delude ourselves into imagining that there is such a thing as a decision-making or administrative process that can rise above personal investments or benefits. Since these processes themselves are made by and for people, their very design is more legible and beneficial to those whose investments have been taken into consideration by designers, than to those that have not. What might it look like if we were to take personal investments seriously in analyses of politics?

Studies of urban regimes have tried to do just that by challenging the common dismissal of informal relationships as "corrupt" and drawing attention to the productive relationships between business and City Hall (Stone 1989). But such studies assume the public/private distinction problematized in chapter one, and tend to accept and reinforce the conventional notion of the relationship between the two, in which economic development is treated as the proper end of local government (for an exception see, Leo 1995, 27-50). In trying to do something other than voluntarily adding to the case for the civil status quo in taking personal investments seriously, I suggest that we seek possibilities for more just or democratic actions in particular scenes, with their complicated relationships – which cut across various institutional and spatial divisions.

If a politics in which people actively engage in negotiating our ways of living together is desirable, as the common celebration of democracy would suggest, then we require better skills for negotiating than are afforded by civil modes of interaction. We would do well, I suggest, to stretch to appreciate the political capacities of Bridgeviewers, among others, to negotiate complex relations. This requires finding ways to accept and engage with things that offend us, rather than simply avoiding them, relying on experts to deal with them, or dismissing them as wrong/bad (as has become habitual under the myth of the civil city).

As explored in the course of this dissertation, the civil city myth encourages would-be urbanites to rely on codes (such as respect for privacy), institutions (such as social service agencies), ethics (such as social equity or sustainability), and systems (such as the economy) to manage our interactions so as to free us up to make our way in the market. But as has been noted by many influential scholars, such private freedom is not the

'natural' end of government.

Such analyses tend to be followed by celebrations of public freedom of some sort, as in Hannah Arendt's influential conception of freedom as a capacity for *action*, for bringing something new into the world, which requires the creation of public space where freedom can play out and where an audience can give that action meaning as something new (Arendt 1963). While I find Arendt's emphasis on our inter-dependencies helpful for getting a sense of the conditions under which we live, I would suggest that it is undermined by elevating the new, which minimizes the historical conditions of possibility of the new (including certain relations). Furthermore, as I have suggested in this chapter, elevating new innovations downplays the significance of less dramatic re-creation. The new is fantastical indeed, premised as it is on a relatively clean break from the past, which flies in the face of our embeddedness in history. The "ontological root" of the new – most significantly, political action and freedom – was identified by Arendt as natality (Parker 2011); but as arguments about when we ought to consider a fetus to be a human life well illustrate, the moment at which something is born is not discrete. Privileging one moment in a complex process through which things come together in different ways obscures that complexity. Letting go of our attachments to bringing something new into the world is, therefore, to challenge notions of public freedom.

While this move may seem to give up too much, I argue that the emphasis on freedom leads most people to undervalue their contributions to our ways of living together. Focusing on re-creation is helpful because it draws attention to the mundane re-actions through which we continually renegotiate our ways of living together, as opposed to elevating rare moments of "revolution," for example. Only a small handful of

exceptional people seem to have been remembered as capable of acting freely. By contrast we are *all* (including animals, rocks, machines, and so on) capable of re-creating things, and taking response-ability. This expanded notion of who/what is involved in politics is fitting of the emergent ecological sensibility, *e.g.* as anticipated by and reflected in proliferating "ecological critics" (Luke 1997), and perhaps it is also an emptying out toward the emergent post-human sensibility, in "unpreparedness for *thinking* the meaning of technology" (Kroker 2004, 33-72). So to emphasize, this is a deeply ambivalent argument, even if moved by an urban romanticism.

In sum, by accepting the urban myth that we have always already been urban, and that the urban is made through re-creation and contingency, we can get a better sense of the stakes and possibilities of particular urban scenes in the places where we live. Urban studies of this sort demand attentiveness to the particular problems that arise in certain struggles, and what has informed those problems. That means trying to stretch our thinking beyond evolutionary common sense (which gives us the problem of economic growth within a competitive market), and the progressive tendency to emphasize process (in seeking democracy or public freedom, for instance). Appropriate re-actions and methods are suggested by particular problems. Absent a general political purpose, such as freedom, and absent the naturalized growth of the environment in which we live, we are faced with the responsibility to engage in conflict, including re-negotiating how we come together in this particular scene. This is a matter of urban politics.

While acknowledging that such negotiation must involve the affected parties to be effective (because they have an intimate sense of the nuances of the struggle), I will offer some possible responses here based on my passing familiarity with the truck park conflict

as a gesture toward the wider range of options that might open up if justice were sought with attention to specific scenes. For example, Bridgeviewers who live adjacent to the truck park were especially concerned about the dust kicked up by trucks that was piling up in their homes. City Hall's response was to require the truck park to install sprinklers that keep the dirt and dust moist and so less likely to fly about; this requirement respected property boundaries and tried to get at the root of the problem, but much dust continued to fly. Given the persistence of the problem, I wonder if the truck park owners might send someone over to clean neighbours' homes on a regular basis? Similarly, might they have made a driver and vehicle available to the pregnant woman when the truck broke down in front of her home? This is not to suggest that the truck park was inevitable, or ought to have gone ahead, but rather, to gesture toward particular instances where responsibility might have been taken for the impacts of the truck park on neighbours.

Even the model western civil cities of classical Greece – which have been perceived as autonomous enough, nestled into mountain valleys as they were, that people could make decisions about their ways of living together without having to negotiate with neighbouring places (Dahl 1967, 953-70) – were inter-connected with each other through networks of trade such as those Jacobs found in even earlier cities. Given these thick interconnections (interdependencies, one might say), we cannot simply make decisions about what is right/good/better and implement them in neighbourhoods; what we can do is make interventions or offer re-creations whose impacts are unpredictable (but to which we can respond, in turn).

Cities are not, however, simply nodes in a global economic system (*e.g.* where a number of transportation lines cross), or some other abstract network, or even the totality of those networks, layered one on top of the other like transparencies in an anatomy textbook. As sketched in this dissertation, cities are places where people look out for one another (chapter one), become intimately familiar with how to do things amidst the flux (chapter two), commit to certain projects, and struggle for change in and through cultural movements; such activity is informed by and informs re-creation in a particular milieu (chapter three). All these things – including the formation of networks – take time. Jacobs was attentive to the importance of time – whether for relationship-building among neighbours or allies (chapter one), or for undertaking the trial and error process underpinning creativity (chapter four). But time is not so neat as she imagined, moving along a micro-line from old to new (with support for innovation), and a macro-line from simple to complex (*e.g. civilization* as the process of human evolution); or at worse, stagnating in the old.

Myriad re-creations and eruptions would seem to produce multiple temporalities that are at play simultaneously (*c.f.* Skocpol's "multiple causal narrative" as conceived in Sewell, 245-277). In preceding chapters, for instance, we might sense: master-planning time projecting a future based on existing technologies or knowledge ("…will have been"); NIMBY time, which makes residents' present precious and guards against change ("…is and should be"); community developers' time, which delves into a neighbourhood's diverse presents with the aim of syncing them up in an imagined future ("…should be"); activist time consisting of interventions that try to pause or punctuate other temporalities to invite consideration of ecological time ("…must be, but need not

have been and need not be"); and meditative time ("…is"). These temporalities cut across micro- or macro-scales; lingering in what is, for instance, can simultaneously ground one in bodily sensations of this moment (*e.g.* perceiving the lines and colours of a particular cubist painting) and stir a sense of resonance with a totality whose lifetime precedes and will extend beyond one's own (*e.g.* humanity, spirit). Furthermore, multiple temporalities affect one another in often-unpredictable ways, as exemplified by sudden extinctions or eruptions of complexity (*c.f.* Skocpol's "conjunctural, unfolding interactions" as conceived as part of a temporality that consists of largely contingent events: Sewell, 245-277).

Given that my own imagination is heavily constrained by evolutionary thinking, with its relatively unidirectional (even if branching or occasionally stagnating) theory of change through innovation (as the human iteration of natural selection) and diversification, thinking beyond it is difficult indeed. So what I have offered here is but a gesture toward a way of thinking through change that is open to historical contingencies, and given that my primary commitment here is to render Jacobs' civil city mythology into a more helpful urban mythology, I hope that this gesture will suffice.

A key implication of challenging evolutionary time by admitting the shocking appearances of singular events is that planning is significantly limited. Assuming that change is a product of gradual adjustments over time supports the belief that change can be anticipated, and to some extent controlled through thoughtful planning (*c.f.* Oakeshott 1991 [1962]). But if change is a product of struggles among cultural movements whose practical knowledge and commitments inhere in different temporalities, then what can come of those struggles is largely unpredictable. What we are bound to, then, are the

struggles themselves in particular places. This is to affirm Jacobs' emphasis on local self-government (chapter one), while loosening attachment to developing regulations as a practice of government, so as to attend to the complex relations in and through which justice ought to be negotiated.

Conclusion:

Sub-urban myths and Politics

1. From civil city myths and planning to urban myths and politics

We students of urban politics have been less graced by Jacobs' urbanism – with its attentiveness to neighbourhood self-government, practical knowledge, cultural movements, and creativity – than haunted by the myth of the civil city. Ironically, while the civil city is meant to afford us *freedom* (*e.g.* from prying eyes, to mobilize action for change, to construct our environment, and to improve our lot), it makes us *subject to* government at a distance, abstract social indicators, ethical codes, and capitalist competition. This subjection is exemplified by the dominance of urban planning as the mode of realizing the civil city – whether through formulas for diversity or creativity, ideal visions or visioning processes, or with good intentions.

It is difficult to appreciate such subjection, however, because the myth of the civil city gives us an imaginary friend of sorts upon whom we can project *that* barbaric, prying, entrenched, paternalistic, rural way of living. Bridgeview, for instance, was referred to as a little piece of the "third world" in Canada during the 1950s-70s, because of its 'primitive' infrastructure and ensuing health risks. More recently, it has been compared analogously to part of 'our' "third world," *i.e.* remote northern (read: Indigenous) communities where youths are not well prepared for integration into the public school system. The civil city myth makes Bridgeview legible as *that* kind of place: where sociality is rooted in intimate relations, where marginal populations are gathered, where people are bound by tradition, and where innovation is lacking. Some Bridgeviewers seem to behave in raucous, risky, and sometimes even outright violent

ways, and many more get a kick out of watching (so long as that behaviour does not unduly harm others). Some of the yards in the neighbourhood are piled high with junk, and there are homes speckled in and amongst the junkyards. Thus incivility has been projected onto Bridgeview.

While dumping on, trying to help, educating, or supporting such imaginary friends, we hold them dear *as we have imagined them* because they carry the pernicious impacts of our ways of living together. As a child, a friend of mine had an imaginary friend of this sort, named Gakka, whom she blamed for all her troublemaking; when questioned by caregivers about the fallout of some antic or another, she would say: "Gakka did it!" One day her grandmother – who was frustrated with this deferral of responsibility – threw Gakka under the hood of the car and shredded Gakka in the car engine. Similarly, I hope to have playfully sublimated a troublesome other, *i.e.* barbaric Bridgeview, by showing how the freedom of civil city life is implicated in and haunted by the subjection of barbaric rural life, and by challenging binary distinctions supporting that overall one. Thus I have rendered an urban mythology suggesting that we are all always already *responsible* for self-governing with practical knowledge of, and capacity for re-creating (in) a milieu with a particular ruralesque urban culture. Informed by this urban mythology we are bound to respond within, to, and through our relations in negotiating our ways of living together. In short, we are bound to engage in urban politics.

In this dissertation, I hope to have shown that we cannot avoid politics. The civil city mythology does not enable us to overcome: (1) conflicts that arise when people with different ways of living are in close proximity to one another, by respecting privacy in the

hopes of averting conflict; (2) structural problems such as racism and poverty, by relying on activists to symbolically represent the periphery, so that their marginalized interests might be better represented by government; (3) particular problems that people identify in the places where they live, by appropriating those problems as instances of global ethical concerns addressed by social movements; and (4) struggles over land use, by assuming that the fittest will survive, which will ultimately result in diversification. So, to reiterate, rather than planning for the civil city, this dissertation argues for engaging in urban politics.

Furthermore, I hope to have shown that urban politics is not easily contained. The civil city mythology attempts to circumscribe civil government – as a set of institutions (*e.g.* municipal agencies) separate from civil society, with a global consensus on urban planning within the capitalist market. Assuming that people in civil society are largely disconnected from powerful decision-making structures (*e.g.* planning departments), leads us to focus on futile attempts to fill that gap, *i.e.* "the quest for community" (as noted in the introduction); thus Bridgeview would appear as a tight but powerless community that is primarily social in function. But Bridgeviewers have effectively resisted relocation efforts, secured servicing improvements (however minor or inadequate), fostered politicized networks that cut around and through City Hall, and undertaken land uses with little regard for decisions made at City Hall, all of which suggests that Bridgeviewers have significant influence over their ways of living together (*c.f.* Kefalas 2003). As Jacobs observed, the mundane busyness of everyday life constitutes the bulk of self-government, and in cities that busy-ness cuts across neighbourhood boundaries (*c.f.* Sancton 2008); while Bridgeview is geographically

insulated, it is hardly insular, what with its connections through NFB film productions, community development projects, activist networks, and business, if not research.

Finally, I have gestured throughout this dissertation toward justice as the principle that ought to guide our engagement in urban politics. Whereas civil cities are treated as a gateway of sorts to freedom, recognizing that they also involve subjection, I have tried to suggest that when we acknowledge the troubling impacts of our ways of living together we are faced with problems of injustice. The civil approach to injustice is to *bring* people to justice as defined in general terms (*e.g.* law or morality), which tends toward judgment and punishment or mitigation; relying on specialists to deal with injustices, and on others to behave in civil ways, we often lack capacities for responding effectively to even minor incivilities, and so we tend to be afraid even when civility reigns. By contrast, we can accept the responsibility of *doing* justice to particular players and relations, which tends towards appreciation and accordance with capacities. Doing justice is thus an ongoing practice that fosters trust (rather than fear) by enabling us to hone skills for becoming familiar with how one has come to a certain scene, and what might be offered within it; as I have shown, such familiarity can be fostered through story telling, gift giving, cultural movements, or re-creation.

An echo of Indigenous ways of thinking may be heard in this list of possible ways to become more familiar with one another, so as to begin to do justice. But rather than indigenizing Western thinking using Qayqayt or other ways of thinking (which would risk appropriation), in de-civilizing the civil city mythology I hope to have rendered a mythology 'indigenous' to Western culture – one that is conceived in and through the urban (Magnusson 1981, 61-86; Lefebvre 2003[1970]). Urban political studies in North

America seem to have been most influential – *e.g.* informing broader political theories and debates – when scholars such as Robert Dahl were thinking in and through the urban (Dahl 1966 [1961]; Domhoff 2010 [1978]), whereas these days urban politics has been described as a "black hole" in political science as a discipline (Eidelman and Taylor 2010, 1-16). Challenging the "state thinking" that constrains our political imaginations (Magnusson and Walker Summer 1988, 37-71) is difficult indeed, but that is what I have tried to do in rendering an urban mythology. Furthermore, by showing what is made visible when we take up that mythology, I hope to contribute to the stretching of our political imaginations so that we might be better able to get a sense of what is going on in the places where we live.

I do, however, see this de-civilizing work as complementary to efforts to decolonize, if not indigenize, urban studies. Before explaining how this work might fit into a broader context, I will return one last time to a reading of *Invisible Bridgeview* to flesh out what readers might make of this case study.

2. Invisible Bridgeview

Bridgeview is my imaginary friend. Not the kind onto which I project disturbing, embarrassing, shameful, or sad things, but the kind that I want to become more familiar with and share with others. It is a place that my colleagues in urban political studies do not seem to see, and yet I have been in conversation with her/him for about five years now. Having only spent short periods of time there over the course of a couple of years, and only spoken with a small handful of those with a stake in the neighbourhood, I have filled in the texture of the place by making much of what I saw and heard, and drawing

connections between those reflections and texts about Bridgeview (*e.g.* archival material, films, news articles) as well as broader academic literatures. This is the "messy" work of social science, after all (Law 2004). So it would have been possible for me to frame this study as speaking to a truth of the neighbourhood, *i.e.* my interpretation of research on it (as put in conversation with theories of the civil city). But I want to acknowledge that the university itself has been mythologized as a civil city – a bastion of academic freedom under the law of rationality (replete with a medieval urban property system, *e.g.* tenure). In challenging the myth of the civil city, therefore, I felt it necessary to challenge the conventions of my field (even while largely playing the part of a good subject to them).

So whereas Jacobs claimed to describe the 'real' city (which could be understood through rational understandings of the mundane workings of streets and markets), I have rendered "urban myths." I chose this term because in proposing some general ideas about the places we live, I hope that readers will not take them too seriously (*e.g.* in the way that planners have run with Jacobs' formula for planning). Colloquially, we think of urban myths as fabrications. By making explicit the fabrication implicit in any general theory, I hope to provoke urban scholars to be more critical of such theories (as opposed to reiterating the same old stories). But why bother rendering such theories? The urban is a "necessary fiction" (Robinson 2006). It dominates our political imaginations, and so ideas about it inform our ways of living in significant ways. My hope is that we can begin to take a more active role in crafting urban myths, with attentiveness to the work such theories do, and the aim of doing justice.

But the urban mythology I have developed in this dissertation does not do justice to Bridgeview, as I will explore further in the next section. Much detail is left out of that

mythology that is helpful for getting a sense of the neighbourhood, but could not be reasonably included in the body of the dissertation (because it is does not logically or directly relate to any particular analysis). So I also crafted a mythology of the neighbourhood itself, which is inscribed in *Invisible Bridgeview*. Its form imitates Calvino's *Invisible Cities* because I find the multiple ways of reading that book exemplary of how we tend to read urban studies.

If the way that urbanists have read *Invisible Cities* is any indication (*e.g.* Sandercock 1998), faced with a text that is not organized in the conventional academic fashion (*e.g.* one, two, three, in sum) we are most likely **to mine it** for quotes that resonate with our particular points. While lending a certain poetic something to otherwise conventional academic essays, such quotes are forced to do a lot of heavy lifting in terms of saying something about some/most/all cities, as compared to the lighter work they do in the context of Calvino's vignettes, each of which is ascribed a particular characteristic (*e.g.* hidden cities, cities and desire). It is precisely this sort of mining that I have been doing in the body of this dissertation. Bridgeview scenes have been recruited to flesh out the civil city mythology. Helpful as this fodder may have been in terms of providing examples through which to work my analysis, it does not do much in terms of helping us better understand *Invisible Bridgeview*. How might we read this text in a way that is more attentive to it than to our own mythology?

The most habitual way of reading a book in English is from left to right, following the **narrative arc** provided. In this case, however, the dialogue between the researcher and The Mayor, which appears to thread *Invisible Bridgeview* together, is entirely

conjectural. Although it will almost certainly not achieve the mythological proportions of the one between Marco Polo and Kublai Khan written by Italo Calvino, this dialogue similarly flags broad features of the moment in which the encounter takes place. Generally these features are inverse; whereas time moved very slowly in the lingering conversations between Polo and Khan, speed and busyness mark the meetings between The Mayor and the researcher, for instance. Through such changes I have gestured toward characterizations of contemporary urban politics such as acceleration (for a response to those, see Hubbard and Lilley 2004, 273-294). But by including such gestures in an imaginary encounter I hope to have tempered the seriousness with which one might take them. More primarily, I have used the narrative as a way to reflect on questions that are sparked for me as a researcher in approaching The City.

Some of the **questions** posed in the dialogue between The Researcher and The Mayor have to do with research: How is what academics study always already framed in advance? How iterative is the research process? Does what we study bear primarily upon the academy? How might we reduce fieldwork to seeking evidence of theories? Are those who produce problems generally oblivious to their negative impacts? What else might we do with that which we do not 'get'? Are we afforded necessary pauses for synthesis? How do our problems or questions constrain and enable our research? How might our motivation derive from our own learning processes and/or bounties rewarded? Why bother with plans given contentions among experts? Might there be courage enough to take seriously the practices and contingencies by which our everyday lives and deaths are actually informed? Some of these questions have to do with sub-urban politics: Is the suburb like the city in terms of functioning largely as a growth machine? Is

municipal politics in general best figured as an elaborate game of Monopoly (based primarily on land development)? Is city council a democratic accessory to the machinations of ongoing development administered by staff? Some of the questions have to do with urban scenes, and how they are put together: How are the parameters of scenes set if not through speculation or conviction? How might a model scene (normative or exceptional) actually be useful? Must we study scenes in relation to one another in order to make sense of them? How fundamental is chatter in connecting urban myths and scenes of everyday life? Have editors become the new directors? Although it might be possible to boil these various questions (or families of questions) down into one central question, and to offer that synthesis as the guiding light by which we interpret various Bridgeview scenes, such an imposition would run counter to the structure of the text – which is multiple.

Two of the most explicit structures of *Invisible Bridgeview* – as identified by the titles of vignettes – are **processes of change** and dates. We could read all of the scenes with a shared process in historical order, and then try to make sense of that process. But a certain myopia follows from focusing on one process at a time. For example, transportation could come to seem like the primary determinant of land use – as suggested by some of the players in the struggle over the Gateway Program (chapter three), a video of built heritage in Surrey that begins with transportation networks (Surrey Heritage Advisory Commission), and prior to that, Reeve Thrift's rhetorical question: "Why what has brought all these Surrey cities into existence if not the railway?" (Reeves of Surrey, Spring 1890) – as well as the attendant rise and decline of the neighbourhood now called Bridgeview. With the shift from river (Surrey Heritage Advisory

Commission) to land based transportation, Brownsville went from being a key transfer point in a regional wagon, rail and ferry system at the turn of the century (Anonymous) to a neighbourhood that sits in view of the bridge, that is, Bridgeview.

That downgrade was marked by the opening of the Westminster – a double decker train and wagon bridge that sits in the shadow of the Patullo Bridge (and which falls in the gap between the "Bridgeview and transporting" scenes of the 1890s and 1930s). Frustrated with the demands of steamer captains, residents south of the Fraser petitioned for a bridge to connect them with New Westminster. Some say that the petition was initiated by the Settlers' Association, and others say it was the Farmers' Institute of Surrey Centre who took the lead (but in any case the two associations seem to have merged shortly thereafter; Pearson 1960 [1958], 22); with over 1,500 signatures, the provincial government conceded (Anonymous). The Westminster was opened to great fanfare on July 1904 – some 12,000 people, Settlers in their Sunday best and "Indians" in their finest regalia, came from across the colony to witness the ceremony (Surrey Archives). Apparently everyone thought the massive ticket price of $1 million (much of which went into driving pilings into the slough below the water), was worth it. For one, that was the cost of *Canadian* materials and labour. Government officials were also optimistic that opening up this portion of BC would facilitate the development of the Lower Mainland. Produce from the fertile flats of southern Surrey no longer needed to be shipped along much a longer (and so more costly) rail route, and new areas fit for industrial activity were opened up.

The Westminster marked the shift from river to road-based transportation in more ways than it was meant to. While the upper deck was designed with wagons in mind (*e.g.*

wide enough to accommodate two wagons loaded with hay passing side by side), cars were appearing in Surrey around the same time. Beginning with an enthusiast who would crank up his Tudhope McIntire every day and drive from Cloverdale northward with wind blowing in his hair (necessarily so, because there was no windshield, roof, or doors), by 1923 there was an Automobile Club in the province, which partnered with the Surrey Board of Trade to open the Canadian section of the Pacific Highway (#99) connecting to the American section (that goes to Seattle). By 1940, the Peace Arch border crossing was connected up to the Patullo by another route, the King George Highway (#99A), which boxed Bridgeview in. The ground was laid for trucks to displace trains in importance as well.

The one thing that was not loved about the Westminster was the toll, but it was removed after about 6 years, and was long forgotten by the time the Patullo bridge was constructed – hence the uproar traced in the "Bridgeview and transporting 1930s" scene. As depicted in that scene, the opening of the Patullo was thoroughly soggy. Eventually, appreciation for this bridge would come, for similarly opening up areas – including Bridgeview, but also more southerly sites – for industrial development (and less often stated, but just as significant, for residential development).

What might be helpful about telling a history of Bridgeview as declining from being a hub in a regional transportation system, to a neighbourhood declining under the shadow of one, is that it could be taken as a reminder that even those places that seem to be at the centre of things now (*e.g.* New York, London, Tokyo, Shanghai, Mumbai, São Paulo), will someday be on the wayside and downslide. If not within the century to come, in the millennia that follow; as depicted on the geological timescale we humans are

but a blip. On the flipside, this sort of history might suggest that the neighbourhood might have thrived if the industrial port had been developed there instead of just down the shore. But as Jacobs suggested, stories of either sort over-value the role of geography in determining the success of cities.

In addition to transportation changes, Bridgeview (or more accurately the pre-empted area) was transferred from one municipality to another, and thereby went from being visible and open to New Westminster across the river, to disappearing down the hill at the northerly reaches of Surrey. Some Bridgeviewers have been aware of the impacts of that transfer, and so have looked longingly to New Westminster city hall from time to time. In the throes of the fight for sewers in the 1950s-70s, for example some residents made public threats that they would work towards separation in order to receive the basic services and respect that they sought (Anonymous Jul [1973?]). Extreme as such a measure might seem, another neighbourhood in the municipality, called White Rock, managed to break away from Surrey in 1957 and incorporate. Not surprisingly, perhaps, White Rock was extremely affluent and so could independently cover the municipal contributions to the costs of services and so on. By contrast, as pointed out by a Surrey councilor of the time, Bridgeview was a financial liability that New Westminster would hardly be scrambling to acquire (Jay 12 Jul 1973). But it is possible that New Westminster might have seen opportunities to twin or complement its elaborate waterfront development (including condos, walkways, commercial activity and the like) in Bridgeview. Recently, some Bridgeviewers have suggested that Surrey undertake just such an initiative as an alternative to the industrial development currently underway, but to no avail (Lamontagne and Lalonde 15 Dec 2008). If New Westminster (not to mention

White Rock, with its well developed commercial strip along a beach) can be taken as any indication, a more vibrant waterfront would be associated with a more vital, but costly neighbourhood. Whether Bridgeviewers would be able to cash in on that inflation of land value any more than they have with industrialization is an open (and at this point entirely conjectural) question. But here, all I mean to suggest is that political processes *as well as* transportation changes have informed the relative decline of the neighbourhood in significant ways.

Many more changes surely informed how Bridgeview has come to be as it is, and so even expanding one's reading to include two or three of the processes would produce an over-determined analysis. As a corrective, one might read all of the *Invisible Bridgeview* **scenes in the order of their dates.** Thus one might craft a history of the neighbourhood that creates an impression of how various processes (of which settlement and transportation are but two) relate to one another in a particular moment, and how those moments line up with one another. A history of Bridgeview might read like a history of settlement (from fishing camp, to through station, to residential enclave, and increasingly to industrial area), much like the myriad histories of Surrey that can be found in the library or archives. As discussed in the previous chapter, however, such developmental stories reinscribe a stages theory of evolution that misses the persistent creativity and complex mixing of activities that has always already informed neighbourhood growth. Instead, one might tell a Darwinian-inspired story of how the neighbourhood has always already been urban, and so change from one date to another would be marked by struggles over economic activity that might read something like the Bridgeview sections of this dissertation (for sewers and neighbourhood

improvement/action, and against the freeway and truck parking). But this story also hides multiple temporalities, and the contingencies that made certain changes possible, not to mention the struggles through which that change has been realized.

It may seem strange that I have bothered to provide *Invisible Bridgeview* with multiple structures, given that each of them is somehow problematic for developing an understanding of the neighbourhood. Thus one could not simply read for each structure and add them together to arrive at a thorough understanding; and that is the point. Even multiplying these structures (and so attending to how they affect one another and certain dynamics of a place; on intersectionality see Crenshaw 1989, 139-168; Crenshaw 1991, 1241-1299) would not suffice because urban scenes consist of much more than the structures we conceive, and sometimes certain contingencies or details might be crucial to getting a sense of what is going on (*e.g.* recycling vis-à-vis the Gateway Program). So in approaching *Invisible Bridgeview*, I hope that readers can make themselves available to the surprising resonances, dissonances, silences and amplifications that might arise from the details therein.

The key provocation that I imagine that little book offering is to experiment with approaches that are clear about the role of the researcher, and that invite readers to grapple with multiple structures simultaneously. A trouble with this approach, however, is that by focusing on an academic audience I have not done Bridgeviewers justice. It is likely that they would struggle to see their own experiences in *Invisible Bridgeview* or analyses of the neighbourhood in the body of this dissertation. In part this is because by focusing on key characters – especially those I interviewed – I have likely overemphasized their roles (as is the tendency of most studies using an elite interview

methodology), and obscured others' contributions as well as the complex relations of everyday life (while talking about those relations in more abstract terms). But given that I was explicit about my academic orientation and purposes, I can hope that this dissertation might deliver on its aim to encourage urban scholars to begin to see places like Bridgeview as valuable sites of study – not as the murky backwaters of civil cities, but as complex and diverse places in their own right.

Although I could end my dissertation here (and some readers might wish that I would), I do not feel comfortable doing so because describing Bridgeview as urban flies in the face of Bridgeviewers' own descriptions of the neighbourhood as a "small town in the big city." As a gesture toward doing Bridgeviewers justice, then, in the final section I will briefly render a sub-urban mythology that values their personal touch and implies that urbanites should come to appreciate how our ways of living fall short of the urban mythologies we craft.

3. From urban to sub-urban myths

> *No one has ever been modern. Modernity has never begun. There has never been a modern world. The use of the past perfect tense is important here, for it is a matter of a retrospective sentiment, of a rereading of our history. I am not saying that we are entering a new era; on the contrary we no longer have to continue the headlong flight of the post-post-post-modernists; we are no longer obliged to cling to the avant-garde of the avant-garde; we no longer seek to be even cleverer, even more critical, even deeper into the 'era of suspicion'. No instead we discover that we have never begun to enter the modern era" "nonmodern (or amodern)"* (Latour 1993 [1991], 47)

No place has ever been urban. The urban, I would suggest, like the modern, is aspirational (for us, and perhaps some of them), albeit in a place-based more than a

temporal register (although the two can hardly be separated). The civil city, for instance, has been imagined as having the autonomy required for government institutions to be able to determine our ways of living together, *e.g.* ancient Athens (Dahl 1967, 953-70); but such autonomy has come to seem illusory and even undesirable. Urban thinking has suggested that cities are interconnected, forming networks that ultimately stretch across the world (*e.g.* Magnusson 2011; Jacobs 1969; Sassen 2001). While the places where we live are certainly connected in significant ways, they are also isolated in other ways (which is not necessarily to be autonomous); the Greenwich Village networks that Jacobs described for instance, were not accessible to those who were not connected with certain shopkeepers or neighbours (*e.g.* the suburbanites in the new building, or passers-through), and were connected to other neighbourhood networks through but a handful of "public characters" such as herself. So while the urban myth of global interconnectedness (through cultural movements and a capitalist market) is certainly a helpful point of reference, I would suggest we would do well to hold it at a distance in reflecting on the places where we live.

The urban may be a necessary fiction, but it no longer captures the imaginations of many of us who study the politics of places. I take seriously the growing "flight from the city" in urban studies. On one hand, with the return to the city (as in Vancouver) a literature on the suburbanization of the city is emerging. Noticing the emergence of big box stores in downtown New York, for instance, claims have been made that the big apple is becoming suburban (Hammett, Hammett, and Cooper 2007). Helpful as such analyses could be for challenging our common sense assumptions about that iconic place, and in turn, the urban, they tend to wax romantic about the New York that was and so do

not offer much that might help us better understand what is actually going on there; instead they tend to reiterate the suburban stereotypes with which they began. On the other hand, there is a proliferation of terms and associated literatures to describe the non-central places in which most people live, work, and play (as noted in the introduction): from edge city to technoburb, from eco-city to ethnoburb (for a more comprehensive review see Young, Burke Wood, and Keil 2011, 1-19). Neo-logisms of this sort may have the benefit of precision, but their sheer number is overwhelming to the point that they render the study of the places where we live into a virtually non-sensical field. Instead, I am moved by a similar impulse as those challenging the categorization of cities by treating all cities as of the same basic sort, *e.g.* as "ordinary" (Robinson 2006). But again, rather than coming up with a term to rival others, I propose sticking with the term that we have inherited: sub-urban.

In celebrating sub-urban life, I am not making an argument about urban form (*c.f.* Kotkin 2010, 128-31). Rather, I am suggesting that debates that are preoccupied with categorizing and assessing urban form are missing the crucial political conversations that are currently being sidelined by focusing on planning and developing the city in a certain way. Given what is going on *now* in a particular urban scene, I am committed to exploring ways in which we might do justice to our relations (very broadly understood). Changing urban form or developing certain policies or practices might be among the possible responses, but surely there are others that we ought to be attending to.

Rendering an urban mythology has been strategic because it could assemble forceful movements that are making the urban a key point of reference – as evidenced by the rebranding of Canada as an urban nation (traced at the outset of this dissertation), and for

instance, increasing interest in thinking through the global urban (*e.g.* Hall and Pfeiffer 2000; Smith 2002, 427-50; Taylor 2004; Brenner and Keil 2006; McDonald 2008, 99-104; Pacione 2009 [2001]; Thornley and Newman 2011; Roy and Ong 2011). While the urban mythology I have rendered may be a more helpful point of reference for making sense of the places where we live – because, unlike the civil city mythology, it does not externalize so much and thus enables us to get a fuller sense of our ways of living together – it is moved by an urban romanticism that many folks living on the fringes of affluent cities do not buy into because of their lived experiences of oppression in the city (*e.g.* Dawson Winter 2004, 17-35). Looking to slums in the global south in particular, Mike Davis has argued that these slums are the hotbed of resistance (Davis 2006).

While Bridgeview is certainly not a slum, and many Bridgeviewers enjoy relative affluence and ability to influence, they have long experienced neglect, paternalism, 'education,' and dismissals from urbanites up the hill (which is to say nothing of those urbanites' good intentions). As traced in this dissertation, Bridgeviewers have organized themselves to resist municipal initiatives, resisted against and with progressives seeking change, and resisted some initiatives within the neighbourhood itself. This is not exactly the kind of resistance that Davis had in mind (which involves a social class mobilizing against capitalist accumulation); but it is similarly grounded in a sensibility of resistance that has been historically associated with rural areas in colonial countries, which has moved to the fringes of the city (Davis 2004, 9-16). Thus the aspect of his analysis that I want to amplify here is that the urban may be too overburdened with histories of colonial control and imperial aspirations, including practices of civility noted in this dissertation, to resonate with what is quickly becoming (if it is not already) the majority of people in

the country (if not the world). So I take Bridgeviewers and others' resistance to identifying with urban ways of living seriously.

As a way of doing Bridgeviewers justice, I propose reinvigorating a sub-urban mythology (traced in the introduction), which by definition acknowledges that our ways of living *fall short of* urban ones (whatever the assessments of that shortfall might be). For one, this means that would-be urbanites need not attempt to relinquish urban inheritances or repress our urban romanticism; instead, it suggests a more honest orientation toward the urban. While it might seem dreamy if we were consistently self-governing on the basis of practical knowledge and commitments, and engaging in struggles among cultural movements with surprising interventions, that is simply not the case – which is why I have rendered urban myths (vs. urban realities). We often respond to things preemptively or with a pack, or because of how we have been affected by something, or due to responsibilities to family or tradition; I associate these ways of responding with Bridgeviewers' personal touch.

Many outsiders, including myself, who have had the opportunity to visit or work with them in some way find Bridgeviewers' exuberance – as expressed through dramatic storytelling, easy laughter, warm care for one another, abundant playfulness, and a seeming suspension of the clock – especially captivating (*e.g.* SUR 1; SUR 6; SFPR 2; COM 1; COM 2; NEWS 1). While some have characterized this as a sense of "community" (*e.g.* POL 1; COM 3), that term implies a cohesiveness or exclusiveness that I suggest is limiting. This is not, however, to disregard such practices. For example, a couple of Bridgeviewers living up the hill who had been actively involved in the neighbourhood in the past refused to speak with me in relation to this research – for

which I was thankful. I did not need to worry about them participating involuntarily, or at least under pressure of some sort (which would be unethical). They felt no obligation to offer a reason or to be polite while refusing to participate in my research, which is refreshing indeed.

Although I experienced such instances of exclusion, there were many more moments in the course of fieldwork when I had a sense of being *with* Bridgeviewers in a way that resonated with them. Most explicitly, in a couple of interviews Bridgeviewers paused to say: "This is fun!" (BV 7; BV 1). I took this to mean that an experience they had imagined would be alienating or foreign turned out to be a sharing of stories that was enjoyable, in part because it was familiar. We would chat and laugh until there was a 'natural' break in the conversation, which tended to be after three or four hours. I am thankful for these Bridgeviewers' warmth and generosity in sharing their reflections, and for the fun we had together.

In my mind these divergent experiences are related; Bridgeviewers' exuberance means that they tend to be "either all in or all out." Significantly, decisions about what they might be "in to" are quite variable, as opposed to on the basis of a shared private identity that constitutes a discreet community (chapter one). Given this diversity it is something of a ridiculous exercise to attempt to characterize Bridgeviewer culture as such, which is why I have tried to make a myth of it.

While Bridgeviewer culture has a "small town feel," residents describe it as a "small town in the big city" for a reason. The neighbourhood offers residents access to "big city" amenities including competitive retail outlets, a wide range of voluntary associations, various employment opportunities, education options for their children, and

so on. This pull of the urban is recognized by the sub-urban mythology that we have inherited, which is one of the reasons why I am keen to work with it. An upshot of ruralesque living within an urban context, given the pervasiveness of urban romanticism, is that one becomes acutely aware of denigration from those up the hill. In a video profiling Bridgeview produced under the rubric of the Action for Neighbourhood Change project, for instance, residents were documented saying things such as: "They think that Bridgeview is an extremely backward area;" and "When people find out they [*i.e.* her kids] live in Bridgeview, they say: 'Oh, you live *down there*…'" (Action for Neighbourhood Change 2006b).

While folks up the hill at City Hall seem to walk with pride (*e.g.* as one of only two cities who won a grant through the IBM Smarter Cities Program: City of Surrey 2012), they are similarly sensitive to judgement from other municipalities. Not that long ago, in preparing to present a petition in favour of national unity to the people of Quebec at a Federation of Canadian Municipalities meeting there, Alderman Bonnie Shrenk was quoted as saying: "We want to put Surrey in a better light so we won't be laughed at" (Risdon 7 Feb 1979). In moments, such drives to override perceived "hickishness" have been effectively challenged by so-called "oldtimers" – as in the fight to retain the name "Whalley" for the neighbourhood at the hub of what is now called "Central Surrey," a fight that was won in 1948 (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 18). More recently, judgements have tended to be made around gangs and drugs, as noted earlier. But in any case, Surrey, like Bridgeview, has been vulnerable to dismissal.

While pride in our ways of living together may be desirable, if it is based on putting down other ways of living in other places, then it is rather insecure because those

others may have judgements about us as well (*e.g.* Herring 2010). By leveling the metaphorical hill upon which urban seeming places are perched, and locating all places and ways of living within a sub-urban field, I hope that sensitivity to the perceptions of and impacts on neighbours might become more common. Then we might all begin to develop pride in our ways of living together on a more affirmative basis.

One might think of the sub-urban mythology as a "middle ground" of sorts that invites both would-be urbanites and would-be ruralites to embrace our common lot (even if drawn in different directions). If overcoming one another is not an option (whether by imagining Gakkas or revolution), then we would actually be tasked with negotiating our ways of living together as we come together now – which is the stuff of politics. Grounded together in the sub-urban might therefore serve as a starting point for meaningful political engagement.

Before offering a rendition of the sub-urban mythology, I want to acknowledge that, like the urban, it too is burdened with unhelpful stereotypes (in this case, of relatively affluent American post-war cookie cutter residential developments). This may be one of the reasons that many scholars have opted to generate neologisms in looking to a wider range of sub-urban forms and ways of living. Much of what may appear to be baggage of the field of sub-urban studies, however, can actually be quite helpful.

Our sub-urban inheritance is refreshingly explicit. As traced in the introduction, this field takes seriously: (1) our "quest for community" and tendency to withdraw into the comfort of our homes (vs. actively engage in the political); (2) the gaps between (and to a lesser extent within) neighbourhoods with different histories and cultures; (3) the dominance of the global north in defining a globalizing field; and (4) the evolutionary

logic by which we apprehend the places where we live, and the persistent attachment to small town ways of living. In short, the sub-urban literature makes explicit problems that we continue to face. Asserting that a place, a country, or the world is becoming urban does not solve these problems, because they are "wicked" (Rittel and Webber 1973, 155-69). Taking up a sub-urban mythology may not make us feel progressive, and that is a good thing. It neither propels us forward by positing an other that is backwards or pushing us toward the margins, nor raises us up through a global ethic or sense of being fit. In the sub-urban no one is above conforming or withdrawing, discriminating, buying the widely distributed and ready-made, or seeking more intimate relations. Sitting with our complex inheritances can be uncomfortable, but at least here we can get a fuller sense of the implications of our ways of living together. As a student of politics, this is a much more productive starting point for negotiating more just ways of living together. In practical terms, it is better to feel proud of a project or intervention that we can deliver on, than to hope for evolutions or revolutions that remain to come.

Having been oriented in relation to the civil city mythology, however, the suburban literature proposes responses that unwittingly amplify the conditions that have produced those problems in the first (*e.g.* recentering the stereotypical white middle class suburb in reaching out to the diverse margins). I hope to have contributed to addressing this in my dissertation by de-civilizing the civil city mythology. In the remainder of this section I will craft a sub-urban mythology that takes the urban mythology rendered in the body of this dissertation as its point of reference – the urban and the sub-urban being inextricably linked, after all. To emphasize, this sub-urban mythology is not meant as a definitive characterization of the places where we live, so much as an experiment in

crafting a set of stories that express something of my imagining of Bridgeview. My hope is that some readers might be provoked to undertake similar experiments, so that we might reinvigorate sub-urban studies such that it is both responsive to rigorous urban theories and the complexity of the places where we live.

(i) Self-government in blind spots of The City: Gangs, packs, or tribes

While the bulk of Jacobs' analysis was focused on self-government under and through city institutions, she also acknowledged another mode of self-organizing: gangs. Rather than dismissing gangs as anarchistic, Jacobs explicated "the Turf system" that they form. In this system, "a gang appropriates as its territory certain streets or housing projects or parks – often a combination of the three. Members of other gangs cannot enter this Turf without permission from the Turf-owning gang, or if they do so it is at peril of being beaten or run off" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 47). On her analysis, Turf is not an institution of self-government; rather, it is one of three modes of security – after "let danger hold sway" and "take refuge in vehicles"– which has been "adopted widely by developers of the rebuilt city" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 46). The "technique" common to both gangs and urban revitalization is "to designate the Turf and fence the other gangs out" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 47). In fact, she saw urban renewal projects as creating the conditions for gangs to thrive: "Wherever the rebuilt city rises the barbaric concept of Turf must follow, because the rebuilt city has junked a basic function of the city street [*i.e.* "intricacy of sidewalk use, bringing with it a constant succession of eyes" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 47)] and with it, necessarily, the freedom of the city" (Jacobs 1992 [1961],

50). As "barbaric," the Turf system and the gangs that produce them are conceived as sub-urban.

By positing gangs as the social unit of the Turf system, Jacobs drew attention to more dramatic violences associated with it. Referencing infamous gang wars in New York, she noted that "a series of truces" included "a mutual understanding of Turf boundaries among the gangs concerned and agreement not to trespass" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 47). Jacobs affirmed the then police commissioner's "outrage at agreements respecting Turf" because they "were intolerably subversive both of public rights and public safety," but she argued that "[t]he safety of the city, on which public right and freedom of movement ultimately depend, was missing from the unsuccessful streets, parks and projects dominated by these gangs. Freedom of the city, under these circumstances, was a rather academic ideal" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 47). While helpful for highlighting the violences associated with urban revitalization of the sort seen in Yaletown and its corollary Downtown Eastside, Jacobs' analysis of gangs obscures the way that they can function as sub-urban institutions of government that afford residents significant freedoms in their Turf, as well as supports that exceed those provided by city institutions.

While the appropriation of territory seems to be common to gang systems and the construction of cities within the city, gangs are by definition social organizations formed on the basis of mutual purposes or affinities (and so need not be territorially based). Gangs that do appropriate territory may dominate the area, but they do not tend to absorb all residents into their ranks. To the contrary, as tightly knit groups that have conventionally relied heavily on loyalty and honour to forge bonds of blood (literally and

metaphorically), membership tends to be hard won (Taussig 2003). Non-members are 'free' to move through other neighbourhoods as well – insofar as they can afford to (broadly understood). While Turf is serious *business* for gang members (often tied to criminalized economic activity), it is much less so for non-members.

Furthermore, some gangs protect non-members within 'their' Turf. On one hand, local businesses and the like may be extorted for that protection; and on the other hand, residents may find that such protection exceeds bare security. A couple of Bridgeviewers, for instance, spoke rather romantically of the days when the neighbourhood was home to a motorcycle gang that apparently would "take care" of residents (FW 5). Pro bono repairs might be made to vehicles, for instance. Supportive gestures such as this are often a standard part of what gangs do to maintain relatively amicable relations with neighbours; combined with a collectivist philosophy propagated by a couple of political prisoners in jail with gang members in Rio de Janiero, for instance, a "movement" was initiated in the 1970s, through which gangs actively undertook to do the work of "the state" the favelas (Lund and Salles 1999, 57min). Without forgetting the affects of gang violence (including extortion and other business-related violence) on residents, I want to highlight the important role that gangs can play in providing not only security but also basic social services to residents of neighbourhoods that tend to be neglected by formal government institutions.

Eventually the profile of the motorcycle gang in Bridgeview became so high that the police could not turn a blind eye to it (FW 5). Following the crackdown, the neighbourhood was apparently less fun for some Bridgeviewers who had enjoyed the gang's lively sociality, and surprisingly perhaps, more dangerous feeling – with

criminalized activity becoming largely unregulated. Traces of the gang remain in the neighbourhood, however, most obvious of which is their old watering hole, hotel, and venue for "exotic dancers" – which retains the name "Turf" to this day (and even following on a change of ownership continues to host events such as the "Memorial Ride and Roast" for a deceased fellow motorcycle rider (Turf 22 Jun 2013). A number of Bridgeviewers I spoke with continue to drop into the Turf, for different reasons, such as running into old friends and acquaintances, and seeing the shows. This does not mean to suggest that everyone in the neighbourhood embraced the gang's presence, but it does challenge popular depictions of gangs as dominating through violence alone.



Figure 16: *The Turf* (photo by author)

I might even go so far as to suggest that significant space for self-government can be afforded to residents in some gang-dominated neighbourhoods, because so long as one is not interfering with their business, they do not much care what one does. By contrast, The City has myriad regulations, *e.g.* over building. Furthermore, the gang was perceived by some Bridgeviewers as providing more in the way of support for residents' activities than The City. That space for self-government might go some way in explaining why some Bridgeviewers remember so fondly the time when the gang was active in the neighbourhood. Yet at the same time, the divide between these wider spaces of self-government and the insular gang organization where decisions are made about security and services provides the conditions for disturbing violence against or that affects residents that in many instances lead residents to resent, if not rise up against, gang rule (Horowitz 1987, 437-50; *c.f.* Venkatesh 1999, 551-567). It is this gap that appears as problematic when we take gang organization more on its own terms. While not necessarily connected to the motorcycle gang processes of self-government, with their tight bonds and willingness to work together on collective projects, Bridgeviewers might be thought of as a gang of another sort.

Gangs may be thought of as a kind of family (Ruble and Turner 2000, 117-32), as illustrated by members calling one another "brothers" or "sisters." Like families, gangs have different codes governing interactions (including violent ones) within the group, as opposed to outside of it; for example, a member throwing rocks at a brother might be part of normalized interactions (as apparently it was in Bridgeivew in the 1970s), whereas an outsider throwing a rock at a member might be incitement for retaliation (as in the metaphorical rock throwing by The City, as exemplified by the claim that "some people

have to suffer"). Jacobs was concerned about the way that a strong sense of belonging in a neighbourhood, which seems innocuous enough (if not desirable), produces ill regard for strangers, which interferes with the ability of different people to connect up with one another to work on projects that could stimulate neighbourhood growth. Such togetherness and ill regard for strangers can be found in Bridgeview.

Outsiders who pass through Bridgeview tend to have a cause to do so, as is the case for researchers, community developers, public health and education workers, city staff, and the less well intentioned. Whatever their purposes, outsiders tend to be treated as the source of most ills. For example, when a bag of recycling disappears from the back stoop of a neighbourhood house, the finger is pointed at squatters, rather than one's neighbours (FW 8). In fact, squatters are blamed for all sorts of things. There are rumours of meth labs in the bush, complaints of the environmental damage of squats (what with their trash and all), and criticism of how squatters spend whatever money they have supporting the illicit drug trade. Had it been similarly addicted neighbours who turned out to be the thieves, extending Bridgeviewers' neighbourly logic, they might very well have been described as "good guys" under bad influences. The difference, then, would have been a matter of familiarity with how someone has come to live a certain way. Maintaining togetherness within the Bridgeview gang seems to require a certain generosity among its members, and ability to pin things on outsiders (chapter one). I do not mean to overstate the distinction here, however; plenty of negative rumours about Bridgeviewers circulate among themselves, and much generosity is extended to outsiders such as myself. I simply mean to highlight the tight, familial-like, bonds that are fostered

among gang members, which practically speaking, could not be extended to others in general.

One might suggest the gang formation is what has made Bridgeviewers so effective in fighting to maintain the residential core of the neighbourhood. What is particularly striking about the drawn out fight for sewers traced in chapter one, for instance, is Bridgeviewers' capacity to stick together over a very long period of time, through myriad changes in government policies and practices, and within those shifting tides, to mobilize resources from a wide range of agencies, from the NFB Challenge for Change project, to the federal Neighbourhood Improvement Program. Most neighbourhood residents were relatively uninvolved, and as demonstrated by neighbourhood polls many were willing to cash out of Bridgeview and move up the hill – which means to say that they were not behind Bridgeviewers' drive to stay. Thus there seems to have been a gap between the active gang and many residents. Nonetheless, there does not seem to have been resistance within the neighbourhood to Bridgeviewers' claims to and drives to service the residential core. There were surely multiple reasons for this passivity, but whereas it tends to be taken as a problem to be fixed (*e.g.* to politically engage people), such passivity in exchange for a wide space of self-government seems to be accepted by many, if not most people, these days.

Key to gangs' success is their unpredictability. Precisely because one cannot know when or why they will do something, one cannot manage their forces in advance (a point I will return to in the following sub-section). Some Bridgeviewers have leveraged that unpredictability by making gestures toward the possibility of violent or shocking responses (*e.g.* carrying a length of rope in one's pocket to a council meeting that could

have be used to choke someone or could simply have been a remnant from a day's work on a fishing boat, or standing on a porch with a shotgun that might or might not have been loaded). In the face of such unpredictability, police and demolition crews have tended to stand down.

While Jacobs provided a narrow interpretation of gangs, some scholars have suggested that even formalized government bodies, police and the like have come to operate as gangs of a sort (Taussig 2003); others have described such modes of self-government as "packs" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987), for instance. Jacobs herself recognized that the relationships and practices of self-government include "both the informal and formal self-management of society" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 114). While she tried to impose distinctions between public "working relationships" among "hop-skip people" that contribute greatly to that "self-management," and private relationships that we should turn a blind eye to, Jacobs was attentive to the political functions of everyday interactions (some of which are personal); and I suggest we would be remiss to ignore the personal and intimate dimensions of "working relationships."

While people in bigger urban places surely encounter more "strangers" in the course of a day than those in smaller ones, Jacobs was right to suggest that this is not "the problem" that has been made out to be (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 114); as she noted, in big cities people are very effective at building relationships with others with whom they share interests, space, or goals. The more significant problem that Jacobs posed was how to enhance the self-government capacity of localities. Thus, if we are to get a better sense of the "intimate details" (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 407) through which we negotiate our ways of living together in particular places, we would do well to acknowledge the personal

relations in and through which sub-urban politics works. Vander Zalm's charisma and personal touch were significant in terms of his (in)effectiveness, as was Vogel's friendship with Bose, for example.

Jacobs was aware of "the extraordinary tolerance of organized crime and graft in American society" and suggested that a key and perhaps "the principal reason" is that "access to development capital may be hard to come by" (Jacobs 1969, 222). In other words, given the extraordinary costs of developing the places where we live, and the constraints on accessing funds through official mechanisms (*e.g.* banks), brown envelopes traded under a desk at City Hall, or other such personalized interactions have been helpful, if not necessary, in building up the places where we live. Thus, urban modes of self-government (*e.g.* looking out for one another, the neighbourhood house movement, district governance) seem to rely upon and interact with sub-urban modes of self-government through gang formations and relations. While Jacobs did not elaborate much on that reliance or the sub-urban modalities associated with it, we would be remiss not to.

(ii) Contempt for The City: Rubbing affects raw

> *The gravity [sewage] system is probably a superior one, but [the vacuum pump system] it's the first concrete thing that's been offered us. We're just asking for the basics… Besides, we've been given promises and on for 20 years from the municipality and so we've grown a little bit cynical toward council. We don't believe the gravity system will ever come to Bridgeview.* (Ross 5 Dec 1975)

Given Brigeviewers' practical knowledge of the municipality and commitment to neighbourhood improvement, they would seem to have been wise to accept an inferior

vacuum pump system that could be delivered on immediately than to wait on the promise of funding to come for a "superior" one. Such knowledge and commitment is key to the urban myth rendered in chapter two by affirming Scott's sense that everyone has practical knowledge (while resisting the paternalistic temptation to mobilize *that* margins from *this* centre). As with any urban myth, however, the romantic view of the urban is exceeded by much messiness in and of the places where we live – such as the cynicism Bridgeviewers tend to feel vis-à-vis The City. But out of appreciation for the strong tendency to reinscribe distinctions, I will briefly sketch Scott's opposition between practical and abstract knowledge. Then I will go on to consider practical knowledge as an independent concept within a wider sub-urban field.

Following Scott's analysis, practical knowledge is supposed to have the capacity to overcome, and yet is bound up with, abstract visions (to which I have added visioning). In developing the concept of practical knowledge, *i.e.* mētis, he opposes it to techne – thus reproducing the dualistic thinking that I have worked to undo. Whereas mētis is local and implicit, techne is universal because "it is organized analytically into small, explicit, logical steps and is both decomposable and verifiable" (Scott 1998, 320). Whereas mētis is fitting of "complex material and social tasks where the uncertainties are so daunting that we must trust our (experienced) intuition and feel our way" (Scott 1998, 327), "[t]echne is most suitable to activities 'that have a singular end or goal, an end that is specifiable apart from the activity itself, and one susceptible to quantitative measurement'" (Nussbaum as quoted in Scott 1998, 322). Practical knowledge cannot be accounted for by process flow charts because it does not follow the logic by which such charts are organized (however recursive or flexible the connections between

modules/steps might be). As Scott so well demonstrated, practical knowledge is not rationalizable.

Assuming that the urban myth of practical knowledge is opposed to abstraction reanimates the symbiotic relationship between two oppositional, complementary and supportive terms. One could meditate on this mutually constitutive relation between abstract and particular, or some other iteration (*e.g.* transcendence and immanence: Walker 1993) for many lifetimes, and it doing so would surely be worth it for the moments of seeing through the middle, elusive and fleeting as they might be. While accepting that our imaginations are always already informed by the abstract/particular distinction (as in Scott's conception of practical knowledge), I follow many influential thinkers in: (1) assuming that the abstract is of our making (meaning that it has particular conceptions, as I have suggested is implicit in Scott's own conception of authoritarian visions); and so too (2) sinking into the particular to get some sense of the minutiae of our life that is not overcoded by the reason that privileges a concept by defining it in opposition to another (e.g. Deleuze 1994).

In this conception of the sub-urban, there is no given concept or other thing with substance as distinct from another concept or thing, as in the homogenous affluent white suburb and/or marginalized diverse suburbs. Such conceptions must be formed by relating various forces, intensities, and other such indeterminacies (*c.f.* "plane of immanence"; Deleuze and Guattari 1987). As an independent concept, practical knowledge is one way of ordering sub-urban messiness, which tends toward certain functions and orders (*e.g.* gangs), but is never total.

In a sense I am co-opting Scott's analysis of the "logic animating" abstract knowledge to draw attention to the "control and appropriation" of practical knowledge, which he argued was "all but unappropriable" (Scott 1998, 335). Whereas he ascribed such appropriation to "the state and large-scale bureaucratic capitalism," I suggest that the urban myth of practical knowledge similarly (and so too incompletely, if not ineffectively) appropriates the messiness of our ways of living together in particular places. But whereas the state captures by means of centralized control (Deleuze and Guattari 1987), urban ordering involves multiple authorities with various functions and purposes that relate (or not) in complex ways (Magnusson 2011). By delving into this complexity, I aim to craft a myth of sub-urban life that exceeds practical knowledge. Such myths are always particular, and so I will revisit Bridgeviewers' sense of The City in elaborating the sub-urban mythology.

In the course of facilitating change in Bridgeview, ANC workers came to appreciate the practical importance of the municipality, as a cache of resources and authorities that were necessary to make certain improvements to the neighbourhood. The assumption was that it was a relatively neutral institution that if approached in certain ways could come to serve neighbourhood interests. But a tone of disdain is palpable when Bridgeviewers talk about "The City." This sense has developed through a relatively long history of efforts to raze the neighbourhood, in which neglect by The City has played a crucial part (*e.g.* chapter one). More recently, community developers, working on tight timelines, wanted residents "to focus on solutions versus being stuck on

past decisions – letting go of the past" (MacKay 2008, 35). While getting over past injuries would certainly have been practical, it was not realistic.

Scorn of The City is not so much a matter of prejudice – *i.e.* a long held *opinion* based on past experiences (or perhaps even without reason) – because it continues to be produced. Although municipal officials cooperated with Bridgeview residents on a number of projects under the rubric of the ANC, planners did not commit to protecting the residential character of the neighbourhood core (MacKay 2008). With its role vis-à-vis the freeway and truck park, not to mention its development of an industrial park, The City has consistently done things that support industrializing the area. While Mayor Vander Zalm may have had personal investments in such industrialization, with industrial land being so scarce in the region, it is highly valued and so it is no surprise that the municipality itself has invested in consolidating and preparing land for industrial activity. But other reasons seem to have broader purchase across City departments. First among these, as noted in my conversations with Surrey engineers and planners, is the boggy soil upon which the neighbourhood is constructed (SUR 2; SUR 3). Its fluidity resists the installation of conventional static structures, such as sewage pipes. While such infrastructure is "coming down the pipe," it could serve industrial just as well as residential activity. To emphasize, the production of scorn for The City is ongoing.

The sense of The City as mean vis-à-vis Bridgeview residents pervades the neighbourhood. Neglect and disregard is felt in the darkness of streets at night, the stigmatization of neighbourhood youths by those living up the hill, and even in the arrival of another community development project. Tempting as it might be to suggest that this sense of The City is a matter of perspective, from the bottom of the hill, this would be to

imply that The City is a fixed thing at the top of the hill. The analysis here suggests that it is conceived variously in various moments. The Bridgeview ANC conceived The City as a crucial collaborator, for instance. My suggestion is that The City consists of these multiple conceptions (and attendant forces and practices), as opposed to having an independent or unfolding identity that is being (mis)recognized by Bridgeview residents. The field in which The City is continuously conceived is beyond its meaning or control. It is a sub-urban field that consists of myriad relations (*e.g.* Young, Burke Wood, and Keil 2011, 4-6).

Bridgeviewers' disdain also produces a defiant "do it yourself" attitude, however, which has been touched upon throughout this dissertation. Bridgeviewers have not just done what is required to achieve certain practical ends (which is key to Scott's definition of practical knowledge); they have, for example, done more than is required to simply stop a theft or send a message of frustration about and to the new BCA board. Spontaneous actions can thus strain bonds of commitment. While the dramatic instances of such actions sometimes involve physical violence, more consistently they included saying or doing things that disrupted meetings or the actions that followed from them. Not all those who are committed to the practical purposes to which those actions can be put are comfortable with the actions themselves. This is not to caution against or to sanction such actions. Rather, it is to note that they are unpredictable and exceed their function. Hence, in addition to being mobilized through commitments, such expressions can also strain such commitments. Thus forging bonds of commitment is a continuous necessity (requiring gift giving, for instance).

This analysis poses a different problem than that afforded by the timeline and mandate of the Bridgeview ANC: What would it be to do justice to Bridgeviewers' sense of The City? This takes seriously the lingering and continuous production of contempt, rather than expecting Bridgeviewers to get over past injuries and embrace "internal adjustments" (MacKay 2008, 18). A way of responding suggested by Saul Alinsky, influential neighbourhood activist in America, is "to go in and rub raw the sores of discontent, galvanize them for radical social change;" in short, to "turn them on" to politics (Alinsky 2003 [1972]). Agitating Bridgeviewers (or the many other sub-urban dwellers that have contempt or discontent) vis-à-vis The City would, following his logic, produce momentum with which to "move on" to discontents with broader implications. There is no general process that could provide a "container" for the politics provoked through such "rubbing raw" of demanding affects, however, because it is not patterned. Instead there is jockeying of affective forces in and through sub-urban relations some of which can be mobilized for justice, and some of which exceeds such mobilization.

(iii) Dark corners of the Global City: Unintentional recycling

The myth of the global urban consisting of jockeying among cultural movements is helpful for coming to appreciate the nuances of neat seeming conflicts. As seen in conflicts over the South Fraser Perimeter Road, for instance, an environmental movement seems to share more with the economic movement that it is struggling against (with their common intention of sustainability), than with Indigenous people (who are moved by living traditions) standing alongside environmentalists in fighting against the freeway. There are, however, those who are actively resisting being seen (*e.g.* with or as a cultural

movement), for whatever reasons. In Bridgeview, for instance, perhaps the most effective intervention in SFPR construction was a seemingly unintended side effect of recyclers going about their business, presumably for survival.

The people who most frustrated the Gateway Program's efforts to construct the SFPR were those who pilfered construction machinery for parts. Since no environmentalists claimed responsibility for such actions, we can assume that it was merely an extension of the usual retrieval and recycling of materials in the neighbourhood. While some of the more radical actions undertaken by environmental activists involved interfering with the use of construction machinery – whether by blockading, setting up camp, or climbing machines – recyclers' pilfering was much more problematic for the Gateway Program (SFPR 1). Whereas the blocking of machinery could be gone around, waited out, or removed by police, missing parts had to be ordered and installed – which was much more costly in terms of time, money, and labour. So although apparently unintentional, one of the upshots of their work was to interfere with freeway construction.

The most obvious explanation for recycling activity in Bridgeview is for money, and the more creative forms can be explained in terms of a vaunted capitalist logic of earning more money with less work. For example, the flagpole at the neighbourhood school was stolen not once, not twice, but three times, because it was made of around 100 pounds of valuable aluminum. While taking down the flagpole and walking it down the road to the recycling depot would no doubt have been both weighty and risky, in order to collect a similar volume of aluminum licitly, recyclers would have had to collect some 3200 pop cans – which based on loose calculations would be about a week's worth of

collecting for a full-time binner (assuming that cans fetch 5 cents a piece, and full-time binners can earn about $650 a month: Chrunik 2 Jan 2010). Even if recyclers in Bridgeview collecting flagpoles are not earning respect or top dollar for what they're bringing in, they are not putting in as much time collecting (although more time may have been dedicated to planning), which seems to suit them well enough. I do not mean to endorse stealing, merely to draw out the capitalist logic that can make this mode of recycling sensible.

At the same time, these recyclers are effecting the redistribution of resources. Government agencies – be it the school or the Gateway Program – can afford to replace that which has been taken from them, and so illicit recycling can be seen as a way of supplementing painfully insufficient social assistance or minimum/low wage work or underemployment. Similarly, during the Great Depression, unemployed men living in Vancouver's so-called "Shantytown" undertook "a large-scale cooperative effort to dismantle the Union Street warehouse," and move it ten city blocks to cash in on some portion of the $3500 for which it was assessed (McCallum 2006, 13-14). What is significant about both the Union Street warehouse dismantling and the flagpole removals is that neighbours – at least some of which must have seen the moving of goods – were complicit insofar as they did not to report the activity to the police. "[A] silence that hints at a certain irreverence when it came to the love of property and propriety in… 'civilization'" (McCallum 2006, 13-14). Irreverant as bystanders may have been and co-operative as recyclers may have been, this is not only a modern day Robin Hood story.

As exemplified by the attempted theft from Metro sketched in chapter two, relatively wealthy government agencies and individuals are not illicit recyclers' only

targets. Some Surrey residents up the hill apparently joke that they have to go to the Bridgeview Flea Market on Sundays to buy back what was stolen from them during the week (BV 5). Nonetheless, if one has things of value that one has not cashed in on, one is presumably wealthier than those who would cash in on most anything. So while operating with a logic consonant with the capitalist market, these recyclers also challenge the 'natural' distribution of resources within that market.

I do not mean to suggest – following the logic of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow 1943, 370-96) – that recyclers cannot contribute to or constitute a cultural movement because they are preoccupied with survival. In Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, for instance, recycling has been formalized and given guiding intentions:

> We all know the value of recycling, but what if your recyclables helped alleviate poverty? Green (sustainable) economic development is a path out of poverty. United We Can has been a pioneer in what is now being called the "Third Green Wave," a combination of environmentalism and social equity. For fifteen years United We Can has been an advocate for marginalized people and the environment. United We Can provides people with support, training, and "green collar jobs." These jobs help lift people out of debilitating poverty and help create community opportunities in a place commonly referred to as "Canada's poorest postal code." (United We Can 2013)

So-called "binners" in the DTES work within the acceptable gray zone of the economy, collecting recyclables that businesses and residents either request to be removed or have already thrown out. At the United We Can recycling depot, binners are welcomed and guaranteed a full deposit on all the bottles and cans they collect, and furthermore, there they can access foot and bicycle carts known as Urban Binning Units, which help make their collecting work more efficient. In short, binners are made respectable "green collar" workers who are responsible for improving their own lot without interfering with others doing the same, while simultaneously helping the environment.

By contrast, at least some recyclers in Bridgeview go beyond collecting what others no longer want, to collecting things of value that they can access in the neighbourhood. While the parts that were collected from construction machinery will likely be put to good use, they were not yet waste and were necessarily replaced by new parts, and so this collecting activity can hardly be described as reducing waste or resource consumption. Whereas binners at United We Can may earn respect and support, many recyclers in Bridgeview are criminalized – whether formally, or as sketched in the previous chapter, informally by people such as Metro protecting their property.

If there is a rule that informs the behavior of recyclers of illicit materials in Bridgeview, it would be: don't get caught. Whereas UWC binners need not be watched because they are governing themselves according to the civil intention of sustainability and within the parameters of the law, the same could not be said about those down in Bridgeview. Eventually, SFPR construction workers were encouraged to stay in Bridgeview houses along the alignment (that had been bought out to provide a buffer), so as to keep a close watch on the machinery – or more pointedly on those who might pilfer it (BV 5; SFPR 1). This surveillance paid off, apparently, enabling the remainder of the preload to be laid down with little interruption. Significantly, the Gateway Program did not make a media fuss about recyclers' pilfering. By hiding those living in poverty who engaged in illicit activity, as well as the tactics that were effectively stopping construction, it created an impression of smooth implementation.

While recyclers in this instance do not seem to have been moved by the intention of sustainability, their informal gathering seems to have flourished in a Bridgeview milieu in which residential and industrial activity mingle (chapter four). Although

Bridgeviewers often imply that recyclers come from outside the community (chapter one), the familiarity that recyclers have with resources available in the neighbourhood, the rhythms and methods of those who protect those resources, and of places where resources can be turned into cash, suggests a more intimate and practical knowledge of the neighbourhood than could be easily gleaned from outside. The rarity of instances when recyclers are caught (*e.g.* by Metro; chapter two) because of a lack of appreciation for who they can take from (as well as when and how) is indicative of the norm of relatively intimate familiarity with neighbours' rhythms. Proximity between one's home, from which one could develop such familiarity, and the industrial or other activity that provides both sources and purchasers of resources in Bridgeview, thus offers favourable conditions for recycling. Furthermore, like (or perhaps even as) Bridgeviewers, recyclers presumably take a certain pride or joy in the follies of police, among other officials imposing rules in the neighbourhood (chapter one). Regardless, recyclers in the neighbourhood work in the dark sub-urban corners of the global city, and so it is unclear what their commitments might be.

Becoming cued to incidental impacts – especially those that do not have intentions vis-à-vis urban planning – is, I suggest, key to getting a better sense of sub-urban politics.

(iv) Unsettling the urban: Squatting together

One of the most influential approaches to sub-urban studies focuses on sub-urbanization as a process (*e.g.* Jackson 1985). It has been conceived as having two dimensions: spatial and temporal (Keil 20 Feb 2014). Geographically speaking, sub-

urbanization is understood as the marker of the city encroaching on the countryside, with the suburbs as the leading (lower-density) edge. Temporally speaking, sub-urbanization tends to be thought of as an inevitable mode of growth beyond the city limits, as people migrate from the countryside to the city and others flee the congestion of the city. Terms such as "ex-urban" and "post-urban" are indicative of the presumed overall development, from rural to urban, to sub-urban, which is not to say that the change from one to another is desirable (the sub-urban being generally considered regressive in some way or another, most notably in environmental terms). The trouble is that the places where we live do not develop in such a neat one, two, three and in sum manner as is suggested by the single overarching process of sub-urbanization – which like civilization, is informed by an evolutionary logic. Even reversals of suburbanization, as heralded by the revitalization of downtown Vancouver and echoed in claims about "the end of the suburbs" (Gallagher 2013), simply add another stage to this process of improvement by which we are thought to be becoming better adapted to our environments (chapter four).

The urban myth that we have always already had a ruralesque urban culture that, while re-creative, is informed by historical contingencies that seem to have independent origins, is helpful for loosening the grip of evolutionary thinking on our imaginations. But even ruralesque urban ways of living are haunted by a *sense of entitlement* associated with civility – *e.g.* to freedom in private (chapter one), freedom to mobilize (chapter two), free thinking (chapter three), and free enterprise (chapter four) – and that is closely tied with propriety, *i.e.* ownership (Mayo 2002, 169-86). In short, urban life is haunted by claims to spaces of and for freedom, exemplified by lots of private property. With that urban sense of entitlement, people settle in the suburbs in order to improve their lot.

More (property) can be bought for less, and the schools as well as the parks (if not the air) tend to be better "out there".

So focused on improving their lots are suburbanites, that early suburban studies were cued to the problem of civic engagement (as traced in the introduction). While I am certainly moved by a similar politicizing impulse, whereas Douglass called for expanding democracy into the economic realm, there are myriad other modes of structuring our ways of living together (chapter four). Even if we take the stereotypical suburb as our site, for example, there are many things other than improving one's lot going on. Perhaps most glaringly, teenagers in these places tend to be bored and so generate excitement for themselves and others, which can often be dangerous. Surrey, for instance, is infamous for its youth gangs and illicit drug production (and so is also known for piloting programs such as "the electrical and fire safety initiative" which brought together various agencies including police and firefighters to identify marijuana grow ops through municipal electrical inspections, and which effectively cued the provincial government to this mode of regulation; Carter 2009, 371-6). Suburbs also include many who do not have a lot as such; these are the people who cut lawns, nanny children, clean houses, and so forth. This is to say nothing of those who end up counted among the absolutely homeless who might be squatting in the bush or sleeping in cars (*e.g.* Preston et al. 2009, 288-304). With this wider range of sub-urban experiences in mind, we might ask into the politics through which the dream of having a lot to call one's own has come to dominate our imaginations such that we fail to seriously engage with the political problems we face (by assuming that youths will eventually grow up and invest in their own lot, and that people doing menial labour are saving up for a lot of their own, for instance).

Fundamental among these problems is the entitlement with which lots are claimed in settler states in particular. We settlers, including Bridgeviewers, have made ourselves 'at home' in sub-urbs based on the violent dispossession of those peoples with prior claims to and different relations with the land; and Indigenous peoples are resurgent, contrary to common sense that suggests that the process of civilization has virtually destroyed them. Haunted by stagist thinking, Jacobs attributed the impacts of colonization to Indigenous people's apparent inability "to conserve old skills or old goods" by "combining them with new goods or services or new purposes" (Jacobs 1969, 69). In her words: "such profoundly unconserving behavior results in the well-known havoc wrought on the cultures and economies of primitive people by contact with new goods, services and work brought in from outside" (Jacobs 1969, 69). So while her evolutionary logic is helpful for recognizing Indigenous people as urban (*i.e.* not barbaric), it leads to blaming them for not doing a better job of adapting traditions to the Western capitalist economy, rather than to settlers taking responsibility for systematic cultural genocide or the pernicious impacts of our ways of living. Taken to its logical extreme, this triumph of new uses implies the extinction of "old" Indigenous ways of living. Only a handful of Indigenous peoples live in Bridgeview, for instance, and otherwise gestures towards the peoples of the land tend to take the form of symbolic monuments, *e.g.* totem poles at the community school. In the case of the Qayqayt people, such extinction was thought to have been total, not 'just' cultural and economic, with the death of the last band member in 1992.

But the Qayqayt are resurgent. Despite having had no registered members for a couple of years, the Qayqayt First Nation remained on the books until Chief Rhonda

Larrabee was recognized as an official member in 1994 (Metro Vancouver Sep 2012, 15). Chief Larrabee was unaware of her Qayqayt relations until adulthood because her mother associated indigeneity with suffering a civilizing 'education' at a residential school in the interior of BC, and so raised her children as Chinese in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside; Chief Larrabee thus waited until after her mother's death to pursue recognition of her Status under Bill C-31 (The Record 6 June 2009; Cha 2003, 39min). Since then, another ten members have been recognized, the Qayqayt have been permitted to fish in their traditional territory (on the Fraser River), and have hosted a traditional pow-wow. To emphasize, this resurgence of a complex culture is a singularity – which means to say that it is historically unprecedented and without contemporary parallel, implying independent 'origins'.

Chief Larrabee's demonstrated commitment to Qayqayt resurgence includes continued population growth and cultural development, and eventually, a claim to secure a land base in the region (Cha 2003, 39min). The land referred to as Bridgeview and South Westminster, along with land across the river and on an island along the way could be claimed. This is but a sliver of the 80 acres per family that the 54 Chiefs of the Fraser River Delta sought when they went to Hope in July of 1874 "to petition the Government for sufficient land to assure the survival of their people," with Father Durieu at their side, and which they were refused (Pearson 1960 [1958], 6). Worse still, much of whatever land was reserved for those peoples has been parceled off in the private property system; apparently even the better part of the initial "Indian Reserve" on the south side of the Fraser, for instance, "was leased to a cattle dealer for pasture [after the early 1940s], and unknown to the Indians, this man became the registered owner of the larger portion of the

reserve" (Pearson and Reitz 4 Dec 1960, 6). But that was some seventy years after the writing was on the wall (or more accurately a petition) for the Chiefs, all 54 of which signed a petition including this reflection: "Discouragement and depression have come upon our people who are commencing to believe that the aim of the white man is to exterminate us as soon as they can" (as quoted in Pearson 1960 [1958], 7). Whatever personal intentions settlers might have had, the extermination of Indigenous peoples – physically and then culturally – has been and continues to be the systematic policy of colonial governments and systematic practice of would-be settlers here (*c.f.* Alfred 28 Nov 2013). The Qayqayt resurgence draws attention to the violences upon which the colonial fiction of land having been "settled" as property rests, tells the lie to evolutionary stories that had written Indigenous peoples off as unfit for the modern economy, and also exceeds such colonial frames.

Through this resurgence, Bridgeview could become unsettled – a possibility that I will use to unsettle the settlement story of the neighbourhood, thereby crafting a sub-urban myth of squatting together. In advance, I offer a quick clarification of terms. Although to "settle" might provoke a sense of slowing down or even stopping, settling land actually involves commodifying land so that it might be continually improved upon (*i.e.* re-created in some way) to generate more wealth in a capitalist market. In other words, it involves putting the land in motion, putting it to work. So in unsettling this story, we might have occasion to pause.

For one, the land now referred to as Bridgeview was for a very long time used by multiple Aboriginal peoples as a fishing camp – depending on the seasons and threats from up the coast. The land was held in common, for past, current, and future

generations – in stewardship (Turner, Ignace, and Ignace 2000, 1275-1287). Even when Qayqayt was established there, the place was characterized by pauses in movement, between people commuting across the river for work, up and down the river for fishing, and so on. Furthermore, the first recognized settlement there, *i.e.* Brownsville, was primarily a watering hole and transfer station in a system of moving people and things from there to there; the South Fraser Perimeter Road can be seen as continuing that function, with more emphasis on the parking of trucks and cargo.

Significantly, Brownsville was pre-empted, which means to say that the people setting up shops, houses and farms there had not paid for the property; instead, they were required to "improve" the land (*e.g.* through agriculture or building construction) and paid an annual administrative fee. "Improving" the land thus was a substitute for paying for the property outright, so payment – and title – remained *to come*. Meanwhile, preemptors proceeded *as if* they had title, and so too, *as if* Indigenous people's prior claims to the land had been (which implies they could be) surrendered.

Given that the territory remains unceded (meaning that the Crown does not have rightful allodial title), and with Qayqayt resurgence, I suggest that even those Bridgeviewers who have paid for property in the neighbourhood do not have rightful ownership of the land (*i.e.* fee simple). The question of ownership is not settled, and treaties do not resolve this question, given beliefs among many Indigenous people (such as Bertha Williams, as noted in chapter three) that the land should be held collectively, rather than divided up into parcels to be bought and sold.

Natural as it might seem to 'improve' places so that we can feel comfortably 'at home' in them, by loosely tracing settlement efforts in Bridgeview, the practice appears

culturally and temporally specific. Furthermore, given that the Crown itself was and is preempting lands of Indigenous peoples, it would be more accurate to describe the area as a *squat*, rather than a settlement. Thus, early settlement efforts might be understood as the actions of squatters – pausing in the flux – trying to usher in a sense of British civility that was unachievable.

Indigenous people seem to have dropped out of the official picture by the Great Depression, but squatters proliferated (Read "Bridgeview and settlement. 1930s."). In the first half of that decade, Surrey's population grew 33% (to 14,000 residents), and most of them were recognizable squatters who gathered lumber and built shacks on undeveloped municipal land, of which there was no shortage in Surrey (Treleaven 1978, 89). In those days, the municipality was saddled with looking after residents – new and old – a burden that was carried along with churches and other local agencies. Only once did things get reportedly tense: relief recipients would not let council or staff leave City Hall until all receipients had their cheques, so the folks from City Hall sat and wrote out cheques by hand thus averting a riot (Treleaven 1978, 91). Despite the relatively peaceful and helpful role played by squatters such as those living on scows (as described in the scene), media coverage made much of the criminal element, *e.g.* describing how some were so desperate that they resorted to stealing and selling iron crosses from graves up the hill.

Less shocking, but more common, were squatters who did what they could to subsist and were willing to work, so in addition to maintaining gardens, chickens, ducks, and cattle, they eventually bought tax sale land and established themselves in the municipality. This tendency for squatters during the Great Depression to make

themselves ‘at home’ in Surrey, to invest in the place where they were for the time being, tells the lie to the usual distinction between squatters as free floating free riders and settlers as rooted responsible folks.

Significantly, then, if there is a constant that cuts across non-Indigenous relations to the land prior to and after early settlement efforts, as depicted in the Bridgeview scenes, it is *squatting.* The contemporary real property system in Bridgeview (and I would suggest, Canada more generally) would seem to be well understood as an extension of the pre-emption system. Differently put, we have inherited and refined formalized systems for administering squatting. If we were to take pausing amidst movements as the more persistent mode of making ourselves ‘at home’ together, then we would recognize that settlement is a very particular mode (as opposed to being natural); and rather than focusing on urban settlements as the environments that we must continually re-create, and to which we must adapt, we could negotiate how we squat together for a time (*i.e.* engage in sub-urban politics).

I imagine that a powerful barrier to accepting squatting as a key mode of making ourselves ‘at home’ together, I suspect, is the perceived insecurity and even violence associated with letting go of a seemingly fixed real property system. Lacking “any legal claim to their land” squatters in the area now known as Surrey (and prior to pre-emption) have been associated with degeneracy and criminality, such as “derelicts drifting down from the Cariboo gold diggings … criminals and characters given ‘floaters’ from the Royal City where law enforcement prevailed” (Pearson 1960 [1958], 26). This is fitting of (if not informed somehow by) the influential political theory under which either one is living within the secure bounds of the law, or one’s “life is nasty, brutish and short”

(Hobbes 1996). While acknowledging that there are surely people living dangerous and violent lives as far beyond the reach of the law as possible, the above analysis has suggested that most squatters and preemptors, like properly propertied folks, are just trying to live as well as they can.

We have come to blame the squatter, as a Gakka figure of sorts, for criminality, violence and insecurity we seem to be too afraid to admit is actually at play in our propertied 'homes'. Many of the things that squatters (exemplified these days by "homeless" people) must do in order to get by without having property to call his/her own (*e.g.* loitering, panhandling), are criminalized (Foscarinis, Cunningham-Bowers, and Brown 1999, 145-164); or in the extreme case of Vancouver's Project Civil City, policed by civic workers who are not even police and punished for behaviours that are not even criminal (introduction). The so-called "criminalization of homelessness" affirms the stereotype of squatters as degenerate criminals, by making their way of living criminal. On the flipside, living off the avails of exploitation, which is key to the production of poverty (and by extension "homelessness") is generally legal. It is not at all obvious to me that we ought to judge and punish people for sitting on sidewalks, while those of us who reproduce the conditions that put people on those sidewalks pat ourselves on the back for knowing the name of one or two such people (Kataoka 2005).

Unjust as our legal system might be, the law backed by force is meant to lend security to contemporary systems for administering squatting. Or at least more security than early pre-emption, under which a stake often "changed hands several times before the final Crown Grant" (Pearson 1960 [1958], 25) – due in large measure to the lack of available work for "men of small means" to earn the money required to sustain himself

and buy the supplies necessary to clear the land of old growth trees, not to mention to pay the annual preemption fee (Pearson 1960 [1958], 21). And if taxes were not paid on a pre-emption, it reverted to the municipality – which profited through the sale of that stake (Treleaven 1978, 64). Thus the early pre-emption system seems to have set up would-be settlers to lose their stakes. Similarly, however, the 2008 housing crisis in America that triggered the so-called "Great Recession" was a reminder of ways that the contemporary property system can be unsettled and unsettling. Even so, some profited from the crisis; most infamously, Goldman Sachs – an investment bank that bet against the very investors it claimed to be aligned with, and it won (Senator Levin as referenced in Cohan 2011, 599-600). Less dramatic, perhaps, is the process by which a third of Bridgeview was cleared to make way for the SFPR, and by which real estate agents and developers are profiting from flipping properties for "higher" uses (chapter three). In any case, just because one has title to a property and pays one's mortgage and/or property taxes in a timely fashion does not mean that one's title is secure. The very agencies – be they banks or governments – that are meant to help secure that property are likely to be the ones taking that title. This would seem to be a transaction cost of submitting to civil authorities and the (elected or corporate) persons whose freedom they are meant to protect.

More serious, perhaps, than criminality or insecurity is the violence associated with squatters. Even early pre-emptors have been depicted as willing to use violence in contestations over pre-emptions, to the extent that people are said to have been murdered to acquire a claim (Treleaven 1978, 15). For example, after about a year and a half of clearing a pre-emption, "Murphy was murdered one night in November 1861 and the

following morning two of his neighbors appeared in the Land Registry Office in New Westminster and laid claims to his pre-emption" (P. Obrien as quoted by Pearson 1960 [1958], 25). While such violence is disturbing indeed, it was chastised and continues to have a high profile in the stories we tell about our ways of living together. By contrast, the systematic violence against Indigenous peoples – especially Indigenous women – is normalized and made invisible, and so it is often forgotten that such violence underwrites settler property systems (Culhane 2003, 593-606). Our settler hands are bloody.

Thus we contribute to and are impacted by degeneracy, violence, and insecurity every day. This is not meant to frighten, but to acknowledge that the state is haunted by the state of nature, that there is no safe space where we can seek shelter from the pernicious impacts of our ways of living together. Fashioning the civil city mythology as a would-be shelter is akin to putting one's head in the sand; it may change one's own perception of what is going on but actually makes one more vulnerable to whatever is going on around one. Buried thus in stories of diverse cities that have flourished since we brought home the constitution makes the imperial Crown that claims ultimate title to these lands even more "invisible" (Smith 2013 [1995]). Thus we need not grapple with the "fiction" of Crown title (*e.g.* McNeil 1989; Edgeworth 1994, 397-434). Meanwhile, Indigenous resurgence movements have been gathering momentum – as exemplified by Idle No More. This land is rightfully held by Indigenous peoples. Thus we would-be settlers are actually squatters, and respecting Indigenous people's collective responsibility for this land involves changing our way of squatting. I will briefly offer some gestures toward what kinds of changes might be made, as an invitation to more rigorous discussion of this sort in urban political studies in particular.

For one, responsibility for the land would need to be transferred from the Crown to Indigenous peoples – which is a possibility that I will explore further in future research. For now, I want to explore a sub-urban theory that might help create political space for Indigenous responsibility for this land. In the seminal sub-urban text, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, Howard argued for collective ownership of real property, through the municipality (Howard 1946). Thus development could be directed in ways that might be good for the whole suburb (which is not to endorse his particular ideas about that direction); or again, the municipality could cease to function as a growth machine – which has produced "divided cities" (Marcuse 1993, 355-365). This is not just pie in the sky. Vancouver's development of South False Creek as a fairly mixed-income neighbourhood on municipally owned property and in collaboration with agencies specializing in servicing certain populations could be seen as a limited rendition of Howard's recommendation. By drawing on such mainstream examples of municipal collective ownership of real property, I mean to demonstrate that this is not a radical proposition.

Given the prominence of Howard's seminal text, there has been surprisingly little consideration of his sub-urban alternative to The City as a growth machine. This likely has something to do with the prominence of *private* "collective ownership of housing" in America in particular (Nelson 2005). Different as some experiments with this form of ownership might seem, *e.g.* homeowner associations in affluent gated communities and co-operative housing in inner cities, a study of such forms in Nassau and New York respectively suggests that both inhere a form of "shoestring democracy" under which residents tend to avoid disagreements or conflicts and political participation (Low,

Donovan, and Gieseking 2011); this serves as a cautionary tale about the limits of co-operation within a capitalist market. By contrast, McKenzie, in his influential study of "Privatopia" or "common-interest housing" in America (McKenzie 1994) with an eye to the world more generally (McKenzie 2006), finds an abundance of political activity (much of which plays out through litigation): "a high level of internal conflict, increasingly adversarial press coverage, a trend towards surprisingly intrusive proposals for governmental oversight, and evidence of inadequate planning for major building repairs." (McKenzie 2006, 22-3). Whatever the assessment of the rise of private local government, there tends to be agreement among scholars that this is an extraordinary (if not unprecedented) "rapid and massive transfer of governmental responsibilities, with attendant power and wealth, into the hands of volunteers who are largely left to their own devices in carrying out their appointed tasks" (McKenzie 2006, 16). The question that remains open, then, is whether the private ownership of this mode of organizing might be unsettled, *i.e.* transferred as a collective responsibility to Indigenous peoples; collectively organized squats would thus be bound to negotiate with the Indigenous people(s) responsible for this land, as well as with neighbouring squats, about our ways of living together.

What makes my proposal radical, then, is not collective responsibility for the land without much in the way of oversight from the state (or even professional organizations), which is already well underway. Rather, it is sadly provocative to suggest that settlers give up the fictional title implicit in myths of the civil city (whether it is held by a municipality or homeowners). But this, I might suggest is a function of overestimating what we've got to lose, and an underestimation of what we've got to gain.

Since this is but a gesture to a study to come, these assessments are also to come; for now, it is enough to suggest that it would be beginning to do ourselves as well as Indigenous peoples justice to give back what is left of the land we have been and continue to be taking from them and all our relations. 'New' languages might be necessary for meaningful negotiations among diverse squatters and Indigenous peoples; although the inter-tribal language "Chinook" – which thrived in the region prior to imperial invasion and through the late 1800s (with some English and French words thrown into the mix) – has been declared "virtually a dead language" (Pearson 1960 [1958], 3-4), the same was said about the Qayqayt. Perhaps we are in for some surprises yet.

In more general terms, attending to the pauses in the seemingly continuous flows and movements of the urban also affords opportunities to engage more meaningfully with "the situated oppressions of women of colour and the specifically located theory/politics of racialised minorities and women" (hooks 1992; and Wolff 1993, as referenced in Jacobs 1996, 7). Learning to linger in particular places may be an especially difficult challenge where the assumption is that a case study has little to offer the field of urban studies more generally, which says something about the limits of the field itself. Justice, I posit, is not something that we cannot really deliver on in general (whether through abstract ruminations or comparative case studies). So in seeking more just ways of living together, we may need to begin to think otherwise about case studies while lingering in a particular sub-urban field.

Here again, I would highlight Dahl's work. In his words: "If the disadvantages and limitations of studying one city [or suburb, one might say] are self-evident, the

overwhelming and, I hope, compensating advantage is that the enterprise is reduced to manageable proportions. Many problems that are almost unyielding over a larger area can be relatively easily disposed of on this smaller canvas" (Dahl 1966 [1961], v). As an indication of how productive this approach can be, he gestured towards the crucial contributions of two canonical political theorists: Aristotle and Machiavelli. So much to say that there is much to be gained through case studies.

4. Intimate sub-urban politics

> "life is an adventure, we are all explorers on its never ending road. … we each discover our own paths… community identity…"
> heritage is a living thing, a collective journey through time… heritage is our identity" (Surrey Heritage Advisory Committee [?])
>
> "make better choices on basis of *our* heritage what you do to affect me, it behooves both of us to look out for it. "yours to discover, preserve and enjoy." (Surrey Heritage Advisory comimttee [?])

Whereas the urban mythology this dissertation has rendered makes us attentive to the intimate details of street-life through which we self-govern, develop practical knowledge and commitments, form cultural movements, and create or disrupt our milieus, the sub-urban mythology invites us to sink into a more intimate politics – one which works through familial like gang formations, is affective, and involves unintentional interventions in our ways of squatting together. Contrary to the stereotype of intimate ways of living together binding us to certain roles – bonds which can be broken through flight to the city – this intimacy seems to afford more nuanced and complex relations.

For example, a man who is known to his neighbours for his toughness tends to be

caricatured as a bully in his absence, and talked about more vaguely and in hushed tones when in closer proximity. He has a somehow fraught relationship with his daughter, yet rather than turning a blind eye or seeking professional help (if that might be called for, which I cannot speak to), Bridgeviewer women in particular look out for his daughter (while maintaining decent relations with him). The daughter happens to get on well with another girl in the neighbourhood, and so tends to hang around that girl a lot – to the extent that she regularly sleeps over, eats meals and does activities with that girl's family. In this way, the daughter is supported in maintaining a relationship with her whole birth family, developing skills for relating with her father, and fostering a wide range of relationships with others in the neighbourhood. I do not mean to romanticize the daughter's experience (which I know nothing of) or to undervalue the work done by professional agencies (some of which have tried to build such shared responsibility into their policies; *e.g.* Baskin 2012). Rather, I am interested in how Bridgeviewers' intimacy enables the formation of complex relations through which more just ways of living together can be negotiated. Given their complexity, however, such responses to particular struggles cannot be well rendered as general rules or policies.

In Bridgeview and elsewhere, I would venture, one can find sisterly friends, motherly neighbours, scary unclely fathers, brotherly business owners, grandfatherly principals, and so on. Jacobs tended to such nuanced relations in her descriptions of neighbourly business owners, friendly committee members, and nanny neighbours. Such relations cut across conventional categories such as the nuclear family or business contained in its own private space (chapter one). Furthermore, they are re-created depending on the particular problem at hand (chapter four, chapter two), so that some

might become strange to one another, or even struggling against one another as part of different cultural movements (chapter three). Sub-urban life thus includes mixing of various roles, as well as different activities. Complicated as that might sound, we perform virtually countless parts everyday.

Given that these intimate webs are woven in large measure by "throwing stones," significant dimensions of sub-urban politics have been neglected by urban scholars focusing on the 'real' city or the practical ordering of urban life. For instance, in this dissertation I have not mentioned a figure with similar tendencies that was identified in every population group that I interviewed (*i.e.* residents, activist, community development, municipal workers), who I will here call "the manipulator" because of a capacity to ply stories and encounters to increase his or her own profile and access to resources. Thus placing him/herself in positions of authority or high profile vis-à-vis projects or organizations that are trying to improve our ways of living together, the manipulator carries significant influence with many key figures outside the network that can be leveraged within it. I suspect that most readers will have engaged with someone trying to play the part of the manipulator at some point (because anecdotally when I have spoken with people about this figure they have shared a story or more of their own), and am curious, therefore, why this figure – or rather, a more sophisticated examination of associated modes, practices, affects and impacts – does not loom larger in the study of urban politics.

The reasons for my omission are multiple, the most significant of which being that interviewees requested that I did not include details about this figure in relation to them because it would likely come back to bite them. This suggests a difficulty in

dealing effectively with "the manipulator" across neighbourhood, community development, municipal, and activist networks. In general terms, what I heard from interviewees from across these networks is that people who play the part the manipulator are often able to acquire much of what they seek and to silence concerns and opposition.

This is at least a twofold political problem. In relation to academic work as such, in what ways can we do research and share critical reflections about a loaded dynamic and its implications without compromising interviewees and/or our own ethics, for example? Might we be limited to doing autoethnography (or at least ethnographies of the places where we actually live/work, places where we have an intimate familiarity with the nuances of dynamics)? Or researching contemporary events and publishing them as histories? In either case, we would be leaving the work of policy analysis to the policy analysts, and focusing more on crafting political problems and possibilities otherwise.

There is also the broad question of what that academic work is meant to do. In what ways can we frame our reflections if they necessarily exclude such key figures? My initial response to this latter question (among others) has been to frame my research as mythological, as a weaving together of stories, rather than as a definitive impression of sub-urban politics. While fitting of this material and the method used, I hope, this approach is not meant as a formula so much as provocation to consider form more carefully, and re-creatively.

(5) Sub-urbanism, Other places, and the global south

While grounded in a case study of a neighbourhood in Canada, the implications of this dissertation are much broader. I hope this project complements those that are

struggling so that all the places where we live might be embraced as legitimate and productive foci for so-called urban studies.

Rather obvious resonances with my analysis might be felt with other neighbourhoods in the global north deemed backwards (*e.g.* overly intimate, marginalized, base, or rural). In the place where I am currently living, North Bay ON, for example, 'locals' tend to have sentiments similar to Bridgeviewers vis-a-vis "The City" (*i.e.* Toronto) and even "The South" more generally. Such contempt has been running especially high since the McGuinty Liberals announced the cancellation of the passenger rail connecting Toronto to more northerly places, as well as the divestiture of the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission – which provided passenger and freight rail, as well as holding refurbishments assets and Ontera telecommunications (Cowan 23 Mar 2012); although the Wynne Liberals have retracted the divestiture in order to put a public consultation process into motion (Hamilton-McCharles 5 Feb 2014), anecdotally 'locals' are skeptical that the outcome will be any different, because even though she came for a visit, she is from The City, after all. And as a neighbor of mine says: "*That's* how they are there, down there in The City" (which is always said as an insult, but one inviting the listener to fill in *that* blank, so is likely to be taken with the appropriate intensity).

Less obvious, perhaps, are the implications of this study for Other other places. In unsettling the urban in the previous section, however, I gestured toward some of the ways that the sub-urban myth I have rendered might complement and create more political space for meaningful Indigenous self-government (see also chapters three and four).

And following suggestions that the practices and dynamics of colonialism, oppression, exploitation, and so on that inform relations with and treatment of targeted "internal" or "domestic" peoples or places in the global north are writ large in relations with the global south (*e.g.* Benjamin and Hall 2010), I suggest that this study might also have something to say to those who are working on or in the global south. Given the breadth and richness of those literatures, in these, the final paragraphs of this dissertation, I can hardly even begin to gesture towards some possible implications. Hence, my aim here is only to offer initial reflections on a small slice of literature on African cities in particular, by way of an invitation for a conversation to come.

Informed by the logic of civilization that animates the myth of the civil city, the dominant approach to cities in the global south has been to treat *them* as backward, to offer technical fixes (broadly understood) to civilize them, and to call for political will to implement those development solutions (Tannerfeldt and Ljung 2006). Challenging the "geographical division of urban studies between urban theory, broadly focused on the West, and development studies, focused on places that were once called 'third world cities'" (Robinson 2002, 531; building on, Parnell 1997, 891-906), Robinson, argues that cities of the global south ought to be recognized as modern. In addition to rendering *all* cities as loci of diverse modernities (and so as valid sites of urban studies), understanding modernity as "the cultural experience of contemporary city life, and the associated cultural valorisation and celebration of innovation and novelty" (Robinson 2006, 4), her analysis also brings the specificity of particular places to bear on urban studies. AbdouMaliq Simone similarly argues that cities of the global south are "no longer subaltern" (in Edensor and Jayne 2012, 31-46), as substantiated by his rigorous studies of

the diversity of urban life in Africa (Simone 2004, 2005). These approaches, I would suggest, effectively locate cities of the global south as productive sites of urban studies without falling into the trap of positing them as "the heart of darkness, the Other" (Roy 2009, 819-30; building on Appadurai 1996).

While affirming the substance of such analyses, I take issue with their appeal to the modern and to the urban because of the possibility that this move risks reinscribing the distinction between urban and rural, between *these* cities worthy of our attention and *those* backward places that are not (chapter four). To emphasize, I am not suggesting that the above authors do such reinscribing. Rather, my concern is that they might be using concepts that in a wider context are working to make invisible places that do not measure up, in much the same way that cities of the global south have been made invisible in urban theory. In short, I am concerned about the modern and the urban informing so-called "internal colonialism" within and between countries of the global south, as in "south-south land grabbing" (Borras et al. 2011, 209-16). My hope is that by changing the way that we approach the places where we live, we might contribute to broader cultural movements addressing the broad range of practices informing such injustices.

Scholars of the global south surely have myriad investments in the modern and the urban, but here I will entertain two. One, assuming that the logic governing the dismissal of *those* cities is progressive, *i.e.* moving in stages from backward to modern and rural to urban, then arguing that global cities of the south are modern and urban challenges that seemingly fixed trajectory of (Western) development, and creates space for recognizing the diversity of urban life and networks. But the even stronger claim, that we have *always* been urban (and so too modern) – including Eastern origins, and

attentiveness to creativity and diversity – may be the starting point of a pernicious civil city myth (chapter four). Absent the march of progress to distinguish between places, this myth celebrates the creative capacity of cities and attendant diversity (as do Robinson, and Simone), going so far as to suggest that cities create rural areas to serve urban needs or purposes. While ruralites might struggle to adjust to changing needs or purposes, since they do not have what it takes to thrive on their own, their attachments to the familiar should not be indulged by urbanites (who ultimately create those places anyways).

To the contrary, urbanites should focus on finding ways to facilitate that change. In more concrete terms, embracing bustling metropolises like Johannesburg, Soweto, or Cape Town as vital cities (of which slums may be a crucial entrepreneurial part; Saunders 2010) that happen to be in the global south, may displace the dismissal to *those* dependent places like Vreneeniging or Umlazi – which thus continue to be made invisible in (North) American urban studies. (This despite the significance of the latter urban areas, even by conventional measures; *e.g.* Umlazi is the second largest township in South Africa.) So in making some places in "the south" recognizable as urban, accepting the myth of the civil city (with its diversity and complexity), scholars make yet other places in "the south" largely invisible. Where these cities are made visible they are cast as dependent – either fated for eventual decline or in need of codes of civility, visioning processes, global thinking, and innovation to become one of *these* vital places. Thus the development approach to *those* places is revived (albeit 'equally' in the global north and south).

It may be frustrating that just as cities in "the south" are coming to be seen as sexy sites for and of urban studies, I am challenging their urban and modern bases. This frustration might be amplified by the fact that it is a common move for theorists in the global north to change the terms of discussion just as the global south comes to be seen in those terms (*e.g.* the move to the post-modern: Dear 2000), or to dismiss concepts without due consideration of how it might affect the global south. Parnell, for instance, is critical of the ways that critiques of neo-liberalism in the global north (*e.g.* Peck) dismiss "circulating (utopian) assumptions about the good city and the right to the city [that] have also generated extensive international commitment to realizing the entitlements of the urban poor through the delivery of universal access to urban services" (Parnell 2010, 66). I take such criticisms seriously, and so am trying to make a similar move as she does in "provincializing" neo-liberalism, by "provincializing" urbanism and so rendering a sub-urban mythology for approaching the places where we live. By retaining the urban (and so too modern) as a point of reference, the sub-urban myth affords for urban romanticism (of self-government, practical knowledge and commitments, struggles among cultural movements, and re-creation) that can be used to secure resources and mobilize authorities to seek justice in the places where we live; but it also resists the tendency to take that romanticism too seriously, such that it can be used to dump on, or to impose help, education or purpose on other places.

In the places where we live, we are not free (even if, from time to time, we might find that story motivating or helpful for taking responsibility for our actions, for example). We are bound by intimate relations, are deeply affected by often shocking things, and may only be here together for now. And we know it. While our sense of

vulnerability seems to have been heightened by shocking events such as Y2K, 9/11 and Hurricane Katrina, as noted by Boudreau and Wood, the things that we tend to be securing ourselves against in the global north are more a matter of "discomfort" than "insecurity" as such (Boudreau and Wood 2011, 209-223). Rather than challenging the bases of justifying securitization (as one example of solutions-seeking), Alinsky counseled "rub[bing] raw the sores of discontent" – a strategy that has been more strongly stated by some scholars looking to "the South African city."

Whether through "the epistemic and psychic reconfiguration of terror" (Jamal as quoted in (Pieterse 2010, 214), or by finding a way "to simply stare terror in the face without anticipation that it will come to an emancipatory end" (Mamdani as referenced in, Pieterse 2010, 218), the challenge posed by this approach is "to embrace the barbarism of the present moment" (Jamal as quoted in, Pieterse 2010, 214). The obvious risk of making this move vis-a-vis the global south, however, is that it could provide fodder for recasting cities of the global south as backwards. By making a similar move vis-à-vis the global north, I hope to have contributed to preempting such recasting. This is not to suggest that the contempt or fear of those living in relatively secure (even if sometimes uncomfortable) places is somehow equal to the terror of those living in relatively dangerous places. To the contrary, it is to suggest – alongside many scholars of the global south, and some of those in the global north (as cited in this section) – that we must begin to think through the places where we live on their own terms.

Scholars of the global south – among Other places – might, in some respects, have a "head start" in this drive for a more responsive and responsible approach to studying the places where we live because they have long been cued to the pernicious impacts of

the civil city mythology. Meanwhile, so much have we tended to buy into the civil city mythology – with its distant government institutions, neat ordering of society, ethical codes, and free market – that there are serious structural barriers to governing ourselves, figuring out what might work to achieve certain practical purposes, engaging in cultural movements, and re-creating our ways of living together. And this is not even to begin to address living with our barbarism and attendant vulnerability.

If reactions to presentations of this research at various academic conferences and seminar series might be any indication, many (if not most) readers of the global north will reject the basic thrust of my analysis and righteously offer some story or another about how very far we have come, and how functional the diversity here is (as well as offering a comparison to some Other place or time). Re-entrenchment is certainly an option, but one definition of insanity is "doing the same thing over and over and expecting a different result" (as is commonly attributed to Einstein). In trying to make cities civil, we have for centuries now wrought horrific violence on Indigenous peoples and this land; saying that now it is in the name of "self-government" (as opposed to "self-improvement") does not make dumping on them (*e.g.* industrial waste), trying to help or educate them (in our institutions or ways), or making reserves serve new purposes (*e.g.* cultural tourism) any better than before. They are not the only peoples affected by our persistent drive to make civil cities, and denial of our vulnerability, either.

It is not at all clear to me what would make would-be urbanites of the global north more comfortable or willing to think in and through the sub-urban, to learn to carry (if not embrace) our barbarisms. The civil city mythology is not any more likely than that of backwards Bridgeview, to just fade away with changing demographics and attendant

beliefs. If we are to actually improve our ways of living together, we must take responsibility for our entire inheritance – urban romanticism and suburban baggage as a whole – by engaging in sub-urban politics.

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Appendices

Appendix A: *Invisible Bridgeview*

In what follows, I have mimicked the form of Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* (Calvino 1974 [1972]). It is an extended (albeit doctored) quote of sorts that I deem necessary in order to maintain the structure of the text as a whole. For the most part, I have tried to retain the sentence structure of the dialogues and vignettes, changing only the characters, adjectives, and examples. The dialogue between the Researcher and the Mayor is entirely fictional, but the details in the vignettes are drawn from my archival research and fieldwork relating to Bridgeivew. Citations have all been located in endnotes so as to preserve as much of the structure of the text as possible. The primary structural difference between what follows and Calvino's text is that I have not included renditions of all of the dialogues or vignettes. As a copy of sorts, the poetic beauty of the original text is not to be found here, and the meaning of this text is different. I hope that readers might be generous enough to read *Invisible Bridgeview* as a structural echo with its own stories to tell.

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1

The Mayor buys much of what the Academic says when she describes scenes of everyday life in Bridgeview, but the independent political head of Surrey gives audience to the young Victorian with greater indifference and boredom than she shows any other interviewer or aide of hers. In the careers of boomtown mayors there is a moment after swaggering down the long line of developers at the door to City Hall, and the joy and burden of realizing staff is taking care of calculating and facilitating growth. There is a sense of uselessness that comes over them at 9:02 am, with the waft of diesel from the freeway and manure from the garden, an anxiety that rises with the stench of unpicked blueberries rotting in the southern flats, the stacks of reports identifying to them the investment spikes in the City, from real property to real estate, and fingers through Tenders for Contract from unheard-of companies wanting to cash in on a partnership deal of some sort, offering a specialized skill or technology. It is the moment of despondence when they appreciate that this boomtown, which had seemed to them totally unorganized, is a policy-ed facilitator of flows, that the bureaucracy's sanitizing efforts have been so thorough that even the friendly bacteria have been killed, that the success in administering growth has made governors the patrons of staff briefings. Only in the Academic's ramblings was the Mayor able to sense, through the reports and contracts soon to be filed away, through the policies and documents sure to be written, the hints of a messiness so integral to everyday life it could be missed by busy beavers building and fixing dams. (This dialogue is a structural echo of, Calvino 1974 [1972], 5-6)

Bridgeview and community development. 1940s.

Flipping through the pages of a Bridgeview Community Association scrapbook, the researcher pauses on a March 1976 newsletter (BCA Mar 1976). Beneath a faded image of the Ladies Auxiliary to the BCA in their finery outside a hotel across the river in New Westminster, appears "A little Bridgeview history." The story is gleaned from two ladies who might have yearned to be in such a photograph some thirty years before. But in 1943 when the greener of these "old-timers" moved to Bridgeview, there was no BCA, let alone a Ladies Auxiliary. Back then, apparently children had to go up the hill for school, and concerned parents roamed in a pack from house to house down below. On the day when frustration with the neglect of their children became too great to bear on their own, they decided to form an association – registered in Victoria with a charter of its own. Through the BCA, the parents successfully pressured the School Board to build a school in the neighbourhood, but their work was not yet done. They too wanted to settle down. Weary from roaming from one basement meeting to another, and tired from climbing up the hill in their party dresses with pots and pans to cook food for dances at St. Helen's Church, they built a Hall where the association could meet and host its fundraiser dances. Once open, boy scouts with their pledges and badges, hoppers with their dancing shoes, and ladies with their dishes filled the hall.

1944 association formed, some histories say that it was for the construction of a community hall, built through community effort, done as money, materials, and member time allowed, construction carried on until at least 1948, but the association was able to use its hal for meetings from 21st of May 1946. It was available for rental to community groups, religious organizations and political particies, for a wide variety of activities, including dances, meetings and religious services. The VON held well-baby and

inoculation clinics there, a preschool operated out of the hall and Scout and Guide groups met there. Other functions ncluded voice to Municipal Government and School Board for the construction of a school so that chidren would not have to cross busy roadways. Where government acted too slow, or public monies unavailable, the BCA could co-ordinate the efforts of local businesses and individuals to provide needed services. E.g. Bridgeview Volunteer Fire Brigade

Apparently there were ladies who crossed the river, but not for fancy dinners. These were the wives, lovers, sisters, and daughters of men incarcerated at the BC penitentiary. Having moved from rural BC to be closer to their loved ones, they fit in well enough in Bridgeview, with its down-home feel. Maybe they even carried pots and pans up the hill, or dragged a hoof at the hall. Or maybe they didn't dig the eager beavers.

Multicultural Bridgeview. 2000s.

Tonight, each person who enters the community hall is welcomed in Mandarin, Punjabi, and Hindi; by colourful "Global Fusion: multicultural celebration" posters ringed with flags of countries from across the world; and with the scents of samosas mingling with coconut, Shou Mein, and cassava cake (Morrison 2006, 8). A group of men are speaking in Punjabi in the hallway. At one table a conversation is being facilitated in English among five people over plates piles high. At another a man is speaking with a Chinese family over tea. Over by the kitchen two women are speaking in Hindi. It is the same dialogue throughout: the community is nice (and affordable) and quiet, but it would be great if the ditches and yards were cleaned up, and if there were more recreational

activities and commercial facilities; if only there was money and government support for making these changes. Most people said they would like to be part of these kinds of conversations again (and none said they would not) (Morrison 2006, Appendix C: Global Fusion Event Feedback, 23-7).

As time passes this enthusiasm wanes. Food and a family friendly atmosphere is no longer an excuse for multicultural dialogue. (Structural echo of "Cities & the dead. 1." Calvino 1974 [1972], 80-1)

Settlement of Bridgeview. 1930s.

Many "hobos" got off the train at Brownsville, and found their way down to the shore just south of there where there was a collection of "scows" (small floating homes) on the river, where apparently they would have been fed a sandwich by a Norwegian woman. Hers was one of about 14 families that had settled there almost two decades earlier. Eventually these families would be able to afford to move to shore, but even in these tough times they enjoyed (and shared) the abundance of fish in the river, their gardens and cows on the riverbank. (Colley 24 Mar 2004)

Sent off to consult the neighbourhoods, the Mayor's planners and engineers duly returned to City Hall and to the humming fluorescents in whose light the Mayor sat, listening to their briefings. The staff were ***experts*** *in social, physical, economic, and technical aspects of the city; the independent mayor is she who can broker deals among councilors with different areas of interest, and only through experts' findings could the city become* ***legible*** *to her. In a series of power point slides, staff made their lingo*

*accessible to the Mayor, re-presenting what they had gleaned from meetings with residents who put on **shows** of their own: with this simplified, clear vision, given were the preferred location for a walking trail, the names of neighbourhood groups to beware of this month, the specifications for water mains to be laid down with the construction of a new municipal centre. But when the young Victorian gave her report, a different **dynamic** was established between her and the Mayor. Newly arrived and totally unfamiliar with policy speak, the Academic could express herself only with five syllable words, neologisms, theories of utopia and dystopia, generalizations or abstractions, or with clippings she had collected in a file – fight for sewers, school opening, Bridgeview Days – which she placed on the desk like Go stones. Returning from the fieldwork that the Mayor had not sent her on, the curious Victorian gave lectures that the Mayor tended to tune out: one scene was explained in terms of the encounter between a post-industrial urban planning regime and a persistent parochialism; another in terms of the imposition of statism on everyday life; a third in terms of a utopian cosmopolitanism in a modernist era. The Mayor ignored the arguments, but was keen to hear more about the neighbourhood studied; she never knew whether the Academic strove to impart a scene that she read about in the city's archives, a hypothesis that she developed in the field, an ideology that she subscribed to in graduate school, a plan laid down by staff, a tirade to indicate a dynamic. But, opaque or transparent as it might be, everything the Academic spoke of **related to a certain problem**, which, once thought, cannot be shaken or dismissed. In the Mayor's mind Bridgeview was animated by characters, whose complexities were obscured, the caricatures pieced together from snippets of the Victorian's research.*

As the seasons passed and her research continued, the Academic mastered power point and the Surrey way of firing from the hip. Now her presentations were as accessible and concise as the Mayor could ask for and there was no challenge or opportunity that they did not identify. And yet each new bullet point about Bridgeview brought to the Mayor's mind the ***problem*** *from which that factoid was missing. The recovered point received a sense from that problem and also added to the problem a new sense. Perhaps, the Mayor thought, the city is nothing but the* ***codification*** *of schooled scavengers' quandaries.*

"On the day when I know all the problems," she asked the Academic, "shall I be able to govern my city, at last?"

And the Academic answered: "Your Honour, do not fall into that trap. On that day you will become a technocratic problem among problems." (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 21-3)

2

"My other advisors warn me of failing infrastructure, competition, corruption, or inform me of best practices in other jurisdictions, the economy of scale for certain services, recommendations for policy responses to developers' demands across the municipality. And you?" the Mayor asked the Academic, "you return from researching a neighbourhood much smaller and you can tell me only the analyses that come to a woman who sits at her desk, tortured by the heat of academic debates. What is the use, then, of all your research?"

"It is midday. We are rushing to your chambers at City Hall. The air is warm," the Academic answered. "Whatever scene my words might stage for you, you will see it from such an elevated point, even if instead of City Hall there is an alley in Whalley and the air is thick with the stink of feces." (This is a reference to the municipality's short-lived strategy of spreading chicken feces around trees to deter street involved people from hanging around a certain area; Diakiw 2009.)

"My position is that of a woman brokering, compromised in negotiations – though I'd deny it. But yours? You cruise archives, reports, newspapers. You might as well never leave your ***computer****."*

The Victorian knew that when the Mayor became frustrated with her, her Honour wanted to take up her own line of questioning; so the Academic's responses and provocations took their place in a problematique already unfolding in the Mayor's head. That is to say, between the two of them it did not matter whether problems and responses were heard or whether each of the two went on talking through her line. In fact, they were both chattering, their eyes trained on their screens, hunched forward in pleather chairs, clicking through documents, drawing out lengthy conclusions.

The Academic imagined declaring (or the Mayor imagined her declaration) that the more one was immersed in material about this marginalized neighbourhood, the more one got a sense for the urban ***centre*** *she had passed through to get there; and she reviewed her notes, and she came to* ***know*** *the universe-city from which she had departed, and the familiar places of her curiosity, and the context of homelessness, and the civic square of Victoria that she studied in her early graduate school days.*

At this point the Mayor silenced her or imagined silencing her, or the Academic imagined herself silenced, by a question such as: "You search always with an ear to certain terms?" or "Is what you see always already framed in advance?" or rather, "Does your research bear only upon the academy?"

All this so that the Academic could reflect or imagine reflecting or be imagined reflecting or succeed finally in reflecting to herself that what she sought was always something given in advance, and even if it was a matter of novelty it was a novelty that emerged gradually as she delved into her research, because the researcher's problem changes according to the material she has found: not only the immediate hypothesis, that is, to which each data set adds a data set, but the broader thesis. Giving audience to each new scene, the researcher recovers a novelty of her thought that she had sensed she could have: the ***novelty*** *of what you do not fully get or do not fully integrate lies in wait for you in novel, contained sites.*

The Academic watches a Bridgeview scene: she sees someone at the community hall in an interaction that stretches her understanding of neighbourliness; she could make sense of that man's anger, if she had started studying, ages ago; or if, ages ago, at a fork in the path, instead of taking one path her thought had taken another one, and after targeted psychological research had come to understand how that man had come to think/feel the way he did in the hallway. By now, from that real or ***hypothetical*** *theory of mind, she is excluded; she cannot stop; she must go on to another scene, in which other evidence of her theories awaits her, or something perhaps that had been a possible demonstration of her thought and is now that of someone else's. Scenes not made sense of by her are only stagings of another's problem: superfluous data.*

*"Researches to **accelerate** your thought?" was the Mayor's question at this point, a question which could also have been phrased: "Resarches to revise your thought?"*

And The Academic's answer was: "New material is an affirmative probe. The researcher uncovers the little that she gets, encountering yet eliding the much she has not gotten and will never get." (This dialogue is a structural echo of, Calvino 1974 [1972], 27-9)

Bridgeview and transportation. 1890s.

In the early days, transportation infrastructures held the promise of opening up land and markets for development. Their traces can thus be found not only inscribed on the shoreline and inland, but also in the Surrey archives where news of celebrations (among other things) is filed away. One of these grand events was the opening of the New Westminster and Southern (NWS) Railway in 1891. It marked the outwitting of the federal government, by the clever Clerk of Surrey. Disappointingly, the feds had looked north of the Fraser when it was time to pick a terminus for the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR); and frustratingly, they had protected the CPR by first assuring that no other railway would ever be built on 20 miles of land gifted to the company on either side of the track, and then blocking rail construction by other companies on Dominion lands. In Surrey, there did not seem to be a way around Dominion lands, and so constructing a railway line seemed hopeless. But the Clerk found a clause in the Municipal Act that allowed for the appropriation of land for road and rail building, which was thus invoked in order to construct the 22 mile long NWS Railway – the only Canadian railway to have been built without government subsidy. Soon after its

completion, the NWS was taken over by the Great Northern Railway (GNR) company. The opening of this railway also marked the end of stagecoach service between Brownsville and the border. Stagecoaches had begun to operate intermittently in 1861, after the Royal Engineers laid cedar puncheons down on the old Semiahmoo trail, and they began to operate twice-weekly in 1878, a couple of years after the first half of the "Trail" had been rebuilt into a wagon road. (Other major roads in the area that had been constructed in the 30 years from 1861 to 1891 include: Old Yale Road, Wagon Road, and Scott Road.) This shift in mode of transportation also marked a change in terminus, which seems to have been overlooked on a municipal level, but was significant in the neighbourhood. Whereas the stagecoach used to depart from Brown's Landing (at the head of the Semiahmoo Trail), the train set out from the Carendon hotel (which happened to have been owned by a councilor). In either case, Brownsville was the terminus because it connected up with the highway of the time: The Fraser River. (Treleaven 1981; Pearson 1960 [1958], 22-41)

In the massive flood of 1894, much of the rescue work was done by steamboats, which could chug with ease up and down the Fraser (so long as the coal kept coming). This sudden activity was surely a relief for captains that had been in an all-out trade war with one another after the decline of the Cariboo Gold Rush, which had drawn more than 25 of the "steamers" to the river – some of which were cleverly named for competitive advantage, such as the Favorite. Apparently captains had gotten so desperate that some passengers were given free passage up the Fraser from Victoria, with board thrown in for good measure, on the promise (or hope) of a meager return fare; whereas in the midst of the rush, passengers paid $10 to get up the river and $7 to come back down, and freight

rates were as high as $40/ton. In 1884, yet another boat was thrown into the mix on the Fraser, when the City of New Westminster and the Municipality of Surrey launched the "K and K" ferry between the Royal City and Brownsville. This was replaced by the "The Surrey' in 1889, which was said to have been a bigger and better ferry run by the City of New Westminster alone. In exchange for taking over this license, Surrey gave over the strip of land approximating the initial 13 pre-emptions along the shore, which then became known as "South Westminster" – as distinct from the rest of Brownsville. Some said that the captains of the various ships were "men of substance" who played a key role in the development of the region. Others had less flattering things to say. Local lore tells of how one of the money grabbing ferry captains was outwitted by a farmer who noted that there although there was a charge for a wagon and team, there was no set charge for a wagon by itself. Apparently he unhitched his wagon and pulled it aboard himself, arguing all the while. Eventually the captain capitulated, and so from then on, it became common to see men pulling their wagons aboard, or entire families carrying their produce in baskets over to the farmers' market in New Westminster. Arduous as this hauling might seem, the volume that the ferry afforded was certainly an improvement upon the rowboats that were used for local transportation during the flood, not to mention the Indian canoes that had ferried people over to New Westminster for a silver dollar in the 1860s-70s. Independent crossings were less common, but on the rare occasions when the entire river froze over (*e.g.* 1886), Settlers could be seen walking across the ice to the Royal City. (Treleaven 1981; Pearson 1960 [1958], 27-9)

More than people and goods were being moved around the area, though. Information was prized. The speed of information travel jumped greatly in 1893, when

the first telephone was installed in Surrey – signaling the declining importance of the telegraph line that had connected the city to news coming from the south (the first of which was that of Lincoln's assassination), and interrupting efforts to build an overland telegraph line to the mother country, through BC, Alaska and Siberia. Phones remained a central service for a number of years, and so most residents relied on word of mouth and the written word for news. Letters remained an important mode of communication for many (including the municipality itself), and by this time, there were postmasters in a number of the villages south of Brownsville. And with the publication of the *Surrey Times* in 1895, people in the area no longer had to rely on the New Westminster *Daily Columbian* for news. But New Westminster continued to loom large for those in Brownsville and others that relied heavily on its market, hospital, and other amenities – all of which were impacted by the 1895 fire that destroyed the Royal City. (Pearson 1960 [1958], 35-8)

Bridgeview and contestation. 1970s.

A demolition crew and district engineer return from Bridgeview with distinct memories: a no trespassing sign posted at the edge of the property they were meant to work on, a dilapidated house offending city council and threatening to collapse on the hippies renting it, a man standing on the porch saying "This is my property. Keep off." with a shotgun at his side (which may or may not have been loaded), and an RCMP officer echoing those instructions for the time being, with a loaded handgun at his side. The neighbourhood is persistent so that something of it might stick in the mud.

Without having been there, city council is also returning from Bridgeview: an interim injunction restraining it from demolishing the house received from the BC Supreme Court, further action pending legal advice, and an anticipatory memory of the Bridgeviewer in the council chambers saying: "They won't let me bring a gun in here, but I've got a length of rope in my pocket, and we wouldn't want you to end up with rope burn under your chin, now would we?" Memory is persistent: it repeats scenes so that the neighbourhood might continue to exist. (BV 1; Anonymous 3 Aug 1970; Anonymous 7 Aug 1970)

Bridgeview and consultation. 1970s.

If after hitting play an alderman had not said "This council is on record as being in favour of servicing Bridgeview, and a motion to that effect was made a month or six weeks ago by myself, and I believe was passed unanimously," I would have thought I was watching the same Surrey council meeting from five or ten years earlier. The claims that the municipality was waiting for action from the upper levels of government were the same as ever. Cutting off the mayor and aldermen's persistent attempts to make such claims, were the same old groans and boos from Bridgeviewers in the audience. Women and elders sat, while men filled the aisle and spilled out the chamber doors. All had their arms crossed, signs that nothing had changed at all. Their desire for clean ditches and sanitary sewers was so well known that it did not even have to be stated by their representatives, who simply asked: "When?" Here there is a continuous loop back to claims that the municipality is waiting on the upper levels of government, or for another study. Occasionally, it is punctuated by an alderman or representative pointing a finger

back at council, followed by applause and cheers from Bridgeviewers in the audience. This has been going on for years and will continue for many more. The only thing that marks one meeting from another is the name of the particular program or study that is cited. (Pinney 1976)

Bridgeview and sanitation. 1970s.

After days of wading through the Bridgeview Community Association archives, the researcher directed towards the "pre-sewer era" cannot believe it and yet she has a sense of it. Newspaper photos document the overflowing ditches and she imagines traces of the sunken mess remain down in the boggy soil somewhere. Back in those times residents rarely dwell: having already moved on to the "post-sewer era" they prefer not to regress. Nothing of their conversations reaches back except those invocations of "Bridgeview spirit" and, when the days are rainy, a massive, fordable puddle that forms on the road out of the neighbourhood. (*e.g.* Bridgeview NIP committee 1978)

There are three hypotheses she develops about the Bridgeview residents who glorified the "post-sewer era": that they hated their past; that they respected it so much that they avoided all memorialization; that they loved the neighbourhood so much before The City was endorsing community proposals, they never tire of marking the community mobilization by which the vacuum sewer system was installed. (This is a structural echo of "Cities & eyes. 3." Calvino 1974 [1972], 77)

... Newly arrived and quite unfamiliar with the lingo of policy makers, the Academic could express herself only by drawing clippings from her folders – anti-

freeway fight, dike construction, break and enter – and pointing to them as indications of some five syllable words, neologisms, theories of utopia and dystopia, invoking the practices governmentality, the cries of a feminist.

The connections between one aspect of the research and another were not always clear to the Mayor; the findings could have various implications: a multicultural after school program could lead to heightened interracial tensions, or the development of mutual understanding, or intergenerational bonds.

But what made meaningful for the Mayor every image or news clipping reported by her verbose advisor was the chatter that clamoured around it, multiple possibilities hanging open. The presentations of scenes the Academic had researched had this virtue: you could give audience to them by buying into the staging, drawing out a hidden meaning, getting worked up in the heated air, or dismissing.

As time went on, power point slides began to reframe clippings and photographs in the Academic's presentations: first title slides, individual captions, then highlighted quotes, sequentially appearing bullet points, key objectives and strategies. The Academic had learned to speak in policy terms or the Mayor to understand the language of the Academic.

But you would have said meetings between them were less stimulating than before: to be sure, objectives were more useful than collages of clippings and photographs in identifying desired policy outcomes for the neighbourhood – parks, public art, flower baskets, charettes, recreation programs – and yet when the Academic talked about how life must be in the Bridgeview neighbourhood, day after day, evening after

evening, concision failed her, and little by little, she went back to relying on political theories, terms with their own rhythms, and ***possibilities*** *for synthesis.*

So, for each scene, after the basic information was given in bullet points, she followed with a lecture inspired by clippings and photographs, fieldnotes and transcripts. A new way of giving audience to a presentation was established: the Mayor's nimble fingers tapped away at her computer, translating her responses into blogs and polls. As a dynamic developed between them, they started screen sharing, their materials began to take on dynamic forms, each of which corresponded to a change of emphasis, in their back and forth. And as the tension between their thought was restored with additional material, the drama of loquacious commentary tended to become ***accelerated****, unstable. The titillation of engaging in it also* ***increased*** *in both; in their meetings, most of the time, they both* ***chattered and tinkered away****.* (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 38-9)

3

The Mayor had noticed that the Academic's scenes resembled one another, as if the change from one to another involved a substitution not in materials but of ***problems****. Now, from each scene the Academic described to her, the Mayor's mind went about its own analysis, and after playing out the scene from various perspectives, she directed it in other ways, casting different characters, repositioning them, recreating their backdrop.*

The Victorian, meanwhile, continued giving her presentation, but the Mayor was no longer paying attention.

The Mayor interrupted her: "From now on I shall present the scenes and you will tell me if they have happened and are as I have conceived them. I shall begin by asking you about a fishing scene, with a warm breeze, on the edge of the river. Now I shall identify some of the ***key features*** *of the scene: an old pier almost as tall as it is long on account of massive waves rolling in from container ships coming into port and logs being pulled upriver; a man and his son sitting on the end of the pier with their fishing poles dangling; a cedar tree reaching out from the shore to tickle them; a pleasure craft cruising by pumping thumpa thumpa music to the shore behind them."*

"Your Honour, your mind has been on other things. This is precisely the scene I was telling you about when you interrupted me."

"You know it? When did it play out? What happened?"

"It did not play out and nothing happened. I shall repeat the reason why I was describing it to you: from the number of imaginable Bridgeview scenes we must exclude those whose dynamics play out without a guiding problem, an inner tension, ***a methodology****, a discourse. With Bridgeview, it is as with the Wild West: everything imaginable can happen, but even the most unexpected showdown is an encounter informed by speculation, or its reverse, conviction****.*** *Bridgeview scenes, like those of the Wild West, are made of speculation and conviction, even if the pull of their tension is not obvious, their aims are ludicrous, their* ***missions*** *disturbing, and each problem harbours within it another.*

"I have neither speculation nor conviction," the Mayor declared," and my Wild West is something invented at the Cloverdale Rodeo, or that emerges out of a cacophony of Hollywood clips."

*"Scenes also believe they are creations of the **actors or of the backdrop**, but neither the one nor the other suffices to circumscribe them in a moment. You are taken not by a scene's delivery of lines, but in the problem it gives to an answer of yours."*

"Or the response it gives you, forcing you to question, like Socrates through the pen of Plato." (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 43-4)

Neighbourly Bridgeview. 2000s.

In the middle of the block, across the street, there is this man with four kids and a dog. Their mom died when they were just young, and since then they have been just trying to get by. Sometimes the dog wanders down the street, but a neighbour always seems to bring him back so that the SPCA doesn't get called in. Most of the residents on the block will get a couple of the kids to help them when they need a hand. A while back they helped put the shingles on that roof over there, and last week they helped clean out the ditches for that guy over there. He's obsessed with the ditches. He even started yelling at this woman who was putting the cuttings from her yard in her own ditches! Even though he is crazy like that, the woman was good enough to tell him when a van that she didn't recognize parked in front of his house while he was at work last week. Apparently it was just someone who was doing some plumbing work for him, but you just never know. A couple of houses down, apparently there is a chop shop, but the guy who runs it is a good guy. It's just that he lost his job at the machine shop, and you bet that if he got busted he would lose his house. Then what would his family do? (BV 5)

Neighbourly Bridgeview. 1970s.

In Bridgeview, a neighbourly neighbourhood, the people who move through the streets are all familiars. At each encounter, they are reminded of a thousand things about one another; meetings which have taken place between them, conversations, surprises, caring gestures, back stabbing. Everyone greets one another; eyes connect for a moment, then looking around, seeking other eyes, always returning.

A girl bops into the convenience store, spinning tales of adventure, and spinning also in circles at the prospect of treats. The man who owns the store welcomes her, showing interest in her escapades, his questions show concern, his gestures caring. (BV 7) A man comes into his yard; his neighbour does too; throwing stones at one another they "have a good time." (Mr. Barkved a Bridgeview resident of one year as quoted in: Stubbs 31 Jan 1973) Something is shared among them, an exchange of stories like bonds that that connect one person with another and forms arrows, stars, triangles, until all the combinations are used up in a network, and other characters come on the scene: a woman at the root of an elaborate phone tree, a man behind the bar of a community dance, a community spokesman, a board chair (BV 1). And thus, when people happen to find themselves apart, taking shelter from the prying eyes of neighbours behind curtains, or withdrawing to the river or forest to listen to the wind, meetings, seductions, stories, attacks, celebrations are digested by them without a word exchanged, without a finger pointing toward anything, almost without a nod.

A disquieting silence constantly hovers over Bridgeview, the most gossipy of neighbourhoods (FW 10). If men and women began to express their secret conclusions, every story would become a lesson from which to build another community association and community school, different programs, new alliances, feuds, and the freeflowing

neighbourliness would stop. (This is a structural echo of "Trading cities. 2." Calvino 1974 [1972], 51-2)

Bridgeview and recreation. 2000s.

When a researcher roves a long time through unorganized archives she feels the desire for **an event**. Finally she comes to the takeover of the Bridgeview Community Association, whose conflict is sedimented in official correspondence: a letter sent to the BCA board indicating that concerned (South Asian Canadian) members were being "harassed and misled" by a staff person in 2006 (Basanti), a call to the RCMP by staff for protection from aggressive ("East Indian") members at a Board election in February of 2007, and a letter from a lawyer representing concerned ("East Indian") members regarding issues following from that invalidated election threatening legal action (Palkowski & Company 14 Mar 2007), the election results in which the *Canadian* Canadian board is replaced by new members, all of whom are South Asian Canadian aside from one especially spirited Bridgeviewer. She was thinking of all these sort of proofs when she dreamed of **an event.** The takeover of the board, therefore, is the event of her dreams: with one difference. The dreamed-of event was entirely contained by officialdom in a moment in time; she discovers the takeover spills beyond the correspondence into more mundane happenings that continue to unfold. Entering the community hall one day, she finds shards of glass from windows broken by kids (who were apparently sent down by their *Canadian* Canadian parents), and notices countless little acts (or refusals to act, as was often the case) by the new board that made the work of (*Canadian* Canadian) BCA staff virtually impossible to do, eventually leading to their

resignations. **Desires** are already queer. (This is a structural echo of "Cities & memory. 2." Calvino 1974 [1972], 8)

Settlement of Bridgeview. 1860s.

Wilds of two species haunt Bridgeview. Both are too few to be taken seriously and their teeming ancestors too distant to be remembered. One species squats on land, behind bushes off the side of the road or river; in moves, they jumped ship and install themselves in their new homes at the raising of a shelter. The others stay where they are, with other "Saquayas" or skeletons hanging in trees: they belong to the land, and when the explorer that has touched down there goes away, they remain with the new settlers; perhaps they were already there before the land existed, among the spirits of the place, riding on a wave; if the land is built upon, burdened with the weight of hundreds of houses, they will still be found, **diminished**, in the living room of some of those many houses. To distinguish the two species we will call the first one Squatters (Pearson, John 1960 [1958], 14-26) and the other Indians (Pearson, John 4 Dec 1960).

On a given piece of land, Indians do not necessarily stay with Indians, and Squatters with Squatters: they mix with one another, they stroll together along the shoreline, live side by side in the neighbourhood; they comment on community events; not infrequently they fight; but they can also get along peacefully for years – seeing their shelters and houses all together, you are unable to tell them apart. The Indians have seen Squatters of the most varied origins and customs pass through their lands; the Squatters here to make a place for themselves, rubbing elbows with Indians of the illustrious, but

decaying village across the river, full of honour, or with Indians from the ‘slave’ village, susceptible and distrustful.

The true nature of the place is the subject of endless debate. The Squatters believe they are the neighbourhood’s spirit, even if they arrived last year; and they believe they take Bridgeview with them when they move up the hill. The Indians consider the Squatters temporary guests, importunate, intrusive; the real Qayqayt is theirs, which gives form to all it contains, the land that was there before all these upstarts arrived and that will remain when all have moved on.

The two species have this in common: whatever happens in the community and in the neighbourhood, they always lay claims. The Squatters bring out the old timers, the community leaders of days gone past; the Indians talk about the environment before it was ruined. But this does not mean they live only on memories: they daydream of the careers the children when they grow up (the Squatters), or what this house in their neighbourhood might become (the Indians) if it were in responsible hands. If you listen carefully, especially in the evenings, you can hear them in the shelters and houses of Bridgeview, chattering steadily, interrupting one another, huffing, bantering, amid unbound laughter. (This is a structural echo of “Cities & names. 2.” Calvino 1974 [1972], 78-9)

Bridgeview and transportation. 1990s.

Coming into Surrey on the Skytrain, one crosses over the Skybridge, which was completed in 1990, and looks down upon the Patullo and Westminster bridges. This bridge is a showcase feature of the ARLT system developed by the Ontario (later Urban)

Transportation Development Corporation – which was taken over by Bombardier in 1992 (Smith 2006, 162-6). A system of this sort was first developed for the Scarborough RT route in Ontario, and then for the Expo line opened in Vancouver the following year. This technology tries to strike a middle path between the heavy rail that seems to have endured through the transition from wagon and steamboat, to automobile on the one hand, and the light rail that seems to have slipped out of the local imaginary on the other. This forgetting is surprising, given that when the BC Electric Railway Company extended an Interurban line from New Westminster, across the river, through Surrey and eastward to Chilliwack in 1910, it was extending not only rail (which is what the charter that had been acquired for, in 1906, in order to construct this line), but also, electricity. With the construction of a $35,000 "power house", the entire Fraser Valley was being opened up for electrification, and so also to development of all sorts (Pearson 1960 [1958], 41). After 40 years of operation, however, passenger service ended and freight was dieselized. Although the BC Hydro and Power authority stayed in the transportation business for another decade (until 1973), in this part of the Lower Mainland, electricity and transportation were separate once again. That is, of course, until 1993, when the Skytrain was extended to Scott Road station (from where it would eventually continue southward). While running on electricity, like light rail, it has the agility to bank the sharp corner coming from New Westminster, and the power to zip up the steep incline leading up to the bridge. Scott Road station hovers like a watchtower over Bridgeview, but the mesh-like barrier mottles the view, and it is not clear who would be trying to look out from here, anyways. Like the Skytrain itself, this station is automated – a cost-saving measure that means that the only employees that one is likely to encounter on this

platform are cleaners, and on random occasions, security personnel chatting with one another or hassling less affluent looking people of colour. The real danger is not here on the platform, but below, on the walking and biking path leading to the footbridge over the highway to Bridgeview. Apparently, nestled into the bushes there, are thieves and thugs of the worst imaginable sort. Some are just in it for the fun, for example throwing stones at a South Asian man walking by.

Even with annual Skytrain ridership of around 20 million in the 1990s, cars still "rule the road" in Surrey in general and Bridgeview in particular, but that could change with rising fuel costs and continued expansion of the Translink system. Say, for instance, if there were a regular bus service in the neighbourhood that did not take one on a scenic route of every other underserviced neighbourhood between Bridgeview and the city centre.

Fingers hovering above the computer's keys, her blouse buttoned right up to the top button, her toes anxiously arched in her power heels, the Mayor listened to the Victorian's tales with a sense of urgency. These were the days when the rays of diagnosis lifted her spirit.

"Your Bridgeview scenes have not happened. Why do you busy yourself with digging up ***quirky and embarrassing tales****? I know well that my city is being formed as dough by a cookie cutter, whose contours have been designed to minimize waste as it rolls along, the space between obvious shapes becoming shapes of their own, fitted one into the other by design. Why do you not speak to me of this? Why do you lie to the Mayor of Surrey, Victorian?"*

*The Academic knew it was best to go with the leader's insight. "Yes, Surrey is being **tidied to automation**, and what is **better**, it is trying to become more orderly itself. This is the aim of my research: **drawing out the hints of vitality**, I gauge its scarcity. If you want to get a sense for how much order there is around you, you must open your ears, hearing the buzz of noise from neglected corners of the city."*

"From now on, I'll present the scenes to you," the Mayor had said, in your research you will see if they happened."

But the scenes revealed by the Academic were always different from those staged by the Mayor.

"And yet I have constructed in my mind a model scene from which all possible scenes can be derived," the Mayor said. "It consists of normal dynamics, heterosexual monogamous relations among white settlers. Since the scenes that exist diverge in varying degree from the norm, I need only anticipate the exceptions to the norm and calculate the most likely combinations."

"I have also thought of a model scene from which I derive all the others," the Academic answered. "It is a scene that consists only of exceptions, omissions, dissonances, contradictions. If such a scene is the most unlikely, by reducing the number of atypical dynamics, we increase the probability that the scene actually happened. So I have only to remove exceptions from my model, and in whatever materials I take up, I will find one of the scenes which, always as an exception, exist. But I cannot push my method beyond a certain point: I would conceive scenes too likely to have happened."
(This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 59-60, 69)

4

"Did you ever happen to see a scene like this one?" the Mayor asked the Academic, tilting her perfectly coiffed head towards the screen, an alderman in a dated plaid suit and tinted glasses glimmering like disco balls, he the talking head: "There is actually a fantastic spirit in the Bridgeview area. They band together and they have a real esprit de corps type of feeling or organization down there… but I'm looking at it from the point of view of the benefit to the municipality as a whole. Unfortunately when you do something this size some people have to suffer, and it may be in this case that the people of Bridgeview have to suffer." (Alderman as quoted in Pinney 1976)

The Mayor, guided by her neighbourhood planner, was doing a virtual tour of Bridgeview, long standing capital of shafted homeowners, the oldest pillar of the Great Mayor's boomtown.

"No, Your Honour," the Academic answered, "I should never have imagined a scene like this could be captured on film."

The Mayor tried to look into her eyes. The Victorian lowered her gaze. The Mayor ***chattered*** *through the entire meeting.*

Just as the meeting was to end, the Mayor asked for a presentation. Generally the Mayor kept to her tight schedule, but today she seemed unwilling to be rushed.

"Describe another scene," she insisted.

"… You return to Bridgeview Community Hall and sit between provincial bureaucrats and city staff who are presenting proposed plans for the neighbourhood…" the Academic picked up, describing interactions and backdrops of many a Bridgeview scene. Her stock of lectures seemed to be endless, but now she was the one who wanted

to move on. Evening had passed when she said: "Your Honour now I have presented to you all the scenes I know."

"There is still one that remains."

The Victorian bowed her head.

"Your dissertation," the Mayor said.

The Academic smiled. "What else do you think I have been presenting to you about?"

The Mayor did not flinch. "And yet I have never heard you speak of it directly." And the Victorian said: "Every time I present a scene I am saying something about my dissertation."

"When I ask you about Bridgeview, I want to hear about it. And about your dissertation, when I ask you about your dissertation."

"To frame the other scenes' dynamics, I must think of a principal scene that remains implicit. For me it is my dissertation."

"You should then begin each scene from your research from the principal, describing your dissertation as it will have been written, all of it, not leaving out anything you anticipate of it."

The windows of City Hall wavered slightly; the florescent reflection of the pair was distorted into swirling colours like a backdrop to a disco movie.

"Anticipation's images, once they are fixed in words, are actualized," the Victorian said. "Perhaps I am afraid of making my dissertation ***banal*** *all at once, if I speak of it. Or perhaps, speaking of other scenes, I have already made it banal, little by little."* (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 85-7)

Bridgeview and industrialization. 2000s.

Summoned to lay down the plans for the development of Bridgeview, the municipality established the place for a 'park' according to the industrial zoning of the eastern edge of the neighbourhood; it assembled the various properties, and planned the extension of sanitary sewers, the first drew from its own coffers and the other from those of the senior levels of government. It dumped pre-load on the site according to the recommendations of engineers so that each of the tenants would eventually be able to bring in the heavy machinery and such required for their industrial activity; it hired a local real estate agent to begin marketing the units (BV 8). This industrial park – it insisted – would reflect the potential of the area to developers; market logic and geography would shape the neighbourhood's destiny. (This is a structural echo of "Cities & the sky. 4." Calvino 1974 [1972], 144-5)

Bridgeview and sanitation. **2000s.**

For a long time Bridgeview to me was a feisty community on the shores of a river, with fists held high and petitions rolling out, with sewage laden ditches overflowing, with a community association in its centre. I had never seen it. It was one of the many places where I had never been, that I conjured up, through its image in film: Montreal of *VTR St. Jacques*, Fogo Island of *The Children of Fogo Island*, and Halifax of *Encounter at Kwacha House*. Bridgeview of *Some People Have to Suffer* had its place among them, different from each of them, and like each of them, unmistakable to the viewer's eye. (Walton, Jean Fall 2012)

The day came when my research took me to Bridgeview. As soon as I looked down on the neighbourhood from the pedestrian overpass, everything I had imagined was forgotten; Bridgeview became what I could see of Bridgeview; and I thought I had always known that the river is invisible from the neighbourhood, hidden behind a dike and a strip of industrial activity; that the houses are of many different sorts, some high some low, and they are separated by all manner of fencing and greenery; that sewage pump holes poke out of each yard. From that moment on the name Bridgeview has brought to my mind this view, this light, this buzzing, this sewage free air: obviously the neighbourhood is calm and clean, and so it seems it could be nothing but this.

My research led me to the engineering department at the City of Surrey, where a project supervisor of the sewer section spoke of a vacuum sewer system that was never up to par, of the acute concern about the decaying system over the last ten years, of the plan for a combination of gravity and pressure sanitary sewer systems, of the extraordinary costs of servicing the shifty neighbourhood, of the recent success in securing over $5 million for the project from the upper levels of government, of how the municipality would contribute its third (SUR 2). Still there would not be enough to undertake the whole project, so with the lesser of the two vacuum pump stations, the west side sewage system would be made sanitary first. Residents would be given five years to raise the funds to connect to the new system, before the municipality would finally rid itself of vacuum maintenance costs. The neighbourhood drowning under the difficulties of servicing the neighbourhood is also there still, with the substandard sewage system, but I can no longer see it as *Some People Have to Suffer*, nor remember how I could ever have imagined it as a clean and calm place.

Bridgeview and investment. 1880s.

In the 1887 directory, Brownsville's PO address is in New Westminster. Whereas some other villages in Surrey had begun to develop their own post offices, and so on, Brownsville remained an extension of the Royal City (Anonymous 1887). Only 10 men are listed under Brownsville, which could suggest that many others maintained their properties as investments. Take for instance the owners of the two hotels: one is listed as a "hotel keeper" (and councilor), and the other is not listed. It was not so much the properties themselves that were of interest – an entire quarter section was valued at about $1,300 (that is, at about $81 per 10 acres, which would go for at least $1 million now) with taxes a mere $8.63 cents. More valuable, was what was done on the land.

Apparently pouring drinks and running gambling tables was profitable indeed. So much so that it extended beyond the two hotels to some people's homes, and even into the bush. A relatively steady stream of hoboes, transients, and gypsies passed through the abandoned Indian Reserve just up the hill (some even making use of the remaining mud huts there), and heading southward would hop off the beaten track to a trail that ran parallel to the road, eventually arriving at a log cabin that doubled as a brewery. Ratepayers in Brownsville heard wind of the bush distillery and they were so angered by it that they submitted a petition to the Surrey Municipal Council in 1880. Some were surely upstanding citizens concerned about vagrancy, but others were surely concerned about the dent such dealings were making in their own profits. In any case, lucky for them, a couple of hunters stumbled across the trail – which was hidden from outsiders because there was no opening to it from the main roads – and upon returning pointed

police in the right direction. The removal of the massive still has become part of local lore, but no one was ever charged with its illicit use. (Pearson 1960 [1958], 24)

With all these goods and people coming and going, from water to land and vice versa, and from city to country and vice versa, it should not be surprising that a couple of merchants set up shop in Brownsville. They are not listed in the directory, which could suggest that they treated the place as an outpost of their work in New Westminster. One man who left goods alone and focused on money, a self-identified "capitalist" did treat Brownsville as his primary place, however.

Rent was another way that property owners profited from their holdings. If they rented to would-be farmers willing to improve the land for agricultural use, then there was the added bonus that the land itself would increase in value – with stumps cleared, a decent house, a large barn, and of course, an effective fence. Presumably the six men listed as farmers in the directory were more invested in making such improvements, but however invested (or not), the task of clearing trees was a good deal easier in Bridgeview than up the hill, because the bog did not support mammoth trees. The problem instead, was how to keep oxen and horses from sinking down into the peat. The solution was to slap a square foot of 2 inch thick board to the bottom of their hooves, and hold it in place with a couple hinged iron bars and leather straps. These bog shoes were known as "Tooleys", and although they were effective at keeping heavy animals afloat (in much the same way that snowshoes work for people), not all horses and oxen could learn to swing their legs just so in order to walk in them without getting hurt. In addition to the coordinated few who were able to walk in Tooleys, there were many animals just passing through Brownsville, such as herds of cattle being driven to market in New Westminster.

As local lore has it, one night, farmers from Sumas Prairie doing just that had missed the last ferry, and so they decided to pasture for the night just south, along Scott Road. By morning, the herds had been sold to a man who founded a dairy business that has been operated by the family to this day. Less organized, were the goats that roamed north Surrey by the hundred. Their ostensible home was the farm just up the hill, but the goats provided settlers throughout the area with milk and cheese, and as rumour has it, they also became free meals for hobos from time to time. (Pearson 1960 [1958], 27)

Business in Brownsville seems to have been undertaken by men. Every Friday, ferry after ferry was apparently full of men taking their produce over to the Market on Front Street in New Westminster, since a woman's place was (ideally) in the home. But in the faded photos of the K and K, one can make out a woman's form here, and a woman's hat there. These could be hazy traces of wives (and children) that would help their husbands carry produce in baskets, if they could not afford a wagon and team. There were also the Indian women that are said to have worked in the canneries that started appearing on the Fraser in the 1870s, but the first of which was constructed in Brownsville the following decade. By the turn of the century there were 48 canneries on the river, packing over a million cases. This was just the most recent innovation in the fishing industry in a long 'line' on the Fraser; in the 1860s a Dutch man made the first gillnet on the Fraser before discovering gold up Williams Creek, for instance. (Pearson 1960 [1958], 16, 26)

Bridgeview and contestation. 2000s.

The others have gone to collect firewood. A woman whose spunk could be measured by the length of her gray braids or the fullness of her laughter, is sitting in front

of the nail house – the last house in Bridgeview to be demolished to clear a path for a freeway to be laid down. She has been there for 5 days in spirit, and much of that in body. A pickup truck comes around the corner with a young boy in the back, and parks across from where the woman sits watch. After the boy's father pops in the house across the street, she asks the boy where he lives. As a long-time cubs leader she knows where many children in the neighbourhood live, and takes the well-being of children very seriously; she wants to know how long the boy had been riding in this unsafe way. When the father hears wind of her approaching his son, however, he is irate. As far as he can tell, she was trying to get his son involved in politics. Lubricated by at least a couple of drinks, his anger quickly spews out in streams of spit and threats. Security guards hired to look over the nail house do not respond to her demands that they call 911. Despite being much smaller in size, however, she fires right back with the force of a mother defending her child, at a fierce pitch. The man declares that he knows where she lives. Both see the other as playing politics dirty now. Thanks to speed dial, her anti-freeway fellows return to flank her. There will be no campfire tonight. Shaken up by the conflict, they decide to go to their respective homes for the night, and to reconvene in the morning just before 7am (when construction workers have been showing up). But after getting in her pajamas, and tucking her daughter into bed for the night, she is drawn back to the nail house, as though to the bedside of a dying friend. Eventually she goes home for a nap, and returns an hour ahead of schedule, but it wouldn't have mattered if they had all been there through the night. Days before, a digger had been brought in the back way, so that it could roll over the fence, rather than activists. And roll it does. All that can be done now is to call her fellow activists and record the demolition. (BV 5; Colley 2009)

"...So then, yours is truly a research of anticipation!" The Mayor, her ears always attuned, leaned forward in her chair every time she caught a hint of foreboding in the Academic's voice. "It was to shake off the anxiety of expectations that you delved into fieldwork!" she cried, or else: "You return from your researches with the baggage of disappointments!" And she added, sarcastically: "Meagre findings, in fact, for a Victorian academic!"

This was the object of all the Mayor's questions about implications. Taking a moment to gear up for the pounce, like a dog with a toy, laying low and wagging its tail, she then jumped on the Academic, pinning her to the ground and tugging at her hair: "This is what I craved to hear from you: admit what you are gleaning: inspiration, academic honours, predictions!"

This playful attack was perhaps only imagined, as the two, chattering and puttering away, watched pages load on their screens. The pages froze at times with the spin of a loading icon, or else remained hanging in mid-load; and the question was on that page. As the icon ***ushered the page along or held it at bay,*** *the Academic thought of the signs that mark the advancement of provincially supported highway construction projects, which when removed, leave a broad band of concrete, sprawling towards distant ports. It was on all the myriad screens loaded at once that her gaze wished to rest: the vital structures of things can be sensed better at a distance.*

Or else the icon itself froze, having barely appeared on screen, faint and motionless, and suggested another scene: the progress reports that hang over do-gooders from the metropolis, the template standardized, the bureaucratic demand weighing over

their interactions on Bridgeview's ditch-lined streets. Not the predictable loading nor the hanging page, but the dulling of routinized lives that informs the explanation of scenes, reports divested of vital material that cannot be easily accounted for, the void of tension, struggle, negotiation that empties interactions captured in the illusion of accountability: this is what you will have found at the end of your research." (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 98-9)

5

MAYOR: *I do not know when you have had time to research all the scenes you describe to me. It seems to me you have never left your computer.*

ACADEMIC: *Everything I encounter makes sense in a mental space where the same heated back and forth is at play as here, the same alertness, the same* ***chatter*** *punctuated by the tapping of keys. At the moment when I dive into my fieldwork, I find myself again, always in front of my computer, sometimes here in Your Honourable's presence, though I continue, without a moment's rest, talking with an interviewee while crossing over the King George Highway to Bridgeview or noting the consistent tensions of entries in the faded pages of the Reeve's Letterbooks.*

MAYOR: *I too, am not certain I am here, overseeing council and committee meetings, listening to presentations, and not reaching out, wearing badges of civil service, at the head of my staff, developing a neighbourhood profile you will have to study, or cutting down the fences of NIMBYs getting in the way of major developments.*

ACADEMIC: *Perhaps City Hall exists only as a screensaver, and we have never stopped: you from helping raise property values through neighbourhood development*

initiatives; and I, from soliciting participation from community leaders. But each time we quit or hide applications, in the midst of the busy-ness, we mange to withdraw here, dressed in flattering suits, to try to make sense of the everyday scenes we are seeing and living, to draw out implications, to analyze at a distance.

MAYOR: *Perhaps this conversation of ours is taking place between two panhandlers nicknamed the Mayor and the Academic; as they sift through the events of their day, heaping angry* ***rant****, upon indignant* ***quip****, disciplining aside, draining charity, while tipsy on a few sips of beer, they see all the dynamics of the City played out before them.*

ACADEMIC: *Perhaps all that will be left of everyday scenes in the city, are* ***myths*** *drawn out one atop another, and the tensions of a particular moment. It is our* ***attention to everyday*** *chatter that links the two, but we cannot know whether it actually matters.* (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 103-4)

Bridgeview and recreation. 1970s.

No neighbourhood in Canada is more inclined than Bridgeview to enjoy life and celebrate. And to make the leap from work to life less of a stretch, the residents have developed a parade that ushers people anywhere along the way from the school through the neighbourhood and on to celebrations at the community hall. All manner of officials and unofficials are roped into the fun floating by. Today, in celebration of the sewer system, firemen dude out the usual trucks, and Mounties decorate the usual handful of horseback riders, all of whom are outshone by Alberta Slim with his trick horse. To the disappointment of many, neither of the Bridgeview Queens (the young belle or the man

in drag) are in full regalia. That is reserved for Bridgeview Day parades. When the party finally arrives at the community hall, some sod is turned, and some words are said by residents and some of the dignitaries, including Surrey MLA and Human Resources Minister Bill Vander Zalm, Environment Minister Jim Nielsen, Surrey Mayor Ed McKitka, Surrey council members and staff involved in the long struggle to sewer the neighbourhood. A seven-piece band called Paper Moon strikes up some tunes and revelers alternate between dancing and helping themselves to a lunch of ham and beef, greens and potato salad, and cakes of every imaginable sort. This old-fashioned community hospitality came from another Bridgeview, where the neighbourhood's most revered virtues and hard work are embodied. The image given by tradition is that of womenfolk of strong stock and pure heart labouring in the kitchen, on the phone organizing details, and along the celebration route setting things up. Residents believe the celebratory neighbourhood would become one with this dedicated hard-working one if anything more than the hospitality were recognized, and so fun and feasting are cultivated to excess. (Anonymous 24 Jun 1976; Tone setting and details about how Bridgeviewers interacted were drawn from Blackstone 1977)

They also believe, these residents, that the other Bridgeview is the receptacle of everything base and unworthy that happens to them, and it is their constant care to erase from the celebratory Bridgeview every trace of the dull twin. In the place of sod-turning they imagine the hard-working neighbourhood has overflowing ditches, shaky roads, cracked walkways, a waterfront hemmed in by logs rather than dikes, nooks piled high with rubbish, and the like. Or even that its substance runs dark and thick, like the pitch that pours out from septic tanks, prolonging the route from the human bowels, from black

hole to black hole, until it sputters out through the streets, and from the lazy, circling bubbles below, a fecal neighbourhood rises, with sloping spires.

In Bridgeviewers' beliefs there is an element of truth and one of error. It is true that the neighbourhood is double, one celebratory and one hard-working; but the residents are mistaken about their consistency. The dumping ground that grows pile upon pile is a neighbourhood designed by the most astute planners, built with the most advanced principles, with every technique and tool and model, decked with charts and tables and graphs underpinning each pile and falling roof.

Intent on indulging in its fodder for celebration, Bridgeview takes for virtue what is now a destitute mania to fill the free time of itself; the neighbourhood does not know that its only moments of generous abandon are those when it becomes detached from itself, when it lets go, pauses. Still, at the heart of Bridgeview there nurtures a womanly body that cares for all the neighbourhood's children, floating amidst the treasury of cast-off things: a place a-flutter with potato peels, broken umbrellas, old socks, candy wrappings, paved with crushed cans, fingernail-cuttings and pared calluses, eggshells. (BV 7) This is the hard-working neighbourhood, and in its retreat into darkness, released to spin anxiously from the only restrained and measured action of residents of Bridgeview, a neighbourhood which, only when it shits, is miserly, calculating, reserved. (Structural echo of "Cities & the dead. 3." Calvino 1974 [1972], 109-10)

Bridgeview and community development. 2000s.

If you buy into the Bridgeveiw ANC promotional video, good (Anonymous 2006/07). Now a bearded character donning a municipality-issued yellow vest reading

"SAFE CLEAN CITY" pulls on a pair of red safety gloves. He will tell you how the ditches – spilling over with trash dumped by outsiders – are cleaned. Volunteers have been recruited to gather at the community hall on the first Saturday of every month. From a half a dozen, their numbers have grown over the months to 15-16. Flyers sent out by the ANC were careful to tell residents how they could clean up the streets and ditches, how they could change the neighbourhood. And the images show how. Long tongs are used to pull tires, wrappers, and other trash out of the ditches and put it into heavy-duty yellow garbage bags. Apparently they pull out five dump trucks full every month?! Joking around, one of the volunteers says that they check tossed papers to see if they can find numbers to track down those dumping on the neighbourhood.

This is the foundation of the neighbourhood clean-up: a volunteer net which serves as a social group and as support. By learning to respond to the needs of a wider range of residents, this net grows; squatters, drawn first by the treasures hidden in the bags and then by the recyclables left thoughtfully next to the bags, eventually join in the clean-up so as to get first dibs on the bottles and cans. (COM 3)

All the rest, is hung below: the gossiping and loneliness, the racism and homophobia, and the insecurity and fear. Rising up from the net are neighbourhood leaders with newfound confidence who speak of a day when seniors do not have to worry about getting a new roof because a team of volunteers will come by one Saturday with shingles in hand.

Suspended thus, the life of the Bridgeview clean-up is less uncertain than in other neighbourhoods. Yet they know the net will last only so long. (Structural echo of "Thin cities. 5." Calvino 1974 [1972], 75)

Bridgeview and industrialization. 1960s.

Bridgeview was laid out so rationally that its every street follows the grid's pattern or the river's bank, and the field and hall of community life repeat the order of the hub and the position of the most vital public spaces: Vancouver Art Gallery, Nathan Phillips Square, Place d'Armes, Churchill Square. The neighbourhood's rhythm is so consistent that cars and residents and pets could be arranged on a map corresponding to their position at that time: and thus the emptying of the neighbourhood and the emptying of city centres would be opposite to one another.

Though it is painstakingly routinized, the neighbourhood's everyday life flows playfully like the motion of the dog walker and it takes on the seeming inevitability of things subject to human rationality. In praising Bridgeview's citizens for their work ethic and community spirit, one might have been led to say: I can well understand how you, feeling yourselves part of a tight community, members of a chosen family, take care not to make the slightest change in your neighbourhood and your habits. Bridgeview is the only neighbourhood I know where it is best to stand still in time.

They would have looked at one another dumbfounded. "But why? Whoever said such a thing?" And they would have led one to visit a couple of auto wreckers recently opened on peaty land governed by the Forestry Act, a potential municipal ban on them with incinerator fires that are not allowed in a place designated forest, approved in 1968 when the area was zoned for salvage, and – just proposed in 1979 – an expansion of the salvage zone, followed by requests for properties smaller than ¾ acre to be rezoned. (Risdon 7 Feb 1979; Anonymous 12 May 1961)

"And these innovations do not disturb your neighbourhood's ruralesque rhythm?" one might have asked.

"Our neighbourhood and the central cities relate so well," they answered, "that any change in Bridgeview involves some novelty within the city." The planners, after each change takes place in Bridgeview, would have done well to look down from their offices and report an instance of a wrecker closing, gentrification, a higher industrial use in the central city. Each change implies a series of other changes, in Bridgeview as among the central city: the neighbourhood and its hub never remain the same.

As for the character of Bridgeview's residents, two virtues are worth mentioning: entrepreneurialism and persistence. Convinced that every innovation in the neighbourhood influences the central city's development, on might have counseled that before taking any decision they calculate the costs and benefits for themselves and for the central city and for all connected regions. (Structural echo of "Cities & the sky. 5." Calvino 1974 [1972], 150-1)

Bridgeview and consultation. 2000s.

It has long been noted that community consultations work to co-opt dissent (Fraser 1972), but getting "buy-in" for projects seems to have become more calculated under the control of Kirk and Company. Hired by the BC government for the SFPR project, the company developed "strategic public consultation plans" (Kirk 2010) of which the transportation consultation meeting in Bridgeview was just one part. With clickers in hand to count how many times a certain word was used, it is easy to understand why Ben might describe the meeting as "a focus group in disguise." Whereas

in advertising, participants in such groups are paid for their responses to certain products and campaigns, concerned people come out for free to discuss government-managed projects, where they can be studied. Consultation consultants can learn not only about the messages behind residents' positions, and the wedges between people that could be pressed upon, but also, what language works (or not) to sell the project. This application of a business model of communication (i.e. advertising) to government is fitting of new public management principles that are associated with neo-liberalism. In addition to the obvious fact that the company is working on a contract from the BC government, its founder and president, Judy Kirk, has close ties with the (neo) Liberal party of BC under Gordon Campbell – having worked as chief of Staff of the Liberal party when it was in Opposition, and for the City of Vancouver when Campbell was mayor. But as I hope to have shown through this dissertation, the difference between neo-liberalism and liberalism is not so great. The WC is using a similar communications logic, albeit with a different strategy. (Structural echo of "Cities & signs. 5." Calvino 1974 [1972], 61-2)

Bridgeview and investment. 1920s.

With the rail running right by the hotel and over the Westminster bridge, and Brown's Landing no longer serving as the key node connecting the stage coach and ferries, Brownsville became less and less a place to invest in, and more and more a place where residents watched things pass them by. Those whose bounty came from offshore were perhaps least affected by this decline. Every Sunday, young men would board small skiffs – 24-foot rowboats with small sails – that were towed up the coast (*e.g.* to Rivers Inlet) where they would fish for the week, sleeping in a little flip-up shelter called a

"doghouse" with a bunk and small heater. Fishing was something that some of these men would have learned as boys, helping their fathers bring in salmon for their families just as soon as they were big enough to do so – which was about 6 years old. Every Friday, when these skiffs were towed back to Brownsville, docking alongside ships of various sorts, fishermen and sailors alike would settle down side by side at local drinking establishments. From 1917-21 these were mostly secret spots connected to the bootlegging in Brownsville. But aside from this brief universal prohibition on booze in BC (as compared to the longer prohibition affecting Indians from initial settlement efforts right through to 1962), these offshore men tended to frequent bars at the local hotels, where rumour had it that these offshore men who had money to spend were served good whiskey, while locals were served weak homebrew. (Pearson 1960 [1958], 24)

ACADEMIC: … *Perhaps the chambers of City Hall govern over only the documents of staff*…

MAYOR: … *and however preoccupied we become with the details of our work as researchers and administrators, we both* ***entertain*** *through our chatter in this brightly lit office, this conversation over loading pages, this* ***day*** *that is* ***always changing***.

ACADEMIC: *Unless the opposite hypothesis is right: that improvement projects in neighbourhoods are underway only because we two conceive them, here, enclosed by these concrete walls, in motion since we met.*

MAYOR: *Unless blight, racism, rubbish filled ditches, stink are not problems; and only the files here*.

ACADEMIC: *Unless blockades, board takeovers, entrepreneurs recycling others' waste, fishermen fighting for access to their boats, elderly women struggling to get help to prune their fruit trees, are only problems because we take a second look at them*.

MAYOR: *To tell the truth, I never think twice about them.*

ACADEMIC: *Then they are not problems*.

MAYOR: *To me this speculation does not seem to suit our aims. Without those* ***struggles*** *we could never remain here debating, nestled in our chairs*.

ACADEMIC: *Then this hypothesis must be wrong. So the other hypothesis is right: they are problems and we do not produce them*.

MAYOR: *We have established that if we produced problems, we would not hear*.

ACADEMIC: *And hear, in actuality, we do*. (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 117-8)

6

From where the Mayor sat a veneer tabletop extended. The Academic, ***loquacious*** *advisor, spread out along its edges news clippings she had gathered in her researches in the depths of archives: "Bridgeview steamed up," "Sewer program now in doubt," "Habitat Bridgeview film annoys Surrey alderman," "Peat firm, council still at odds on truck routes." Arranging the clippings in a certain order on the faux wood, and occasionally rearranging them with careful moves, the Victorian tried to present for the political leader's eyes the range of her research, the notable reactions within the neighbourhood, the decisions of distant municipal officials.*

The Mayor was a known monopoly player; following the Academic's movements, she noticed that certain pieces appreciated or devalued other pieces and were rearranged according to a certain overall rationality. Ignoring the clippings' diverse topics, she could get a sense of the system of arranging one in relation to the others around the veneer table. She thought: "If developing the city is like a game of monopoly, the day when I have learned the strategies, I shall finally govern Surrey, even if I shall never succeed in giving audience to all the scenes it contains."

Actually, it was useless for her advisors' presentations to include all this curios: a monopoly board would have suited, with its specific pieces, properties, and cards. To each, in turn, they could give an appropriate meaning: a hotel could stand in for an actual condo building, or for the central city tower, a high-end housing subdivision, a hotel billboard: Baltic Avenue could be East Whalley Ring Road with its Exotic Show Room, or the Front Room drop-in centre, an Aboriginal ghetto, a meth lab: Pennsylvania Railroad could be the extension of the skytrain to Surrey Central, or the South Fraser Perimeter Road, Fraser Port, Gosal Trucking: the Community Chest could include action items of Vibrant Surrey, or activities at the Fusion festival, diverseCITY programs, meals at the local Sikh temple.

Returning from her recent fieldwork, the Academic found the Mayor awaiting her, seated in front of a monopoly board. With a gesture she invited the Victorian to sit across from her and present, with rolls of the dice, properties landed on and pieces purchased or cards drawn, the scenes she had seen. The Academic rose to the challenge. The Mayor's pieces were plastic sculptures of Monopoly City: building up the properties with looming skyscrapers and connecting them with bridges, drawing "go straight to

jail" cards as though they were a gift of time to strategize how to intervene in the neighbourhood's progress, the Academic recreated the controversies and developments under fluorescent light.

Thinking through these principal scenes, the Mayor reflected on the invisible (dis)order that enlivens her city, on the predictable dynamics of property development, the rolls of the dice that position one for better or worse opportunities, the different ways that players respond to the cards they draw, and the eventual dominance of the city by a player extracting extraordinary rents from the others, at which point the other players start to move on to another neighbourhood or city. At times she thought she was on the cusp of identifying a predictable, organic growth underpinning the apparent monstrosities and crises, but no theory could shake a stick at the analogy with the game of monopoly. Perhaps, instead of stretching to suggest with the plastic dice and pieces' minimal help systemic theories that were certainly destined to become obsolete, it would be sufficient to play a game by the book, and to treat each successive configuration of the board and players' holdings as one of the myriad configurations that the system of city (dis)orders ***conceives*** *and obscures.*

Now the Mayor no longer had to wait for the Academic to return from fieldwork: she kept her playing endless games of monopoly. Insights into the city's ***politics*** *were to be found in the* ***stilted and accelerating*** *movements around the board, in speculation and the extraction of rent, in side deals made to consolidate properties, in the anxious tread of the propertyless shoe or the top hat within rolling range of the most sought after property, in the inherent booms and busts of every game.*

The Mayor tried to focus on the game: but now it was the game's purpose that eluded her. Each game ends in a ***monopoly****: but to what* ***ends****? What were the actual stakes? In the final toss of the dice when the last surviving propertyless player is almost certain to be shaken down for rent, skyscrapers crowded together, a pile of imaginary money, and a lone* ***figure*** *remains. By abstracting the development of her city, to reduce it to its basic trajectory, the Mayor had encountered the overriding rationality: competition for and of the property industry, in which the city politician was but a facilitator.* ***The city was built up for a pile of paper: exchange value…*** (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 121-3)

Bridgeview and community development. 1970s.

In Bridgeview's Neighbourhood Improvement Program area, which spreads both inward and outward, enclosed by industrial activity and opening out through roads, an inter-office memo is preserved in which you can see the community's actual form (Corporation of the District of Surrey 1978). At first sight nothing seems to resemble Bridgeview less than "The Planning concept and space needs" of that memo, laid out in neat geometrical diagrams with cross hatches and boxes. But if you pause and examine it carefully, you become convinced that each diagram corresponds to an actual place in the community, and that all the things contained in the community are included in the memo, arranged according to their true importance, which escapes your eye distracted by the people bustling about. All of Bridgeview's sociality, the mothers' gabbing, the visits over coffee, the wince of the neighbour slighted is what is evident in the incomplete perspective you grasp; but the memo proves that there is a point from which the

community shows its actual needs, the geometrical scheme implicit in its every, tiniest detail.

It is easy to get confused amidst the different stories in Bridgeview: but when you pull back and stare at the NIP memo, you recognize a young man in a "Teens' 'cottage'" which, following a straight line, brings you to the "Replacement Community Hall" that is your real interest. Every planner of Bridgeview compares the memo or some other set of diagrams with his own image of the community, a pleasure of his own, and each can find, revealed by the different boundary lines, a question, the thesis of his research, the twists of planning.

For some time the Bridgeview NIP committee had been sure that the diagrams laid out in the memo were right and good (Bridgeview NIP committee 1978). The associated plans were interpreted in this sense, as things that committee members ought to ensure were implemented, imposed on the neighbourhood. But you could, similarly, come to the opposite conclusion: that the actual plan of the universe is the community of Bridgeview, just as it is, a knot of stories that stretches out shapelessly, with crooked tales, background checks that crumble one upon the other amid flurries of cover ups, dinners, festivities in the darkness.

Bridgeview and local government. 2000s.

Beneath neighbourhood plans and community plans lies the 1976 Bridgeview Community Plan, a document that no one, having seen it, can remember (Corporation 1976; Anonymous 6 Apr 1976). But not because, like other forgettable plans, it leaves no striking image in your memories. The Bridgeview Plan has the

tendency of slipping from your mind line by line, in its delineation of zones, of buildings along the streets, and of sewage pump sites and stations on community properties, though everything about them posses a unique design and layout. The Bridgeview Plan's useleness lies in the way your passing familiarity with the neighbourhood belies the messiness of things mixing with one another as in a cacophony in which not a note can be isolated or identified. The one who lets go by practicality how the Plan is laid out, if unable to face the day, can remember driving along the streets and recall the chaos by which cars pile up in yards, and the strip club appears in the middle of an industrial strip, shipping containers appear here and there, ducks float in ditches, sidewalks randomly appear and disappear, decaying and renovated buildings rub up against each other (FW 7). This Plan which cannot be taken too seriously is like a ruse, a smokescreen under whose veil each of us can do the things we want to do: establish a truck park, guerrilla garden, chop shop, grow op, housing squat, recycling operation, action group, dance troupe (BV 5). Between each activity and each line of the plan a disjuncture or a breach can be seen, serving as an immediate justification for forgetting. So the city's most influential ones are those who have no recollection of the Community Plan (CC 1).

But in vain residents seek out recognition of the Plan: forced to accept the complexities and the ever changing, in order to be more easily forgotten, the Plan has been updated, approved, invoked. The disgruntled community has remembered it. (Structural echo of "Cities & memory. 4." Calvino 1974 [1972], 15-6)

Settlement of Bridgeview. 2000s.

These days there are two kinds of houses in the neighbourhood. On one hand, are houses that are continuously improved upon – ranging from trailer homes with neat flower boxes and freshly painted trim, to two story stucco houses built out to property edges marked by elaborate fencing and gates. On the other hand, are the mostly one-story houses that seem to have been left to sink into the peat, roof first. Their collapse is an eventuality anticipated by collections of all manner of things outside of the houses, in front and back yards, where they can (and will) be easily found when the roofs cave in. (FW 6)

And then there are the hidden homes. News is that not long ago there was a squatter's camp at the edge of Bridgeview, down the hill, behind the billboards. The tents and tarps of this so-called "colony" or "mess camp" were tucked away nicely, but journalists trekked down there and brought back stories of junkies banging heroin, and doing other such nefarious things. One character that was especially careless with his words and carefree in his disposition became the squatters' face forward. Apparently the cops busted up this highly concentrated and high profile settlement. But before and after that, there have been many more independent squatters (NW 1). Walking down to the shoreline, a lap dog-cum-guard dog yips at passers-by to protect the van it is leashed to by the side of the road, and the woman living there. In the bushes down by the river, there are remnants of a cardboard shelter here, and a lived in nook under driftwood with its own little library over there (FW 6).

Bridgeview and local government. 1970s.

If after one hit play an alderman had not said "This council is on record as being in favour of servicing Bridgeview, and a motion to that effect was made a month or six weeks ago by myself, and I believe was passed unanimously" **(**Pinney 1976), one would have thought one was watching the same Surrey council meeting from five or ten years earlier. The claims that the municipality was waiting for action from the upper levels of government were the same as ever. Cutting off the mayor and aldermen's persistent attempts to make such claims, were the same old groans and boos from Bridgeviewers in the audience. Women and elders sat, while men filled the aisle and spilled out the chamber doors. All had their arms crossed, signs that nothing had changed at all. Their desire for clean ditches and sanitary sewers was so well known that it did not even have to be stated by their representatives, who simply asked: "When?" Here there is a continuous loop back to claims that the municipality is waiting on the upper levels of government, or for another study. Occasionally, it is punctuated by an alderman or neighbourhood representative pointing a finger back at council, followed by applause and cheers from Bridgeviewers in the audience. This has been going on for years and will continue for many more. The only thing that differentiates one meeting from another is the name of the particular program or study that is cited.

... The Mayor tried to focus on the game: but now it was the game's purpose that eluded her. Each game ends in a ***monopoly****: but to what* ***ends****? What were the actual stakes? In the final toss of the dice when the last surviving propertyless player is almost certain to be shaken down for rent, skyscrapers crowded together, a pile of imaginary money, and a lone* ***figure*** *remains. By abstracting the development of her city, to reduce*

it to its basic trajectory, the Mayor had encountered the overriding rationality: competition for and of the property industry, in which the city politician was but a facilitator. ***The city was built up for a pile of paper.***

Then the Academic spoke: "This monopoly money, Your Honourable, was stamped by a laser printer that Parker Brothers bought a couple of decades ago to replace the screen printer that they had been using since the Great Depression when they first acquired the rights to the game: you see how thinly the print sits on top of the paper? Here a barely impressed upon section: a worker tried to get more prints out of a toner tray, taking it out and shaking it back and forth, but the black dust remained in the tray as if fused."

Until then the Mayor was not aware that the Victorian appreciated the drive for cost effectiveness or efficiency, but it was not this sensibility that impressed her.

"This paper here was dyed yellow: perhaps it was a CI Direct Yellow 11, not a traditional basic dye, because, once printed upon, the ink would have begun to bleed ever so slightly, but here an acidified suspension was neutralized with an alkanolamine forming a water-soluble complex that was the cause of the fastness for which this dye was chosen… This edge was trimmed by a Wholenberg Guillotine 62 operated by a young designer trying to perfect centering in anticipation of a run of handbills for an event later that night, flashing his graphic skills…"

The volume of ***processes and conditions*** *that could be read in little scraps of paper overwhelmed the Mayor; the Academic was already* ***lecturing*** *about the revolutionary purposes of the Landlord's Game, about the Great Depression in Atlantic*

City, of entrepreneurial spirit, of speculators in the wings… (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 131-2)

7

The Mayor has a binder where all the Secondary Land Use Plans are collected, neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood and centre-by-centre, with schools, sanitary sewer lines, bicycle routes, urban village outlines, heritage buildings, and character guidelines. She realizes that from the Academic's presentations it is useless to demand news of those centres, which she knows well enough: how in Cloverdale, historical centre of Surrey, the weavers' guild and local wool producers collaborate on a sheep shearing and weaving competition at the museum; how in Newton the recreation centre hosts a women's only swim to accommodate Muslim residents in particular; how in South Surrey families stagger into pit stops in an amazing race around Softball City.

The Mayor asks the Academic, "When you return to the university, will you publish for your people the same scenes you present to me?"

"I write and write," the Academic says, "but readers integrate only the bits they find useful. The presentation of Bridgeview to which you lend a generous ear is one thing; the chapters that will go the rounds of dissertation committee members in the seminar room down the hall from my office the day of my return is another; and yet another, the screenplay I might write later in life. It is not the author that directs the story: it is the ***editors****."*

At times I sense that your voice is drifting down to me from on high, while I am busy building a prefab and disposable backdrop, where all ***the scenes*** *seem to have been*

set *and there is no imagining what* ***chaos*** *might emerge if they play out differently. And I sense, from your presentation, the invisible* ***jockeying*** *that makes my city grow, through which perhaps, once stagnant, it will come to grow again."*

The Mayor has a binder where MetroVancouver plans are gathered, whose maps depict the region all at once and municipality by municipality, the borders of each clearly marked out, the rail lines and trucking routes, the shorelines, the amenities of the most metropolitan of centres and of the most far flung farmlands. She flips through the maps in front of the Academic to put her knowledge to the test. Pointing to False Creek the researcher sees traces of a struggle between those who wanted the municipality to continue to plan development indirectly through zoning and street improvements, and those who wanted the municipality to take an active role in revitalizing downtown; she recalls how the Georgia Street viaduct was left hanging after the municipality gave up fighting against the Citizens' Committee defending heritage, multicultural women protecting the Strathcona neighbourhood, merchants invested in Chinatown, architects striving for decent design; she remembers that reformers had their eye on East Hastings for clearance and redevelopment in the 1950s but could not overcome administrative problems and public protest; she has no trouble describing at length the conflicts around the Olympic clock on the Vancouver Art Gallery lawn.

For scenes in other municipalities she relies on rumours, or she conjectures on the basis of geographical traces: and so in Belcarra, a regional park the expanse of a naval reserve alongside the site of a reputedly "unfortunate murder" by Settlers; in Richmond, suburban tracts that divide up the land of once expansive farms, fought for but lost, though the Agricultural Land Reserve system was won; on Bowen Island crumbling

walls the base of the brickworks that once supplied fire-proof construction in Vancouver. In photographic maps the plans depict relics of unusual influence: in Port Moody, the CP Rail that stopped here and in no other rural municipality thanks to the influence of homesteaders that gathered at the farm whose grasses have been trimmed into a golf course; in Tsawwassen, the ferry terminal amidst rough seas thanks to Sorry Phil in the end; in Anmore, acre lots with rocketing values thanks to a local village conservation movement; in Port Coquitlam, a French immersion school secured by the lone settlement of Black people in the region.

The plans depict neighbourhoods to be developed that do not yet have a place, though must be counted among the forms of possible neighbourhoods: a floating neighbourhood that consists of retired fishing ships strung together in an ad-hoc manner, a verdant high-density neighbourhood whose skyscrapers are overflowing with crops and live music, a child-friendly neighbourhood whose streets and walls are bouncy. These, too, the Academic describes in terms of ***myth****, and proposes a way of approaching them. It is known that places* ***change in more complex ways than*** *there are words to describe them; and that every neighbourhood can be approached from other neighbourhoods, tracing the most diverse roads and routes, by those who flow, or proceed cautiously, or take their own tack, or tunnel.*

"I think you read urban scenes more clearly from the plans than when you study them in person," the Mayor says to the Academic, snapping the binder shut.

And the Academic responds, "Researching, you get a sense of particularities: each instance of neighbourhood development seems unique, its scenes have their own cast of characters, backdrop, and dynamics which are like the silences between notes that

make music. Your plans conserve the similarities: the patterns which are like the grammar of urban politics."

The Mayor has a binder in which are collected the plans of all the neighbourhoods: those whose community halls rest on vital relations, those which became blighted and were swallowed up by gentrification, those that will be constructed one day and in whose place now only tractors cross.

The Academic leafs through the pages; she recognizes Greenwich Village, Mayfair, Shibuya, she points to the Hollywood Studios where screenwriters, actors, costume designers organized in solidarity with one another until in 1927 the Studio Master Agreement was signed, giving momentum to a municipal reform movement that would sweep the halls of Los Angeles' City Hall clean of corruption and anti-picketing laws. But speaking of "the Trojan Horse of Ottistown," she happened to give Hollywood the dynamic of Chicago and so remembers the 1905 strike which Teamsters undertook in sympathy with other workers until, broken as the Studio System, they had workers punch the clock in the fall. And from the mixture of those two scenes, a third emerged which might be called Haight-Ashbury and which spans the formation of the Council of the Summer of Love, and the Diggers, with long, psychedelic songs and the smoke of hash swirling up in its stairwells, and which might be enshrined as capital of the Hippie era, after the long siege of industrial production that would lead miners and loggers to study with the would-be Creative Class in cities geared towards an economy more immaterial than makes sense.

The Atlas has this function: it reveals neighbourhood scenes whose ***problems*** *have been* ***settled****. Around Toronto there is an urban renewal scene in Trafalgar Court, a*

master-planning circus, with a consultative sideshow; the unplanned growth of suburbs, self-built walls shaky, windows covered with squares of found material; a riot of relations among developers and others in the property industry, overflowing with possibilities for profit, with deep pockets, none of them straight, except Sewell.

The catalogue of scenes is endless: until experts have ***agreed on*** *what is at stake in every scene, new scenes will continue to be staged. When the scenes exhaust their variety and bleed together, the end of urban politics begins. In the last pages of the atlas there is an Appendix of scenes without* ***problems or solutions****, scenes in the form of the chorus, in the form of scene setting, without descriptor.* (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 135-9)

Bridgeview and transportation. 1930s.

High above the river, premier T.D. Patullo opened the bridge that was named after him, so that cars could begin to pass across it in November 1937. Cold rain pulled down the canvas canopy that was sheltering the ceremony, providing the only entertainment, which was the drenching of the leader of the opposition. Apparently residents at that time saw no need for a new bridge, and in the midst of a deep depression, they were up in arms about the toll to be imposed on passage across the cleverly renamed "Pay-Toll-O" bridge. Before the end of opening day, a movement had apparently formed to reclaim use of the old bridge – by force, if necessary. Authorities caught wind of it, though, and so work began the very next day to remove the upper wooden deck of the Westminster bridge. There would be nothing left for drivers to claim, just a train bridge. A petition urging the removal of the tolls was circulated, and once it had 3,600 signatures, it was

presented to the MLA for Delta. The partial victory, a "K" license that enabled "bona fide farmers" free passage across the Pattullo, eventually became an almost total victory as most people in the lower valley raised a few chickens, ducks, or pigs in order to get a "K" license. In the midst of all of this kerfuffle, the other tolls of the bridge seem to have been forgotten – those materials and lives taken by "Old Man Fraser" in the course of construction, including the only son of the "brilliant" Consulting Engineer. Apparently irrespective of the tolls, pedestrians stopped to appreciate the new perspective on the river, looking down at it from 150 feet above. Fearing that these lingering people might do something to harm the bridge, an ordinance was rushed through that made it an offence to walk across the bridge at less than two miles an hour. As local lore has it, an old man was charged with loitering because he was walking at a mere 1.9 miles per hour. But whatever the initial controversy over the Pattullo bridge, its construction could not have been put off for much longer because with the spike in industry that followed from the outbreak of WW II, the bridge was soon used to its fullest. The nearly 67,000 vehicles that passed over the Westminster bridge at its peak load over the course of an entire week, would come to pass over the Patullo bridge every day. Some say that Duff Pattullo should be thanked for pushing through the construction of the bridge in the face of opposition. (Pearson and Reitz 23 Nov 1960)

Bridgeview and Investment. 2000s.

124th Street, transition zone from industrial to residential, is said to be buried under a deep layer of dust. Wherever inhabitants might put something down for a day or two, they create little craters of dust around the thing. A cleared coffee table might look

something like the surface of the moon; an invisible truck park conditions this visible mess; the excess dust that falls in these homes is kicked up by the rolling 18 wheels of trucks hidden from view by a tall fence.

Consequently two camps have formed on 124th.

The street's future, according to some, is given by the invisible hand, and is to be found in the investments in industrial development that are enclosed behind tall fences. According to others, the street's future extends from its past, drawn out along a line, as recounted by the old lady living (or perhaps more accurately, dying) in one of the houses, as anticipated by the pregnant young woman living next door, as assumed by their neighbours across the street nestled in the residential zone. For now, there are but two houses behind which tufts of grass poke through the layers upon layers of dust on the block. (CC 2; This vignette is a structural echo of "Thin cities. 1." Calvino 1974 [1972], 20)

Criminal Bridgeview. 2000s.

For days, neighbours had watched cops staked out in their backyards, watching a house on the street with a teenage boy who was suspected of being involved in the drug trade. Finally, came the day when they went in for the bust. With cops yelling at the front door, treating the Rottweiler inside as a weapon of sorts, and a couple of the teenager's younger siblings being strong-armed into the back of a police car, the teenager finally came out. After combing the house, five cops styled as a "SWAT team" came out holding one measly marijuana plant. (Neighbours were quick to point out that given the

small size of most of the houses down there, with around 600 square feet, and the number of people living in them, there is no space left for a grow-op!)

A little while later, another neighbour on the street was coming home from the pub when he got pulled over by the cops, who wanted to do a breathalyzer test on him. Putting the pedal to the metal, he came tearing home with the cops on his tail, and managed to lock himself in his house before they could get out of their car. This was not the first time this wait-for-the-blood-alcohol-content-to-drop scene had played out. A friend of his who rides a motorcycle was called to entice him out of the house. Then a battering ram was pulled out. But after getting a good run at the door, the cops tripped on the three little stairs leading up to it. After a number of hours, and promises by the cops that he would not be arrested, the man came out of the house. Sure enough, he was arrested, and on his way to the cop car, he turned around to the teenager (who had been looking on with other neighbours) and said: "And you think you put on a show!" (BV 5; BV 3; FW 5)

The Mayor's binder contains also the plans of the ***suburban neighbourhoods*** *passed through every day but not yet discovered or analyzed: Marpole, Willingdon Heights, Burquitlam, Kelvin.*

The Mayor asked the Victorian: "You who go about researching and who see ***details in broader contexts,*** *can tell me toward which of these everyday places our way of living is orienting us."*

"For that place I could not offer a single rationality or suggest a specific set of practices. At times all I need is a brief sense of ***how struggles are playing out****, an*

invitation to linger in the midst of traffic flows, the dialogue of two neighbours encountering one another, a shimmer of togetherness in the alienation, and I sense that, having arrived there, I will draw together, bit by bit, the vital neighbourhood, made of ***scenes*** *mixed with the rest, of* ***moments blending like smells****, of* ***myths*** *we buy into, not knowing what underpins them. If I tell you that the neighbourhood toward which our way of living tends is* ***continuous in practice****, then civil, now civil, you must not think the realization of it can happen. Perhaps while we speak, it is disappearing, en masse, within your municipality; you can try to define it, but only in the way that I have suggested."*

Already the Mayor was leafing through her binder, over the plans of the civil cities that inspire hope in dreams and visioning: the Great City, the Liberal Democratic City, Cosmopolis.

She said: "It is all useful if the neighbourhood we become can only be the ***planned*** *city, and it is there that, in ever-widening networks, the* ***myth of technocracy*** *is leading us."*

And the Academic said: "The plan for living is not something that will be; if there is something to come, it is what is already here, the plan we enchant every day, that we inform by our ***myths*** *for living together. There are two ways to guarantee celebrating it. The first is easy for many: accept the planning and become so invested in it that you can no longer see how everyday life deviates from it. The second is risky and demands constant curiosity and commitment: seek and learn to get a sense of how, in the midst of planning, certain unplanned and unpredictable ways of relating scenes are surprisingly*

productive, then amplify them, follow them through." (This dialogue is a structural echo of Calvino 1974 [1972], 164-5)

Appendix B
Vancouver redevelopment, 1930s to mid-1970s

Being at the end of the transnational rail line with one of the most temperate climates in the country, Vancouver had become the place to live for thousands of unemployed men "riding the rods" westward during the Great Depression (Nicol 1970, 188). Spilling out from the railyards around False Creek, many did not make it very far from the industrial hub – where ships were built, animals slaughtered, and wood, shingles and creosote milled. "'Shantytown' was the name given to the motley collection of shelters that began at Main Street and spread along the flats of the creek – sheets of tin, old boards, boxes, anything that keep a man dry if not warm" (Nicol 1970, 168). While there were certainly ways that those (mostly white) men organized themselves in such settlements (*e.g.* dismantling the Union Street warehouse; see conclusion), attempts by communists to organize them and others were concerning to many of the more well to do Vancouverites (McCallum 2006, 15). The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), a democratic socialist party, had won the mayoral and other seats on council, and seemed to be poised to win the next civic election. This "socialist threat" was quelled by the "local business establishment," which "together with their provincial Liberal and Conservative allies," formed a new civic party in 1937, the Non-Partisan Association (NPA) – which "won the first election it entered, and never looked back" (Gutstein 1975, 139). Although the NPA had managed to take over council, and usher in an at-large voting system requiring more costly campaigns "that only the NPA-backed candidtes could afford" (Gutstein 1975, 139), it did not manage to lend order to the area around False Creek. Even though most of the squatters eventually moved on, with increasing

blight through the 1950s onwards (due in large part to the decline of industry following the war), many demands were put on City Hall to do something about the situation.

The strategy proposed by council was to stick with the 1928 plan developed by Harland Bartholomew, a consultant from St. Louis, Missouri. Industrial activity, for which the area was zoned, was to be revitalized for modern industrial purposes. As with most of what came out of City Hall from the time of his arrival in 1952 onwards, this decision followed the cues of Gerald Sutton-Brown, the City Commissioner, who was ostensibly a co-commissioner (Gutstein 1975, 144). An English planner by training, Sutton-Brown has been depicted as having a "commitment to put city planning in proper perspective" by focusing on the big picture and long-range planning; establishing a planning department under his directorship was key to his efforts (Pendakur 1972, 11-12). A number of committees were struck to work out the details of re-industrialization: the Special False Creek Planning and Development Committee in 1948, two technical committees in the mid 1950s, and the reestablished Special Committee of 1959. In the course of all this committee work, the National Harbours Board started a wharf, the area was designated as a secondary harbour in principle, Granville Island was joined to the shore, and a study advocating more intensive industrial use was published (Rodger Dec 1976, 1). Much planning energy was put into figuring out how to improve industrial activity around False Creek, but meanwhile, ideas about how to make the area more livable were taking root.

Inspired in large measure by Jacobs' *Death and Life* (Hardwick 1994, 347) a couple of professors at the University of British Columbia (UBC) – geographer Walter Hardwick and architect Wolfgang Gerson – tasked their students, in 1965, with

"addressing the future role of these central marginal lands. Following socioeconomic and design analyses, it was recommended that industrial uses be abandoned, and the area be integrated into the fabric of the city, with residential and commercial activities placed within a major waterfront park and recreation system" (Hardwick 1994, 346). These academics and students argued that such development would lead to increasing land values, a vital urban lifestyle, and an expanded public domain. Similar arguments were being heralded by professors in other departments at UBC – *e.g.* Peter Oberlander, Setty Pendakur and Robert Collier from the School of Planning, Paul Tenant from Political Science, Bud Wood and Andrew Gruft from Architecture (Pendakur 1972, 61) – and slowly their ideas about how to make False Creek more livable (and so too, less industrial) began to gain influence. For example: Alderman Bob Williams suggested to council, in 1966, that the area should be used for parks and high-rise housing; the Vancouver Board of Parks and Public Recreation decided to develop long range park and recreation objectives for the area in early 1967; and the Planning Department began considering the role False Creek could play in alleviating anticipated housing shortages, particularly for downtown workers (Rodger Dec 1976). Such influence was the result of much hard work, including promoting these new ideas about urban planning through presentations to numerous community associations and special interest groups (not to mention City Hall).

One of the sites where the academics' counsel seemed to have had the most impact was in the resistance against an "urban renewal" plan for the Strathcona neighbourhood (just northeast of False Creek), of precisely the sort that Jacobs had railed against in New York. The existing neighbourhood was to be razed, in order to clear the

way for a freeway and more modern, high density housing complexes. The resistance of Jacobs-inspired activists, residents and local business owners was so effective that it would eventually leave a freeway viaduct quite literally hanging (On the role of women see Lee 2007), while improvements were made to the neighbourhood below.

Those improvements anticipated the federal policy shift from clearing blighted areas, to improving decaying neighbourhoods (Ley 1980, 250; Punter 2003, 23), from "renewal" (on a rural romantic logic) to "revitalization" (on an urban romantic logic) if you will. In Canada in 1971, the entire federal urban budget was given over to renewal policies; by 1977, 96 per cent of a much larger budget was committed to preservation and enrichment (*cf.* Smith and Moore, 1993). It would seem that even the feds were coming to accept Jacobs' neighbourhood-based formula for urban planning.

To the broadening support for Vancouver as a livable city, add the National Harbours Board (NHB) selection of Roberts Bank, well south of the city, as the site for new major port facilities – the so-called "superport" – in 1968 (Hemmera Envirochem Inc. Nov 2004), and False Creek's role as a secondary harbour was becoming nostalgic. With "advances in shipping design, railway operations and bulk material handling" and promise of a major deal to deliver coal from southeastern BC to Japan, by the mid 1960s it was clear that demand would soon outstrip the 30 million tonnes of coal that could be moved through the primary ports in Vancouver's Burrard Inlet (Hemmera Envirochem Inc. Nov 2004, 3). Despite the fact that False Creek did not even make the NHB shortlist of five possible sites for a new modern harbour (as identified by Wooster Engineering), in 1967 Vancouver council gave False Creek leaseholders assurance that the area would

continue to be used for industrial purposes (Rodger Dec 1976). As it turned out, this policy provided a clear target for opposition in the lead-up to municipal elections.

The right wing Non-Partisan Association (NPA) had dominated council ever since its formation in 1937. But for the first time since then, the Mayor elected in December 1967 was an independent; dramatic as this might seem, his affinities would become clearer in his second term, when he ran with the NPA. There was, however, change in the air. Two new reform parties took aim at the inaction of the NPA council and the dominance of Sutton-Brown, with his commitment to an outdated plan and autocratic seeming approach to development. Although the left wing Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE) – which aimed to correct "an economic and political system that places private profit above human welfare" (Rankin 1974, 6) – only won the seat that was already held by one of its key organizers, two members of The Electors' Action Movement (TEAM) – including geography professor Walter Hardwick (Hardwick 1994, 346) – were elected on a centrist "liveable city" and "people before property" plank. The NPA still held a majority on the eleven-member council, but it was clear that a significant proportion of voters were no longer satisfied with business as usual. Suffice it to say that in 1968 council agreed to reconsider its industrial policy for False Creek and to investigate possible residential, recreational, and commercial uses – albeit on recommendation from the Planning Department.

These changes in municipal politics can be understood within the context of broader shifts that were happening at the time (Rodger Dec 1976, 3). The civil rights, feminist, and environmental movements were in full swing, and as then TEAM alderman and UBC geography professor Walter Hardwick put it, "the values and sensibilities of

those socially and ecologically aware became manifest in the urban design of downtown [Vancouver] and a number of neighbourhoods" (Hardwick 1994, 341). Even with only a minority of reformers, there were movements away from executive decision-making processes (heavily informed by staff such as Sutton-Brown) and towards a more consultative form of government; for example, a procedure for public consultation – gathering "as much evidence as possible on an issue, from the bureaucracy, from the community, from other levels of government perhaps" as the basis of "policy decisions" (Rodger Dec 1976, 4) – on major planning reports was adopted by council in 1968.

Five different development concepts were presented to council and to the public for input before adopting a wide-ranging set of policies for redevelopment of the entire False Creek area, and a conceptual land use plan for a major bloc of the City's land on the south side, in 1973. One of the key conditions for the adoption of these policies and plans was the dismissal of Sutton-Brown as well as his head of planning, which was made possible by TEAM's victory in the 1972 municipal election.

With the parallel rise of the NDP at the provincial level in mind, the shift away from a right wing civic party might be overstated as a shift to the left in the city (*c.f.* TEAM has been described as a "liberal-left coalition" (Leo 1995, 40). But the recently formed civic NDP party did not fare well – having split the left vote with COPE. TEAM promised "a more considered and ordered approach to growth and redevelopment" of Vancouver than the NPA (Punter 2003, 26), but it similarly assumed that the city ought to facilitate urban growth from which the property industry would drive and profit. In stronger terms, "*TEAM represents exactly the same interests as the NPA,* with two minor differences: TEAM is much more closely tied to the Liberal party; and TEAM has a

preponderance of professional and middle management types" – meaning that they could get things done (Gutstein 1975, 143). It briefly held on to a policy that banned those most obviously in the property industry from the Board of Directors and running for council (Ley 1980, 250), but it was not long before it returned to business as usual. The changes TEAM proposed were thus primarily in the *way* that business as usual was done, which has been ungenerously described as attentiveness to "image" and "appear[ing] to do what is right" (Gutstein 1975, 143).

As the governing party, the NPA had become caught up in wheeling and dealing with those involved in the property industry. Four days prior to his election as president of the NPA in the run-up to the election, businessman Peter Birks benefitted from a deal made by the mayor of the day in a secret council session – which cancelled plans to expropriate land he owned to create a park, allowing him to retain most of it for high-rise development (Punter 2003, 23). This shady deal contributed greatly to the party's downfall in 1972.

By contrast, TEAM seemed to be more in touch with the people, and was more up to date in terms of building, planning, and development practices, and associated techniques of government (Gutstein 1975, 143). The neighbourhood was the new perspective for planning and development, which was in line with Jacobs' suggestion that municipal officials could only get their heads around big city neighbourhoods (or small cities), and advocated by the new director of planning, Ray Spaxman. A development proposal was refused on the basis that it was "uneighborly" – a social justification that would have been unacceptable previously (Ley 1980). Powers were shifted from the City Commissioners "to the mayor, committee chairs, city manager and department heads,"

and city hall meetings were opened up to the public (Punter 2003, 26). Throughout the jockeying that led to these changes, much negotiating had to be done in order to figure out how to develop False Creek because so many different property holders and users were involved.

The notion that cities ought to be planned was common sense by then, but while planning from on high had come to seem dictatorial and out of touch with on the ground realities, it seemed impractical to try to forge a consensus on a vision among multiple property holders in joint management; so the compromise struck in Vancouver was to plan large tracts of property under single ownership, while taking into consideration feedback from stakeholders. More than two thirds of the water frontage of False Creek was owned by the Province and the CPR, with the rest held in long term leases; since the leases on the south shore were coming to term in the 1970s, some ten years ahead of those on the east shore and Granville Island, it was there that redevelopment would begin.

While the land was held by the City of Vancouver, private owners, and senior governments had holdings on the south shore (Rodger Dec 1976, 2), the City itself was to act as a developer of sorts. This "would give the City the advantage of control over quality and public involvement, but on the other hand, would face it with risks, pressures and a large capital investment, would require the assembly of a skilled staff and would probably antagonize the private development sector" (Rodger Dec 1976). For this purpose the City formed the False Creek Development Group – which was actually

> a distinct civic department, but one with some important differences from the others… greater discretionary authority over expenditures (within the framework of a budget approved by Council)… a report line directly to council for policy direction rather than through the City Manager… a fairly specific life span probably five years (the length of the development consultant's contract with the city) and with a deliberately small staff or two to three professionals (architects,

> planners), both on contract and permanent staff… avoid unnecessary duplication of existing personnel. (Rodger Dec 1976)

"[T]he Development Group neither perceived itself nor was regarded by other City departments as another civic department but, rather, as akin to a private developer and therefore treated as such" (Leo 1995, 36-8). The city appointed Frank Stanzl Construction was hired to take care "of the financing, design, construction and management of the market components and for construction and development service to the non-market sponsors," and Thompson, Berwick, Pratt and Partners, to develop the design concept; apparently the former's contribution was crucial (E.D. Sutcliffe's Postscript to: Rodger Dec 1976, 35).

Representatives from these three agencies "formed a management committee and this group were instrumental in developing with the City and the senior governments the various processes, procedures and strategies and in generating the essential drive and enthusiasm" (E.D. Sutcliffe's Postscript to: Rodger Dec 1976, 35). One might call it a P3 (Public-Private Partnership) *avant la lettre*. So as it turned out, TEAM may have been doing business differently than the NPA, but business it was. This was not a left-wing government in action.

Appendix C:
Bridgeview sewer fight

The charismatic Bill Vander Zalm was at the head of the movement to industrialize Bridgeview from his times as alderman (1965-68) and then mayor of Surrey (1969-75), and finally as a Social Credit MLA (1975-78). Famous (or infamous, as the case might be) for his off-the-cuff comments, such as "give them [*i.e.* able bodied welfare recipients] a shovel," Vander Zalm had popular appeal but a hard time building consensus – as was obvious in his failure to get buy in from either local governments or the province for changes to urban planning, a county system of regional government, or a new *Municipal Act* in his role as Minister of Municipal Affairs & Transit (1978-81) (BC Ministry of Community Services 2006). Nonetheless, he went on to play the part of Minister of Education (1981-83), and after losing the 1984 campaign for Mayor of Vancouver to Mike Harcourt (who became the provincial NDP leader during the bulk of Vander Zalm's tenure as premier), with the energy of "Vandermania," he went on to become premier (1986-91). His political career came to a close with a conflict of interest related to the sale of his Fantasy Gardens (Persky 1989). This mixing of personal and political roles was already apparent in struggles over the fate of Bridgeview, as we will see.

Moving residents out of Bridgeview to make way for industrial activity seemed 'natural,' given its inhospitable geography. With the neighbourhood's base of clay and high water table, its peaty surface was often water-logged and its septic tanks could not operate properly. Sewage spilled into the ditches, which threatened to overspill into the roads and houses during the rainy season. By 1966 the area was deemed "unfit for

human habitation" by the Boundary Health Unit – which found that about two-thirds of septic tanks were not operating properly and the water in the ditches was about one third raw sewage (Anonymous 1966). The soil was polluted, and cases of infectious hepatitis had been reported. In the interest of not making the situation any worse by adding more houses, a freeze on residential building permits was put in place (Glover 11 Jun 1970).

Meanwhile, industrial development continued to be permitted, leading some to observe that industrial activity seemed to be "encroaching" on the neighbourhood (Anonymous [1962-8?]). But in 1969 a ban was issued on industrial development too (Anonymous 10 Jun 1970). Such measures did not make the situation any better, however. Sanitary and storm sewers seemed to be called for. As one alderman put it: "I don't think anyone will deny we'd like to get sewers in there. But we will have to get a cost estimate. If it's astronomical, we'll have to decide if we're going to leave it as residential" (Anonymous 25 Oct 1966). Implicit in this decision was that the higher taxes raised on industrial properties would allow for recovery of more of the costs of installing proper sewers.

Under the federal urban renewal program (which had been initiated under the Diefenbaker Conservatives, and continued through the Pearson and Trudeau Liberals), residents could be relocated to more sanitary housing up the hill, and the neighbourhood could be cleared for industrial or other uses. But a contingent of especially vocal residents was not willing to move. A struggle ensued about the fate of the neighbourhood – which no one would seem to have won (as will become clearer in chapter 4). Most of the articles in the scrapbooks in the BCA archives relate somehow to those struggles. Between these scraps are tracks upon tracks left by aldermen, city staff, and would-be

politicians who made the journey down to the Community Hall, and by Bridgeviewers and allies who headed up to City Hall. Meetings with Bridgeviewers in attendance were dependably raucous (Read "Bridgeview and local government. 1970s.").

Bridgeviewers saw urban renewal funding in a different light, as a way to get the sewers needed to make the neighbourhood a sanitary place to live. Taking into consideration the extraordinarily high cost of servicing the neighbourhood with its shifty ground, and the minimal tax revenue generated by levies on cheap residential properties, in the words of a sympathetic alderman, "[i]t is urban renewal or attrition" for Bridgeview (Anonymous [1965-8?]). But he lacked the then mayor Bill Stagg's influence, and so in the late 1960s some $668,450 in urban renewal funding was directed to the mayor's home neighbourhood of Cloverdale, for "ornamental lighting," a couple of public squares, and maybe even a sewage lagoon (Council of the City of Surrey [all members in attendance except Aldermen Fomich and Kuhn], Corporation of the District of Surrey 14 Oct 1969). While Bridgeviewers' spirited engagement was strong enough to get their demands on the council agenda, they seem to have lacked the influence in and on council to get those demands met.

Bridgeviewers had more success in raising the local profile of their struggle to get a fair shake from government for displacement from their homes. Given the low value of property in the sewage-logged neighbourhood, expropriation cheques would not be enough for Bridgeviewers to buy a comparable home up the hill; they would be forced to settle for living in row houses (not to mention apartments) up there. Only those few with multiple houses in the neighbourhood and/or significant disposable income would be able to use expropriation cheques as down payments on comparable (albeit fully serviced)

houses up the hill. Promising Bridgeviewers a better deal, while accepting their relocation under a standard urban renewal program, in the lead up to the 1969 election a "youthful" candidate for the then minor BC Liberal party (which is not connected to the federal Liberal party, and would eventually displace the right wing BC Social Credit party) proposed a land swap with the City for 460 acres of Green Timbers – another unserviced area, but one on more solid ground up the hill – where proper housing could be built with federal support, and could be served by a provincially backed sewage treatment plant. With his finger on the populist pulse, the candidate said: "I wouldn't do anything without consulting the people and that is why I invited a delegation from Bridgeview to hear my proposals. I am not trying to force it on the people, but only give them a solution for their own consideration" (Anonymous 17 Jul [1969?]). Thus Bridgeviewers' particular concerns, and their demand to be involved in decisions that affected them had both seem to have been heard beyond City Hall; such involvement also happened to be in line with the populism associated with the right wing in BC, under the long reigning BC Social Credit party (1952-72, 1975-91).

Community consultation became increasingly important in the way City Hall did business as well. In the spring of 1970, the new Mayor, Bill Vander Zalm, praised Bridgeviewers' community spirit and insisted "residents must decide exactly what they want for their area before any council decision can be made for its future" (Anonymous 15 May 1970). But even at the front of a gymnasium packed full of disgruntled Bridgeviewers, Vander Zalm did not hold back his own opinion: "I don't feel that Bridgeview is a good potential residential area. It would be too expensive to develop both for the people and the municipality," whereas "[t]he establishment of employment

creating, non-polluting industry can bring nothing but good for the people of Surrey as a whole." A plebiscite about whether residents wanted the district to be zoned as residential or light industrial, was suggested by one of his staff. But by summer there seemed to be fewer options for Bridgeviwers to choose from.

In the federal government, shifting away from imposing plans from on high involved winding down the urban renewal program. Although the federal urban budget was still entirely dedicated to urban renewal in 1970 (as noted earlier), that summer Surrey planners announced that the feds were already refusing to fund the relocation and service upgrades that would be required for urban renewal in Bridgeview.

Meanwhile, Surrey council was still waiting to hear what "the people" wanted, and a couple of sympathetic aldermen recommended that Bridgeview hire a consultant to study the problems and recommend options, which residents could take into consideration in a plebiscite thereafter (Glover 11 Jun 1970). Within the week a delegation of about fifty Bridgeviewers was at City Hall demanding a "program of urban development, including sewers" (Sun Staff Reporter 17 Jun 1970) while at the same time asserting that "only a plebiscite among the people can decide the issue among the local property owners" who were split between neighbourhood revitalization and urban renewal (Anonymous 18 Jun 1970). Rather than negotiating a consensus, therefore, a vote was meant to gauge the majority opinion; and the things to be voted on were to be determined by experts.

The expert analysis was treated by Bridgeviewers as a bulwark against governments' changing tides. Earlier in the summer of 1970, council had agreed "in principle" to hire a planning consultant to do a study of the neighbourhood's conditions

and problems, soil conditions, servicing challenges, and alternatives for development (Anonymous 3 Jul 1970), and it finally committed the funds to do so later that fall, after Mayor Vander Zalm met with federal representatives that put urban renewal funds back on the table again (Anonymous 22 Sep 1970). His dream of turning the neighbourhood over to industrial uses seemed close at hand, but around a month later, another federal representative advised Surrey council that urban renewal funding would not likely be available for Bridgeview (Anonymous 3 Nov 1970). Residents who had become accustomed to governments flip-flopping were reportedly unfazed; as then vice-president of the Bridgeview Community Association put it: 'This is exactly what we expected … and why we asked that the study go ahead" (Anonymous 5 Nov 1970). With further information, "a definitive goal," and the changing of government seasons, Bridgeviewers were optimistic that the feds would come around.

By perpetuating the study and debate over the future of the area, while refusing to permit residents to improve their lots, the strategy functionally adopted by council was to make industrialization more viable by leaving the neighbourhood to decay – property values were dropping to rates that would make the purchase and development of properties for industrial use even more profitable. Not counted in that calculation, however, were the health costs of bacteria borne illnesses and the policing and welfare costs of social problems associated with blight – as outlined in the Underwood, McLellan & Associates report (Stubbs 11 Feb 1973).

Apparently the neighbourhood had come to be known by local RCMP as "Germ City," and its residents referred to as "sewer rats" (Former BCA president as quoted in: Bocking [1978?]). Also missed in that calculation, was Bridgeviewers' tenacious

"community spirit" (as Mayor Vander Zalm had called it), which seemed to strengthen through the physical decay of the neighbourhood. In response to a demolition crew, a Bridgeviewer took up arms (Read "Bridgeview and contestation. 1970s."), which provides some indication of the extremes some residents were willing to go in defending their investments in the community. Nonetheless, council's deferral strategy for flipping Bridgeview over to industrial uses seemed to be on track in the fall of 1972. Then chair of the works committee, Bill Stagg (who was previously mayor), anticipated that residents would have to vacate the neighbourhood within a decade (Anonymous 24 Oct 1972).

There was also the risk that the entire area could be submerged by the Fraser River if it were to rise. Lacking proper flood protection, the area was zoned by the GVRD as "a reserve area" – which means to say that no development or re-zoning could be approved until Surrey council applied for an amendment to the plan (Anonymous 26 Oct 1972). Dikes and other flood protection were thus considered by alderman Vander Zalm, among others, to be crucial precursors to sewers and other such sanitary measures. Hence, a very big-ticket item was added to the already costly undertaking of servicing the area for industrial activity. The odds seemed to be stacked against Bridgeviewers staying in the neighbourhood.

But the federal approach to cities in general, and Bridgeview in particular, was changing following the 1971 creation of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs under the Trudeau Liberals (however reluctant Trudeau might have been to expand federal-municipal relations in the first) (Spicer 2011). Then Minister of Urban Affairs, Ron Basford, described the urban renewal program as "a bulldozer approach" that was "no

damned good" (Anonymous 26 Oct 1972). He proposed entirely replacing that program with an amendment to the National Housing Act that was, in some regards, an extension of a 1969 revision to the Act that added *improvement* to the usual host of urban renewal activities – and under which Vancouver's Strathcona neighbourhood had received support for revitalization. That revision allowed CMHC to "enter into an agreement with the province or the municipality on an approved urban renewal scheme, and pay half the cost of 'acquiring, and clearing *or improving* lands and buildings in the urban renewal area.' The addition of the key phrase 'or improving' meant that there was some possibility of re-interpretation" (Fraser 1972, 230). Urban renewal itself was beginning to decline.

Informed in some measure by Jacobs' embrace of the existing urban fabric, as manifest in effective opposition to urban renewal projects that involved constructing freeways in Vancouver and Toronto, federal efforts were underway to understand urban problems on their own terms (Lithwick 1970). Thus only days after Stagg's prediction of the inevitable relocation of Bridgeview residents, Minister Basford announced at the community hall that Bridgeview (as a decaying neighbourhood) would be eligible for some of the $458 million in funding for *improving* services and homes, which would be coming down the pipe if his proposed amendment passed (Anonymous 26 Oct 1972). As it turned out, it was passed and so urban renewal was replaced by the more incremental Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP), which placed a high value on working with residents to determine, prioritize and organize projects for improving neighbourhoods.

Even though Mayor Vander Zalm had been a strong advocate for urban renewal (*i.e.* clearing the neighbourhood and rezoning the entire area for industrial activity), he

seemed quick to get on board the NIP. Less than a month after Minister Basford's presentation, the Mayor presented to council a four-point program to initiate the improvement of Bridgeview (Anonymous 15 Nov 1972). First on the list was striking a "plan of action committee" made up of members of council, the administration and community members to review existing information and make recommendations. Rather than shuttling from one another's meetings at City Hall and the Community Hall, those invested in the neighbourhood would sit at the same table. This more rigorous approach to consultation was in line with what had been arrived at through other neighbourhood development initiatives (*e.g.* Treffan Court, in Toronto; Fraser 1972, 255-6). This project signaled the unofficial end of urban renewal, and was followed by the improvements undertaken in Strathcona, for instance. Furthermore, by this time there was a National Film Board of Canada "Challenge for Change" project in the neighbourhood that was recording residents' battle for sewers and doing capacity building with residents around things like research into properties (Walton Fall 2012).

The other three points of the Mayor's program were: to initiate negotiations with the senior governments for assistance, to investigate proposed sewering methods further, and to do an inventory of land ownership in Bridgeview – to figure out how much speculation there was (Anonymous 15 Nov 1972). This latter recommendation might have been a calculated response to Bridgeviewers' suspicions that his brother was one of the speculators, based on property research they did with the training and support of the Challenge for Change project (Pinney 1976). I would suggest that Vander Zalm's apparent embrace of the NIP was more indicative of a drive to get sewers to the

neighbourhood because they would support eventual industrial activity, than of a desire to meaningfully engage with "the people."

Other council members were not so invested in sewering the neighbourhood as Mayor Vander Zalm. One suggested avoiding the "phenomenal" costs of sewering Bridgeview, by turning it over to agricultural or recreational uses. Running with this idea, another alderman proposed the development of a high-density residential area nearby, with Bridgeview serving as a park for it. But these grand plans were stuck in the master planning logic of urban renewal. Furthermore, different as these plans for Bridgeview itself were, they offered the same unfair deal to residents, as pointed out by another alderman: "if we go in there and buy up the property we are not going to be able to give very much. The people of Bridgeview will be getting a real kick in the face" (Anonymous 15 Nov 1972). Unwilling to jump on the NIP bandwagon, but unable to provide a viable alternative, there seemed to be a return to the deferral strategy under which the neighbourhood continued to decay.

Mayor Vander Zalm expressed dissatisfaction with this *de facto* strategy; his stated desire was to see the development of Bridgeview underway before his term ended (Anonymous 5 Feb 1973). In his haste, after council's Bridgeview development committee had been meeting for just a couple of months, Mayor Vander Zalm announced that the consensus was in favour of staged relocation of residents. While more incremental, as in the urban renewal plan, such relocation would clear the way for re-zoning the entire area for industrial activity. His attempt to entirely co-opt the NIP consultation process was thwarted, however.

No such consensus had been agreed upon, according to an alderman on the committee. The three options on the table were reportedly: "complete servicing of the community which would cost about $9 million and would probably create exorbitant tax levels, a relocation which would cost $10 million or more and would require senior government help, or increase maintenance, a gradual buying of property and eventual return to agricultural or recreational use" (Anonymous 15 Feb 1973). In exploring the relocation option, the committee had permitted the mayor to find out whether any senior government financing was available. On the mayor's recounting, a Surrey MP said that federal funds were more likely to support relocation, rather than rehabilitation (Anonymous 15 Feb 1973). Whether this was another instance of Vander Zalm's creative interpretation, or whether this was what the MP actually said as a member of the minor federal NDP party, it was certainly out of step with the new federal legislation and CMHC's practice over the previous couple of years, of partnering for neighbourhood rehabilitation (as opposed to renewal, with slum clearance). In any case, Mayor Vander Zalm had not forged the consensus required to push through staged relocation to make way for industrial activity.

Proposals to turn Bridgeview over to parkland gained some traction when the province began to ring in on discussions, under the new BC NDP government (1972-5). Whereas the long reigning Social Credit government (1952-68) had apparently been focused on Vancouver proper, provincial attention was now turning to the "suburban horseshoe from Coquitlam to Delta" where "the most urban growth and urban problems" (or at least most of the votes) were to be found (Stubbs 15 Feb 1973). At the risk of becoming unpopular, an NDP MLA for Surrey, Ernie Hall, said that given the costs of

servicing the area for either residential or industrial activity, he was in support of relocating Bridgeview residents and letting the land "go back a little bit to nature." The province had new programs that could be used to contribute to the municipality's discreet efforts to acquire land in Bridgeview – either through joint acquisition funds or land-swaps (Anonymous 15 Feb 1973) – and was "hopeful" that it could put some low-cost housing on the market to give Bridgeview residents a fairer deal in clearing them out of the neighbourhood. Contesting socialist stereotypes of the NDP, Hall insisted: "we are free and swinging and we are prepared to do a deal" (Stubbs 15 Feb 1973). While advising Surrey council "to get their people talking to our people about what can happen with relocation," Hall maintained that the fate of the neighbourhood must ultimately be decided by the residents, city council, and the Bridgeview development committee. So long as the relocation scheme included a house and lot that was equal to or better than what they had in Bridgeview, some 61% of BCA members (about 100 people) were apparently willing to go along with it, and some 25% showed a decided preference to remain in the neighbourhood (Stubbs, Alan 11 Feb 1973).

In line with these divergent federal and provincial policies – of revitalization and relocation respectively – but arising relatively independent of them, two strategies for developing Bridgeview were pursued simultaneously. Both involved sewering the neighbourhood.

Mayor Vander Zalm, for one, continued to drive towards the relocation of residents and the industrialization of the neighbourhood. He recruited the GVRD housing director to help design a three-staged proposal from land acquisition, to the relocation of residents, and to the preparation of a land-use plan emphasizing industrial, commercial

and recreational uses. The proposal was to be drafted and sent to the upper levels of government within a month, and before then, the Mayor noted: "a meeting will be held with the Bridgeview committee to seek its further input and concurrence" (Anonymous 12 Apr 1973). But as per usual, Vander Zalm was unable to forge a consensus around his plan.

An ad hoc neighbourhood committee demanded, in spring 1973, that sewers be installed to maintain the residential character of Bridgeview. The findings of a door-to-door survey were presented to council, showing that some 400 of the 650 homeowners preferred the installation of sewers, even though it would cost an additional $92 annually in taxes; and furthermore, that more than half the homeowners (*i.e.* 343) were wiling to pay the $5,000 installation fee as well as covering the costs for the home renovations that would be required to accompany the upgrade (Anonymous 8 May 1973). With a majority of homeowners apparently in favour of redevelopment, the commitment of a solid group of residents to fight relocation plans (not to mention a demonstrated willingness to take up arms in doing so), the value put on residents' opinions by upper levels of government, and federal funds available to support such neighbourhood improvement initiatives, Surrey council would seem to have had little choice but to follow through on servicing the neighbourhood as a residential area. As had become common practice, however, council opted not to make a decision.

The following month, when more than a hundred and fifty people in support of the Bridgeview community packed and spilled out of the 60-seat council chambers, a decision was again deferred. Council voted to wait until the GVRD review was complete before making any further decisions. It would seem that rather than delivering on Vander

Zalm's request for a proposal including relocation, the GVRD had opened up the Bridgeview files for review, involving a UBC engineer in economics, and including visiting with people known to be invested in the case (Anonymous 7 Jun 1973). Mayor Vander Zalm insisted that the review might open up "more alternatives or combinations to the two extremes – sewering or relocation" (Anonymous 5 Jun 1973). He may have been hoping for the middle way of phased relocation, but in any case residents asserted that this apparent deferral disguised a decision that had been made long ago – to encourage the neighbourhood to "degenerate" (*e.g.* by refusing to issue building permits on residential properties) so that residential property could be bought for pennies and turned, hand over fist, into industrial property (which could still be improved; Anonymous 7 Jun 1973). A spokesman for the Bridgeview delegation suggested that this was a conscious decision, what with the widening of 116th Ave to four lanes – which was supposed to be all the better for shipping stuff in and out for industry.

Since sewers were necessary to support both industrial and residential activity, the eventual decision to sewer Bridgeview was, in itself, ambivalent in regard to the use to be permitted. Suffice it to say that by the end of May, after being defeated in a tie vote (because the very alderman who had put the motion forward, Ed McKitka, was absent for the vote to which over 200 people had showed up; Anonymous 29 May 1973), council finally passed "a complicated motion" to include Bridgeview in the 1974 sewer program – on the condition that a plan could be developed that was acceptable to residents, city council and the GVRD, and lacking specificity about project completion that residents had demanded (Anonymous 19 Jun 1973).

With the goal of consensus, a Bridgeview planning committee *including community members* was finally struck, some seven years after the neighbourhood had been deemed a health hazard, and some fifteen years after residents had begun actively trying to make their demands for sewers heard. Residents had presented criteria for membership on the committee, but apparently Mayor Vander Zalm "emphatically rejected" three proposed members from neighbouring ratepayers' groups; the three Bridgeviewers on the committee felt that they were left outnumbered by the 12 councilors, staff, and others connected to the property industry, and so dismissed the committee as "absolutely meaningless" (Stubbs, Alan 10 Jul 1973).

While participating in the committee, Bridgeviewers continued to push for the revitalization, which happened to be in line with the federal focus on neighbourhood improvement. Another survey was undertaken of about two thirds of the houses in the neighbourhood (413 of the 650 houses), but this time asking a more seemingly straightforward question: "Are you in favor of sewers for this area or not?" 98 percent of homeowner-residents surveyed said yes (343 of 351), 96 percent of renters surveyed said yes (48 of 50), and 75 percent of landlords surveyed said yes (6 of 8; in this case the 2 were undecided, rather than opposed) (Anonymous Jul [1973?]). On the basis of these strong affirmative results, an alderman proposed that council make a firm commitment to install sewers in Bridgeview in 1974, but no one seconded the motion.

Lacking support from Surrey council, the neighbourhood delegation argued that they could go it alone. Secession would likely have meant being annexed by New Westminster, which was the municipality that the neighbourhood had been associated with in the early days of settlement (as will be explored further in chapter four). "'The

time has come to decide whether we are residents of Surrey or not,' said Wittenberg. 'If not we'll get the hell out of here'" (Anonymous Jul [1973?]). The threat was dismissed by the then acting mayor as "a shock tactic" – and one that council had heard before (Jay 12 Jul 1973). Apparently he was right, because no serious efforts to secede were made. Bridgeviewers continued to work with the committee.

Only a couple of weeks later, council adopted 18 recommendations that committed council to "attempt to": improve the quality of housing in the area; provide a reliable water supply, a sanitary sewer system and a safe street system; provide an improved drainage system and relief from flood threats; clean up the commercial frontage of the area; provide for recreation on the Fraser River; provide realistic economic uses for the large municipal buildings that are compatible with the adjacent residential community; maximize social and economic benefits to the municipality while minimizing social and economic costs and; to integrate the Bridgeview neighborhood into the larger community (Anonymous 24 Jul 1973). In short, the "consensus" was to pursue neighbourhood improvement while exploring options for industrialization along the fringes, and somehow trying to ensure that Bridgeviewers would not become cut off from the rest of Surrey. While breaking the stalemate that had stood in the way of sewering the neighbourhood, these recommendations belie the inability of either Vander Zalm or Bridgeviewers to engage in consensus building (*i.e.* exploring mutually beneficial, even if not ideal, alternatives); both remained entrenched in their positions, agreeing only to split the neighbourhood between the two (in much the same way that it was already split).

Council was ultimately bullied into approving these recommendations. The chair of the Bridgeview Planning Committee, alderman Rita Johnston (a Vander Zalm ally, and

his eventual successor as Premier), threatened that if council did not offer its approval, she and other committee members would use their one power, which was to stop their work of making proposals. She warned: "if the report was not adopted by council 'you might as well fold the committee tonight.' If the recommendations were rejected, she said neither she nor any other members of the committee would come before council with other proposals again" (Anonymous 24 Jul 1973; Fraser 1972). The effectiveness of this threat signals to the importance of the committee's consensus building work for securing federal funds under the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP). Whatever community-based ideas informed that program, getting buy-in from residents had the function of preempting the backlash and subsequent re-planning that can follow from proceeding with plans from on high, as had been witnessed in response to urban renewal schemes. So if federal funds were to be sought, and if even more dramatic encounters with Bridgeviewers were to be avoided, council had no choice but to approve the uncompromising recommendations to plan and develop Bridgeview for both industrial and residential activity.

The plan that the Bridgeview planning committee proposed in the fall of 1973 seemed to lay out what already existed: a large residential core encircled by a light industrial buffer with heavy industrial along the river to the north, beside a public open space for recreation, and with a wider commercial strip along the highway to the south (in order to allow for consolidation of relatively small plots of land into bigger parcels, that could accommodate major commercial uses) (Anonymous 20 Sep 1973; Anonymous 20 Nov 1973). One tract was set-aside as a reserve area to be zoned following on further studies; thus deferral continued to be a favoured tactic down at City Hall.

Much to the frustration of resident representatives on the committee, council's consideration of the plan was delayed by consultation with the planning department; however, the upcoming municipal election was used to force candidates to stake out a position (Stubbs 14 Nov 1973). While generally affirming of the proposal, Mayor Vander Zalm suggested that the committee "not kid the people," and identify the reserve area as light industrial – a pretty well inevitable use, considering that the area to the east of the reserve was likely opening up for light industry (Anonymous 20 Sep 1973). This became a more immediate reality with the sudden (because late and absent consultation with either residents or government) discovery that the Canadian National Railway (CNR) was expanding its yards just east of Bridgeview, which included running "a loop of track" through the neighbourhood (Anonymous 22 Nov 1973).

Residential uses had been sketched out for that area, alongside an agricultural reserve at the foot of the hill, in the committee's updated plan (Anonymous 22 Nov 1973). Since it was not possible to provide adequate screening for the homes from industrial activity associated with the rail yards, the Municipal Manager recommended the entire parcel be deleted from residential designation (Anonymous 17 Nov [1973?]). A plan to this effect was recommended by the planning department, and tabled by council, but it was not adopted (Anonymous 22 Nov 1973). This likely stemmed from council's frustration at not having been informed about, let alone involved in, the CNR decision.

Mayor Vander Zalm tried to leverage the CNR expansion in his drive to zone the reserve area for industrial activity. In addition to the impracticality of assigning residential use to land that the railway was acquiring, he argued that enhancing

agricultural activity in Bridgeview was "a subterfuge" (Anonymous 20 Nov 1973); at the time such activity consisted of some residents keeping a handful of ducks or chickens, and maybe a pig or a horse in their backyards (which probably had something to do with a loophole exemption from the Patullo bridge toll for "farmers"; See Bridgeview and transportation. 1970s.). In order for council to position itself for negotiating with the CNR and the federal government (for NIP funds), however, it seemed best for it to adopt a plan that was supported by the residents – which included more residential use than made sense to planners at the time (Anonymous 20 Nov 1973). So council went ahead and adopted the committee's land use plan, despite an alderman's suggestion that greater convergence between the planning department and neighbourhood residents would be achieved given more time.

Finally in step with the federal approach to neighbourhood planning, up to $10 million in federal funds could be sought for revitalization (Anonymous 20 Nov 1973). Options for funding redevelopment projects of this sort had been explored with the earlier committee proposal, which was taken to representatives of CMHC, the province, and Vancouver's Strathcona Development at a meeting on Saturday September 29th, 1973 (Anonymous 20 Sep 1973). Sewers and drainage could be covered by the Neighborhood Improvement Program (NIP), and under the attendant Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Plan (RRAP) individuals could apply for up to $5,000 for home improvements (half of which would have to be repaid) (Anonymous 22 Nov 1973). By the following year, a study was being undertaken on how to service the neighbourhood (Lipson). Bridgeviewers seem to have won their battle for improvements to the residential portion of the neighbourhood.

Resistance from other ratepayer organizations was mobilized by a Vander Zalm ally and long time alderman, Bill Fomich (1960-74, 1976-93); in a presentation to the Fraser-Guild association, for instance, he insisted that sewering Bridgeview would cost each homeowner in the municipality as a whole between $11 and $35, and thus secured a unanimous vote opposing sewage construction in Bridgeview (Anonymous 6 Jun 1973). But the intended political effect of mobilizing this resistance is unclear. Blocking the installation of sewers would have worked against developing industrial as well as residential activity. Furthermore, Fomich was unique in his capacity to work across party lines – as exemplified when he was later awarded the Freeman of the City by Bob Bose, who fought long and hard against Vander Zalm and similarly pro-development types in Surrey, in favour of parkland preservation – and so it is not clear that he was working with Vander Zalm on this one. In any case, council took up the same old strategy of study now, and decide later, which means to say, delay.

Just as things seemed to be coming into line with federal initiatives, the provincial winds changed. Bridgeview was denied provincial NIP funds in the spring of 1974, while Vancouver reaped $3 million, New Westminster $1.25 million, and Coquitlam $500,000. So much for the provincial NDP shift towards the suburban horseshoe! Mayor Vander Zalm expressed outrage, saying things like: “The people in Victoria are living in ivory towers and forget what the situation is like in local areas” (Anonymous 21 Mar 1974). This was less an expression of solidarity with Bridgeviewers, than it was a typical instance of Vander Zalm getting a dig in and so too getting his name in the papers. The BC Housing Minister promised the Mayor a complete review of the application (Anonymous 2 Apr 1974), and assured Bridgeview residents that he agreed “sewers are

the answer," and "the area should remain residential," because "[t]he people want to remain here, and besides, complete relocation would be too costly" (Anonymous 29 Apr 1974). In order to get these sewers installed, he suggested that "special funding" (Anonymous 2 Apr 1974) under "special legislation" (Anonymous 29 Apr 1974) would likely be required.

Although broad decisions about land use planning in the neighbourhood seemed to have been made, struggles over land use continued to play out through technical processes; boring as these processes might seem, they are the stuff of professionalized politics (Dahl 1966 [1961]). Bridgeviewers had become adept at engaging in this politics, thanks in large measure to the "behind the scenes" work of the NFB Challenge for Change project; using film as a medium to stimulate neighbourhood revitalization, Challenge for Change workers opted to train Bridgeviewers in the technical skills required to protect and improve the neighbourhood (*e.g.* researching land title, and interpreting planning documents), while filming residents' mobilizations of the knowledge thereby gained, thus screening an impression of Bridgeviewers as politically sophisticated, in addition to being committed to their community (Walton Fall 2012).

For example, rather than simply waiting for "special funding" from the province, Bridgeview representatives reviewed the failed NIP application, and presented their findings about the Mayor's suspicious processing of the application to an audience of about 125 other residents. They reported that the Mayor "killed us with kindness" by adding everything on the neighbourhood wish list (*e.g.* road reconstruction, sidewalks and curbs) to the $2 million sewer proposal, thereby inflating the total price tag to $11 million – which was unrealistic because it would have used up most of the provincial

government's $13 million annual allocation for the program (Anonymous 16 May 1974). The mayor insisted: "We tried to get all that we could the first time, because once you receive the funds there is no going back for more later" (Anonymous 16 May 1974). But his move was in flagrant disregard of the NIP: "The *essential element* in the process is the preparation of a neighbourhood improvement plan which *respects the available financial resources*" (Larsson, N. 11 Jun 1975, A-2. Emphasis added.). While acknowledging "[s]ome of the items could have been left off," the mayor tried to dismiss Bridgeviewers' analysis by asserting that "had we received approval without asking for what they [*i.e.* Bridgeview residents] are calling frills, they would have been just as critical" (Anonymous 16 May 1974). Likely as that may have been, a more effective way to preempt such criticism would have been to give residents a say in the proposal – such participation was in line with the NIP philosophy, after all. But apparently Vander Zalm remained entrenched in planning from on high; Bridgeviewers on the planning committee did not get to see the proposal (let alone give feedback on it) until months after it had been rejected by the province. Whether Vander Zalm's proposal was actually an instance of sabotaging residents' initiatives, or stretching too far out of generosity towards industrial development, or just plain ignorance of the process, the backlash he faced from it led to the submission and approval of a more fundable NIP proposal a couple of years later. For now, however, the struggle over sewers continued.

The study that had been commissioned came back from UBC Professor Lipson, toward the end of 1974, with a list of recommended upgrades for the area that tallied a whopping $18 million (about half of which accounted for "an innovative pressure sewer system"; Strand 10 Dec 1974). A proposal for a much more affordable (at about a tenth

of the price tag), and more locally generated engineering solution was briefly entertained (Anonymous 14 Jan 1975; Anonymous 1975). Even with all this information nothing seemed to be happening, however. Refusing to allow prospects for sewering the neighbourhood to be shelved along with these reports, some eighty Bridgeview residents attended a council meeting – in what one resident identified as "the last polite discussion" – demanding sewers, and more immediately, the cleaning of the ditches. With characteristic "boos and catcalls" one alderman wondered out loud what the BCA's less polite tactics might look like (Anonymous 23 Sep 1975); surely the scene of the shotgun wielding Bridgeviewer was somewhere in mind.

Pressure for sewering the neighbourhood eventually came from the Boundary health unit as well, and seems to have been effective in prompting municipal action. Although it had been "compromising on Bridgeview" (Anonymous 29 Sep 1975), in the fall of 1975, with a new set of findings about the health hazard in the neighbourhood (including coliform counts with bacteria 3,500 times above acceptable limits, meaning pathogenic), the health unit requested that the municipality take immediate action (Anonymous 25 Sept 1975). The threat of "wholesale evacuation" of the neighbourhood in the event of the overflowing of bacteria laden ditches remained, and warnings to this effect continued (Anonymous 4 Nov 1975). In anticipation of meeting as a board of health to discuss the Bridgeview problem with a delegation from Boundary health (Ross Oct 1975), council announced a massive sanitary sewer program that would see virtually all of north Surrey hooked up in the following two years, at a cost of $21.8 million (based on a bulky and costly report by consultants, Khan Cubitt & Associates [Ross 7 Oct

1975], that informed a $60 million and 10 year plan for municipal sewer upgrades [Ross, Andrew 16 Dec 1975]).

The ensuing debate over what kind of sewers should be installed said more about where the burden of costs would lay, than about what would be most effective over the long run for the neighbourhood. Under the Sewage Facilities Assistance Act, the provincial government would pick up 75 per cent of the tab for sewering North Surrey, but in the case of Bridgeview, it was only willing to do so if the municipality went with a system that was cheaper to install, but under which the municipality would be saddled with heavy maintenance costs, including pumping out storage tanks regularly (Ross 18 Oct 1975). Despite assurances from mayor Vander Zalm that the (more expensive to install, but cheaper to maintain) system he was holding out for was better, after twenty years of waiting, vocal Bridgeviewers were not willing to wait two more.

What mattered to Bridgeviewers was that a system be installed soon, whatever that system might be and whoever might be saddled with carrying its costs. A BCA representative insisted that residents would be happy to go with either system so long as installation began in 1976 (Ross 21 Oct 1975). She continued: "We cannot wait for 1977. We need relief right now. Why should the Port Kells' industry needs [where sewer projects were going ahead] be placed ahead of our needs. Shouldn't the citizens of the community be given priority over industry?" (Anonymous Oct 1975). While it is evident that Bridgeview was repeatedly cued up behind some other neighbourhood in the line for improvements, the assumption that sewers in Bridgeview would serve residential activity (as opposed to industrial activity in Port Kells) is unfounded. Significantly, the sewers

that Vander Zalm was advocating for would have been better suited to industrial activity than the vacuum pump system.

Speculators were supposedly banking on sewering to increase Bridgeview's capacity to support industrial activity, which combined with re-zoning would increase the value of property, enabling them to flip properties for profit. Even the provincial secretary was aware that speculators had been "very active" in Bridgeview over the past four years, and so continued to monitor the situation (Ross 18 Oct 1975). As mayor, Vander Zalm appeared to lead the crusade against speculators, seeking legislation from the province to allow the municipality to saddle owners of undeveloped lots with the sewer installation fee; but this had never been done before, and was, according to an alderman, a game of smoke and mirrors (Anonymous [1976?]). The municipality itself was implicated in this speculation, having begun investing in properties in east Bridgeview in particular, with an eye to industrial development. Other interests included: Riverview Realty with six lots on 114th Ave., Bayshore Holdings with two lots and a house, B and F Holdings with 13 properties and XL Discounts with 16 empty lots (Anonymous [1976?]). One might suggest that that sort of thing was just business as usual in a municipality where some developers imply that they had been accustomed to paying 'taxes' in "brown envelopes" to municipal staff who happened to go on to facilitate approval for those developers' projects (FW 8). Exotic as such "corruption" might seem, it is commonly expected that municipalities ought to play a key role in facilitating economic development (*e.g.* Stone 1989), which means to say that the city ought to function as a "growth machine" as I will explore further below.

In a final effort to delay the installation of sewers (so as to get buy in for proper sanitary sewers that would require less maintenance and would better support industrial activities), Vander Zalm argued that there was no sense in sewering the neighbourhood until after it was flood-proofed (Ross 23 Sep 1975). The municipality had already begun acquiring property to clear the way for dike construction. Residents were "flabbergasted" (Anonymous 7 May 1974) that the city was empowered to take required land without any compensation under the Municipalities' Enabling and Validating Act (Anonymous 30 Apr 1974). The municipal manager provided this assurance: "I can only assume that council would not take a man's house without compensation. That would be ridiculous" (Anonymous [1974?]). While that may have comforted the owners of six houses and two small industrial buildings affected, the bulk of the $1.2 million worth of property that was to be acquired consisted of 20 foot slivers that did not have a guarantee on compensation (Anonymous [1974?]).

Neither provincial (Ross 18 Oct 1975), nor federal (Anonymous 19 Oct 1975) governments were ready to support diking Bridgeview, however. Toward the end of 1975, the BC department of lands, forests and water resources would lay out a timeline for the diking project, from 1979-80, in response to which one alderman said the government was "obviously trying to shaft us" and had yet again been leading the municipality along – just as they had with the Nicomekl-Serpentine diking (Ross 25 Nov 1975). Offended as some aldermen were about the delay on diking, it provided convenient leverage for Vander Zalm.

After many a scolding from Bridgeviewers and the health unit, and residents accusing council of ignoring Bridgeview's serious concerns while a $1 million

beautification program was underway up the hill (Anonymous 4 Nov 1975), for example, the mayor finally came around to the admission that it might be possible to install sewers prior to floodproofing (Ross 21 Oct 1975). After a visit to the neighbourhood during an exceptionally rainy season and seeing the "quagmire" there, Vander Zalm even agreed that the ditches could be cleaned out before sewering (Anonymous 12 Nov 1975). His sudden generosity flowed from the over $900,000 in unused contingency allowance and salaries that the municipality had accumulated through a drawn out CUPE strike earlier that year, which could easily cover the $108,000 for this ditch cleanup (Ross, Andrew 14 Nov 1975; Ross 18 Nov 1975); it is not clear whether he would have been so generous without those funds gleaned from civic employees. Regardless, for Bridgeviewers, it was a salutary note on which Vander Zalm left his post as mayor and moved on to his work as Social Credit MLA, with clean ditches and sewers coming down the pipe.

Even with Vander Zalm having moved on to provincial office in 1976, talk of staged relocation of Bridgeview residents and turning the area over to industrial uses continued. Apparently the catchphrase "Raze it, then raise it!" (Anonymous 29 Sep 1975) had legs. But the reigning planning logic had changed, in favour of respecting existing neighbourhoods, as articulated by then chair of the planning committee: "Bridgeview is a well-established community and they have a right to their status quo" (Ross 2 Apr 1976). Furthermore, by then it was clear, perhaps frighteningly so, that a significant number of Bridgeviewers would forcefully make this claim (whether it was a right or not).

At long last, as announced in the neighbourhood through a "Special Bulletin" meant to "clear up the many misunderstandings that appear to exist": "The Surrey

Council has agreed to proceed with the sewering of the Bridgeview area for the years 1976-77 as soon as Provincial approvals are granted and designs complete. The areas to be served are those areas where residential development presently exist and those commercial or industrial properties that are presently developed." (Johnston [Alderman and Deputy of Finance] [1975?]). But despite the municipality having agreed to the provincial preference for vacuum sewers, the new right wing Social Credit government remained noncommittal until the spring – and even then they spread the funding to sewer North Surrey across five years rather than two (Anonymous 3 Feb 1976; Anonymous 3 Apr 1976). As might have been expected, Bridgeview was towards the back of the queue, waiting – this time, for floodproofing.

After years of antagonistic relations, for a moment it seemed as though "The City" and Bridgeviewers might wind up fighting side-by-side for dikes. Upon notification that federal funds would not be forthcoming for diking the neighbourhood, it was agreed that a municipal delegation would be sent to Ottawa to plead for reconsideration, and it was suggested that a couple of Bridgeviewers might be included. In addition to bringing "an intimate emotional component" to the case, an alderman suggested that Bridgeviewers might take lobbying alongside Surrey councilors and staff as an opportunity to build trust; but rather than "setting a precedent" of community involvement in inter-governmental relations, council voted with another alderman who decried: "It's our baby… This is a municipal problem and it's our responsibility" (Anonymous 4 May 1976). Bridgeviewers were left in their barbaric neighbourhood while civil city officials took the case to Ottawa.

With no sign of funds for floodproofing coming down the pipe any time soon, in the summer of 1976 Surrey council finally agreed to go ahead and sewer the neighbourhood first. By then, technological improvements were such that houses in Bridgeview could be sewered for less than the municipal pollution clean-up program for the average house. It approved a proposal by municipal engineer Mike Jones to use a vacuum system, in which "liquid plugs of sewage, separated by air gaps, enter the system … and are propelled (at high velocities) through the vacuum piping which is controlled at the central vacuum station. Assuming that there is to be only one station, then at the beginning there will be six steel cylinders within this station and each tank is connected to about 1000 homes. The collecting point for each home will be outside by means of interface valve chambers. Each street will have parallel lines connecting to one side of the street only. The mains would be connected to the vacuum station which would monitor pressure of flow. From the central station the effluent would be "injected" to a gravity system for permanent disposal (Anonymous 22 Jun 1976). The system, designed by Eloctrolux of Sweden, a vacuum cleaner manufacturer, will cost about $2,600 per home, which is the cost of sewering the average Surrey lot, manager Dan Closky said (Anonymous 15 Oct 1976; For more details on cost, see: Anonymous 15 Nov 1976). For a neighbourhood that had been promised sewers some 23 years earlier, their coming installation was cause for celebration (Read "Bridgeview and recreation. 1970s.").

Suddenly things started to come together for Bridgeviewers. A community plan was revealed in the fall of 1976, and after working out some details was accepted by residents (Anonymous 27 Oct [1976?]). With this plan in hand, funds from the upper levels of government could be secured for a whole host of improvement projects

(Anonymous 15 Oct 1976). The following year both sewers and diking were initiated; the latter two years ahead of schedule – following on a letter from deputy environment minister Ben Marr regarding the Fraser River Joint Advisory Board's decision on November 18th to start the diking early (Anonymous 30 Nov 1976). There was, of course, more to be done – *e.g.* floodboxes and other floodproofing, the funding for which had been deferred until 1981 (Anonymous 8 Dec 1976). But at least now there was some sense that things might actually be delivered on.

For now, residents paused to celebrate the installation of sewers. Hundreds gathered at the community hall to feast and hear reflections on the victory. In the words of one particularly energetic and committed resident: "This means many things to us… This means our homes can be upgraded, it can be a clean place again for our children" (Blackstone 27 Jun 1977) (Read "Bridgeview and Sanitation. 1970s."). Among those in the audience were: municipal staffers, Boundary health unit officials, Surrey council members, and of course Vander Zalm (now MLA and Human Resources Minister Bill Vander Zalm), along with Environment Minister Jim Nielsen). While Nielsen had his own interest in the technology being installed there, he was quoted as saying: "Bridgeview was the first thing I heard from Vander Zalm after he came to Victoria, and he hasn't stopped talking about it yet" (Blackstone 27 Jun 1977). The ground had been prepared for increased industrial activity in the neighbourhood, even if Bridgeviewers had maintained a hold on the residential core.

Bridgeviewers' celebration of sewers was short-lived. For starters, they were angry about how sewer installation was disrupting their neighbourhood. Lawns, shrubs, and fences had been uprooted; and then there was the traffic. Even though homeowners

are usually responsible for the costs of sewer hookup and restoring the land to its previous condition, the municipality assured residents that it would be covering those costs. Ostensibly this generosity stemmed from the uniqueness of the vacuum system being installed (Anonymous 1 Sep 1977), but avoiding further neighbourhood resistance must also have been a consideration. Nonetheless, a year later, Bridgeviewers were back at City Hall demanding a review of the community plan. The opportunity to demand this review was provided by municipal planners requesting changes be made to the plan in order to conform to new provincial land use legislation. They asserted that these changes would not affect what would be permitted on the ground (Bocking [1978?]). City staff cautioned that "[o]pening up the plan to review would bring into discussion a whole can of worms, not just agreements between the residents and the municipality but also agreements between the municipality and the provincial government" (Surrey planner Wiles as quoted in: Bocking [1978?]). Underpinning such agreements, was an assumption that residents endorsed the plan. But as residents came to believe, they had been bribed with sewers into agreeing to the plan to develop industry near their homes.

With such close proximity to the clanging and mess of industry, residential property values would drop, and so this plan was seen as another version of the attrition strategy of industrializing the neighbourhood. In the Strathcona neighbourhood, for instance, it had been observed:

> Part of the cause of present decay is the encroachment of industry on originally residential areas. Clearance would in fact not result in rehabilitation unless clear definition and adequate separation of industrial areas from residential and proper relationship of residential to commercial were also brought about. It is also essential that areas retained or rezoned as residential be large enough to permit the development of those neighbourhood facilities – schools, parks, shopping-centres, etc. – necessary for healthy community life. (Housing Research Committee Dec 1957, 4)

In the words of then BCA president: "They give with one hand and take with the other… Eventually, piece by piece, the municipality will try to convert the whole area to industrial" (Bocking [1978?]).

An industrial Bridgeview would accommodate some of the uses that were being zoned and priced out of Vancouver the livable community. While industrial uses were lower intensity than what was developing in the central city, they were higher intensity than the rural residential use of Bridgeview. So the displacement of industry marked development (through intensification) for both Vancouver and Bridgeview, just as described by Jacobs' civil city myth. What this myth does not make explicit (but a Surrey alderman infamously did) is that in the transition to more intensive uses some people profit and "some people have to suffer" (Pinney 1976).

While profits tend to be collected by those involved in the property industry, such as the speculators who bought unserviced land in Bridgeview, those residents who are not positioned to cash in on the transition, are left to suffer. Bridgeviewers suffered the continuous deferral of decisions about whether their ultimate suffering would be inflicted through neighbourhood attrition, expropriation and relocation, or the slow creep of industry into the neighbourhood, and so in addition to the health risks and stigmas of a decaying neighbourhood, they suffered being subject to continuous study. While some of the ways that Bridgeviewers suffered were dramatic enough to garner media attention, most of it was drawn out through everyday life. To this day, residents continue to suffer the proximity of industry – both in the short term, with noise and other intrusions, and in the long term, with the drag on property values – and so too, perhaps, the slow industrialization of the area (chapter four). But many Bridgeviewers refused, like Jacobs,

to accept that their community had to suffer to make way for modernist visions of development. They engaged in political battles to defend their claims to the neighbourhood.

A key mechanism that Bridgeviewers leveraged to secure their place was the Neighbourhood Improvement Program – which finally began in 1977, after yet another neigbourhood in the municipality was redeveloped (*i.e.* Crescent Beach). In addition to RRAP grants that were made available to residents to improve their individual properties (Anonymous 26 Apr 1976), a committee was struck to drive neighbourhood-wide initiatives. Unlike most of its predecessors, this committee was mostly made up of residents, *i.e.* twelve members elected at the BCA general meeting, three representatives from the Community School (one of whom lived up the hill), and a planning resource person from City Hall (Bridgeview NIP committee 6 Jun 1977). Under pressure from the municipality to prioritize 'soft' services (*e.g.* recreational and cultural facilities), as opposed to 'hard' services (*e.g.* curb and gutter), because it was saddled with the bulk of the bill for the latter – the municipality was responsible for 62.5% of the cost of 'hard' services (as opposed to 50% of the cost of 'soft' services), because the province was only willing to fund 12.5% of 'hard' services, rather than matching the 25% federal contribution (which it did match for 'soft' services) (Blackstone, Renee [1976-7?]) – the committee supported a proposal for a new community centre, an "identifiable community wing" at the school, and a pedestrian connector between the two (Anonymous 17 Mar 1978). The planning committee recommended that council approve the proposal in principle, and council did so, but the fight was not over yet.

Vander Zalm had effectively passed on local leadership of the movement against residential activity in Bridgeview after he had moved on to his work as a Social Credit MLA (in 1975) by actively endorsing one of his close allies on council, Bill Vogel (an alderman since 1973), in his run for mayor against independent incumbent Ed McKitka (who, after seven years as an alderman, was thus only able to hold on to the position from 1976-78) (Corporation of the District of Surrey, 28 Nov 1977, 4). Vogel, like Vander Zalm, was willing to use discretionary authority as mayor; he invoked Section 180 of the Municipal Act to strike down the approval for the Bridgeview community centre and to refer the matter back to council. While he removed his blockage two weeks later, under assurances that the centre would support the bulk of its own costs (Anonymous 30 Oct 1978) (Read "Bridgeview and community development. 1970s."), mayor Vogel's reluctance to support residential activity in Bridgeview had been made clear. As the Bridgeviewer chair of the NIP committee put it: "I think he is trying to screw us around" (Anonymous [1978?]). His frustration seems to have echoed that of the alderman who decried: the government is "obviously trying to shaft us." What is common to both instances is that the locals (be they Bridgeviewers or municipal officials) who had done the due diligence, of consultation and research, to make decisions about how to develop the neighbourhood were not supported by a more distant government that had the authority and funds required to implement those decisions. This gestures toward Jacobs' own recommendations for locality-based government, which I will draw attention to in the following section. Significantly, in both cases, through persistence locals got what they were after.

Appendix D: Sustainability

(1) An international consensus

The "almost worldwide political consensus on the urgent need for sustainability" has been marked with the United Nations' (UN) World Commission on Environment and Development (*i.e.* the Brundtland Commission) that was struck in 1983 (Goodland 1994). The report released by that commission some four years later articulated the now basic definition of sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commisssion on Environment and Development 1987). While global consensus seems to have formed around this intention of sustainability, it has been left wanting for appropriate institutional structures.

We have inherited international institutions, and in the new millennium there is a growing sense that their efforts towards sustainable development have failed. The international consists of separate units that can be identified and gauged (*e.g.* as friend/enemy); fittingly, international approaches to sustainability planning have broken the environment down into parts that can be identified and gauged (*e.g.* carbon and water). Specific targets relating to particular parts have been defined, but getting states and international institutions to seriously plan to achieve these targets has proved to be much more difficult than setting them (Paris 2012). Environmental advisor Robert Goodland, for instance, resigned his post at the World Bank in 2007, and went on to write a scathing commentary about how his former employers "are damaging the planet and punishing the poor" (Goodland 2007). Others have noted that "'with mainstreaming and bureaucratization, the urgency and political vibrancy is lost, and, with this, comes a

dilution and loss of dynamism in a previously energetic and committed debate" (Scoones 1998, 593). International institutions would seem to provide a global context that is not particularly effective in facilitating sustainability planning from the top-down.

The Canadian target under the Kyoto protocol in 2002, for instance, was a 6 per cent reduction of greenhouse gas emissions below 1990 levels by 2008, but instead we saw a 24 per cent increase (CBC News). With the election of the Conservative government in early 2006, the Kyoto target was displaced by a "made-in-Canada" approach, as inscribed in the *Clean Air Act* – which set "intensity targets" that require industry to reduce the amount of energy used per unit of production immediately (interpreted by economic activists as coming down too hard on industry, and by environmental activists as not strong enough because these targets are compatible with ongoing increases in absolute emissions), and set absolute targets to reduce emissions by 45 to 65 per cent from 2003 levels by 2050 (interpreted by economic activists as unrealistically high, and by environmental activists as kicking in too late, with some being set by 2010 and others not until 2020) (Government of Canada 14 Nov 2006; Revised 19 Apr 2007). Just as the Gateway Council used existing provincial authority to implement its transportation plan, the *Clean Air Act* set out to achieve efficiency aims by leveraging existing authority – in this case, by amending existing legislation, such as the *Energy Efficiency Act* and the *Motor Vehicle Fuel Consumption Standards Act*.

Municipalities have been given a part to play in meeting the targets set by the upper levels of government. The BC Climate Action Plan committed to Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emission reductions below 2007 levels by 33 per cent by 2020, and by 80 per cent by 2050; and with the enactment of the "Local Government (Green Communities)

Statutes Amendment Act" (Bill 27) in June 2008, the province required that municipalities follow suit by setting targets, policies and actions for meeting them in their Official Community Plans (OCP) by 31 May 2010. A strong incentive for meeting this deadline was that it would "allow the City [of Surrey] to move forward with local transit planning initiatives and [would] guarantee continued, seamless access to Provincial infrastructure grant funding" (City of Surrey Sep 2008). Surrey's initial response, in Fall 2008, was to draft a Sustainability Charter, a 50 year vision with attendant goals and framework for implementation "to guide Council, staff and others working with the City towards sustainability for Surrey, and in changing past practices were necessary" (City of Surrey Sep 2008). It adopted the Brundtland Commission definition of sustainability, while adding emphasis on the three pillars of sustainability and the three roles of the City (*i.e.* as a corporation, a level of government, and as facilitator of wider relations). The Charter links rising GHG emissions with "irreversible climate change," including rising sea levels with local impacts on low lying areas – such as Bridgeview – and associated "increased costs for diking and pumping" (City of Surrey Sep 2008, 12). So again, financial considerations offered strong incentives.

Given the short timeline, however, the City opted to pass interim targets matching provincial targets on a per capita basis while, significantly, excluding emissions from industrial and agricultural uses. With about 45 per cent of the region's vacant industrial land, development of those lands is key to the local economic development plan and so including industrial activity in the measures would have made meeting reduction targets near impossible. Even the per capita targets are "more challenging" for Surrey to meet than for other municipalities, because of its rapid population growth; the environmental

silver lining is that higher standards of sustainability can be applied to new construction. These per capita targets were adopted into the OCP about 4 weeks ahead of the deadline (Lamontagne 3 May 2010). More specific sector targets and actions were left for future analysis, 79 indicators of which have been reported on an ongoing basis since April 2012 with the launch of the online Sustainability Dashboard. Among the many actions taken, the city-wide collection of kitchen organics by a fleet powered by Compressed Natural Gas (which reduces emissions by as much as 30%) is a point of special pride, as is the hosting of BC's largest Earth Day celebration, called "Party for the Planet" **(**City of Surrey 2012). Industrial development and ongoing sprawl aside, Surrey seems to have embraced the sustainability challenge, having established a sustainability office, for instance, and in doing so it has also made explicit where other levels of government and agencies need to pick up the ball.

In addition to regulating emissions, the Canadian state has facilitated the development of technological means of reducing emissions. As an alternative to the Kyoto Protocol, the Conservative government signed a regional pact in 2006 called the *Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate* (APP) – backed by the United States, Australia, Japan, China, India and South Korea. More significant than the voluntary reduction targets in the APP, were efforts "to accelerate the development and deployment of clean energy technologies" through "enhanced [public-private] partnerships", the promotion of "best practices and technologies", and "deeper cooperation" between signatory countries (Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate). After five years, the APP wound down, leaving related technological projects to be pursued through other multilateral and bilateral agreements.

While retaining the same institutional structures, the state comes to serve a different function in a context informed by the myth of the global civil city. With decisions about the needs, means and intentions of global urban planning having been made (through complex cultural processes that I will address in the next section) – *i.e.* addressing the need for growth through the means of communication, with the intention of sustainability – the state ceases to function as a decision-making (read: sovereign) institution. Instead, it is positioned in the gap between the global consensus, and the localities where people actually live. On one hand, the state is meant to implement decisions made on high, in which case places like Bridgeview are treated as canvasses of a sort upon which the global civil city can be painted. On the other hand, it is meant to engage with locals' concerns, which in the case of the SFPR involved consulting "customers" to get their "buy-in." This position between authorities on high and people on the ground and attendant dual function is characteristic of municipalities (Crawford 1954, 15).

The state, on this analysis, is coming to function as an urban institution. More precisely, given that decisions have already been made, as an urban institution whose primary function is to plan for the realization of the global civil city – by negotiating broad targets, employing experts, consulting customers, and facilitating competition in the global market on particular projects. In short, the state is becoming an urban planning institution, which is in line with the Gateway Council's mobilization of the provincial state for transportation planning, as traced in the previous section.

Although the provincial government bought into the Gateway Project, it was not actually in a position to drive the project through independently. Despite appearances

that the province had the authority required to act as a centralized transportation planning agency, its legitimacy and effectiveness relies on buy-in from stakeholders. Failure to get such buy-in can lead to the cancellation of projects that much energy has gone into planning (as in urban renewal projects noted in chapter one). So provincial leadership is not a guarantee that a project will go ahead.

In the following sub-section, I aim to draw out some of the ways that planning *as* politics plays out in the places where we live, by exploring efforts to get Bridgeviewers to buy into the Gateway message. Through an analysis of a lengthy iterative consultation process for the SFPR, it will become clear that the social concerns of Bridgeviewers did not carry the weight of economic development concerns of an affluent neighbourhood up the hill, or the environmental concerns of a bog in the neighbouring municipality of Delta. So although there is talk of three pillars of sustainability, the social pillar seems to be especially weak; and while the global market seems to be all encompassing, it is not absolute. Environmental concerns are taken seriously.

(2) An inter-city affair

While the importance of the Brundtland Commission is generally accepted, others mark "the coming of age of sustainability and sustainable development" with the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio – where hoards of government and civil society representatives established connections that would enable countless convention processes, commissions, institutes, and bottom-up initiatives to be established across both "the North and the South" in the following years (Scoones 1998, 591). The report that was released at this Rio conference and through WC^2 initiatives, *Agenda 21*, was action-oriented and addressed all levels of government and members of civil society.

Its first principle reads: "Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature" (United Nations 1992). While there are aspects of the report that involve breaking the environment down into parts (*e.g.* atmosphere and forests) or using scientific measures, the better part of the report is focused on the complexities of broader issues such as biological diversity, combating poverty, education, and enhancing the role of various groups in civil society (United Nations 1992).

In order to translate this report into actual action, local governments were encouraged to develop a *Local Agenda 21* – which links local action for sustainable development, with global goals and targets – and the tools for doing so were provided by the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) (Agenda 21 Initiative 1996) – an inter-city organization that grew out of a meeting of 35 local government leaders in North America in 1989 to discuss how they could establish by-laws to phase out chemicals that deplete the ozone layer, and went on in 2003 to develop "a broader mandate to address sustainability issues". This was thanks in large measure to consultation efforts by Jeb Brugmann under the auspices of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, and so ICLEI was based in Toronto for almost 20 years until moving to Bonn, Germany in 2009 (Brugman 2011).

Although only a handful of cities have actually drafted *Local Agenda 21* plans as such (*e.g. Sustainable Seattle*), many more (such as Greater Vancouver) have developed plans that intend towards sustainable development (with an emphasis on the environmental dimension). But the "mainstreaming" of the *Agenda 21* approach (as articulated in the UN report) (Reinbach 2012), may be evidenced by the American right's

assertion that Obama's plans for "encouraging sustainability" and "ending sprawl" is part of an "Agenda 21" "secret ploy to collectivize private property" including: "The seizure of suburban homes by jackbooted, gun-toting U.N. thugs? The involuntary relocation of displaced suburbanites to cramped dwellings in densely packed cities?" (Turrentine 2013).

In any case, this inter-city approach would seem to be more effective than the international one on delivering on the intention of sustainability, which may have something to do with the more complex nature of cities themselves. Absent clear borders and illusions of sovereignty, cities are always already in a complex set of relations – reaching out across the countryside, drawing goods and people inwards, opening up venues for cultural events, lobbying and administering for other levels of government and so on – which is fitting of the more ecological approach to sustainability advanced through the Rio conference. With attentiveness to this complexity, this inter-city approach is much clearer about how global intention can be delivered on in the places where we live than the inter-national approach whose targets seem to be abstracted from the practical knowledge required to deliver on them (as observed by Scott).

(3) Networked authorities

This appendix has offered two key ways of understanding cultural movements exceeding the state: through the triumph of one grand plan; and through the complex relations among cultural movements. In either case, sustainability can be seen as having been conceived through the struggles among cultural movements, which produce networks of authorities. Both inter-national and inter-city networks traced in the previous

section are but two of the many networks involved. After acknowledging the longer history of the battles between economic and environmental movements, I will demonstrate how these movements can be considered as being informed by the same broad rationality – suggesting the realization of cosmopolis.

While the globalization of sustainability tends to be marked with the Brundtland Commission, and for those keyed to the local, the Rio Conference, these government initiatives followed on a much longer struggle to protect the environment. Although the English word *sustainability* does not appear in dictionaries until second half of the 20th century (Du Pisani 2006, 85), similar terms began to be used in Europe a couple of centuries earlier due to concern about the environmental impacts of economic activity – from the shortage of wood (used heavily from the 17th through to the 18th century for fuel, construction, ship-building, mining, and so on), to consumption associated with population growth in the 18th century, to dependence on coal for energy in the 19th century and on oil in the 20th century (Du Pisani 2006). A conservation movement is said to have been spawned by George Perkins *Marsh's Man and Nature* (1864), with assertions such as: "Man has long forgotten that the earth was given to him for usufruct alone, not for consumption, still less for profligate waste" (as quoted in Du Pisani 2006, 86). Suffice it to say that by the end of the 19th century, all the themes that would eventually be articulated in the Brundtland report had been digested (*e.g.* by Alfred Russell Wallace, according to Van Zon; Du Pisani, 2006, 86).

(4) Sustainability in the WC^2

The Western Canada Wilderness Committee's mission is "to protect Canada's biodiversity through strategic research and grassroots public education" (WC^2 2011). Its

first major campaign was against clear-cut logging in Clayoquot Sound. In a 1985 report on the campaign, sustainability was something that the logging company MacMillan Bloedel (MB) was concerned about. "Duncan Shaw, MB counsel argued that the company needed the wood to *sustain* jobs" (Western 1985). But the term was also used by those trying "to save the Island": "The magic of Meares [Island, targeted by MB for clear-cut logging,] *sustains* the Friends of Clayoquot Sound and all the local residents" (Western 1985). In either case sustainability was used to indicate what is required in order to support human life. In 1988 (following on the Brundtland Commission report) WC^2 reframed the campaign as a drive for: "Sustainable development for stable and healthy communities" (WC^2 1988). Such appreciation for the importance of both economic and environmental sustainability persisted (WC^2 1992).

But the usage of the term in WC^2 reports declined through the course of the 1990s (*e.g.* of rare note of the need to "sustain fish and wildlife populations" WC^2 1998). This dwindling must not be mistaken for declining influence of the concept, however. To the contrary, I would suggest, it was becoming so common sense it no longer needed to be named.

In 2001 the BC Liberals (a right wing provincial party) came to office on a platform promising "a new era of environmental stewardship based on sound science, cleaner air, cleaner water and sustainable practices" – to which WC^2 would try to hold the party to account (*e.g.* WC^2 2002b; WC^2 2006b). The Premier delivered by forming the Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management, and making declarations such as: "We look at the twin goals of environmental sustainability and a healthy economy to improve the quality of life for every British Columbian" (as quoted at the opening of the Globe

2002 trade show, by WC^2 2002b). The provincial government seemed to be echoing earlier WC^2 claims. While WC^2 placed greater emphasis on the environment (WC^2 2002a), they seemed to agree with government and business people that economic and environmental sustainability are necessary to make social sustainability possible. Disagreement persisted about specifics, such as technical definitions of a sustainable amount of logging, but assertion of the principle became less and less necessary.

While there was still occasional mention made of sustainability in the WC^2 2003-04 Annual Report (*e.g.* "The different caribou herds have all played an important role in sustaining Aboriginal cultures for millennia, by providing food and clothing as well as spiritual strength"; WC^2 2004), and in a couple of other reports (Miller 2004; WC^2 2005a), not one mention was made of it in the 2004-05 Annual Report. Later in 2005, it reappeared in a "Conservation Vision" for Vancouver Island, *e.g.*: "The best available data and latest scientific methodology have been used to create a visionary protected areas proposal that, if implemented, would greatly help to *sustain* Vancouver Island's native *biodiversity* and *high quality of life* over the long term" (WC^2 2005b, emphasis added). By focusing on biodiversity, environmentalists have effectively distinguished their spin on sustainability from that of government and business. The current WC^2 mission "to protect Canada's biodiversity through strategic research and grassroots public education" (WC^2 2011). Only occasional mention has been made of sustainability in the WC^2 reports in the five years between 2005 and 2010. In the WC^2 reports in that five year time period, there are also a few references to how the land sustains Aboriginal ways of living (WC^2 2007; WC^2 2008), as well as a few to the technical question of sustainable resource use (WC^2 2006a). Perhaps this is an indication that the aspects of sustainable development that are still at issue relate to the oft-neglected third pillar, *i.e.* social.

Sustainability more generally would seem to have become so obvious that it need not be named, and so is now almost entirely absent from WC^2 reports. The current value statement reads: "We value wilderness, with all its natural *biodiversity*, as absolutely vital to the *health* of people, communities and the planet" (WC^2 2011). "Healthy" would seem to be the new sustainability for WC^2. But the difference between the two is negligible; healthy communities are self-sustaining ecological systems (as Jacobs conceived great city neighbourhoods), after all. My analysis here is in line with Scoones' observation: "Certainly terms associated with sustainability – such as resilience, robustness, diversity, and precaution – are all seen more frequently in policy debates these days. But they all have direct links to sustainability, both intellectually, institutionally, and politically. So the lineage persists" (Scoones 1998, 594).

The provincial government would seem to have moved on too – as symbolized by the Premier's reorganization in October 2010, through which the Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management was transformed into the Ministry of Natural Resource Operations (which was supposed to be a one stop land management shop, as distinct from the operations of Forests and Mines, for instance). The new Premier, Christie Clark, upon entering office on March 14 2011, returned the Ministry of Forests and Lands to Natural Resources Operations (and returned Mines, which had been combined with Forests, to Energy, in a Ministry of Energy and Mines), but the name remains the same – meaning that sustainability is not back on the scene. For its part, business moved on to more catchy phraseology years ago, as in the high profile book entitled "Cradle to Cradle" (which was printed on a kind of plastic that can be recycled without downgrading the material, and so ostensibly would not ever need to make the journey to a landfill)

(McDonough 2002); green capitalism is upon us (*e.g.* Watts 2002). Hence, a more apt explanation for the general decline in the use of the term is that sustainability increasingly has popular buy-in, and so no longer needs to be sold. In addition to sustainability, a consensus also seems to have formed around the need for transportation.

Appendix E:
Interview Schedule

CODE	Position	Location	Date
BV 1	Resident – old timer	Surrey BC	18 Feb 2009
SUR 1	Planner	Surrey BC	19 Feb 2009
BV 2	BCA board member	Surrey BC	14 Mar 2009
BV 3	Ex-resident	Surrey BC	7 Jun 2009
BV 4	Ex-BCA staff	Surrey BC	7 Jun 2009
SFPR 1	Gateway ED	Burnaby BC	8 Dec 2009
BV 5	Resident – 18 years	Richmond BC	8 Dec 2009
SUR 2	Civic Engineer - Sewage	Surrey BC	8 Dec 2009
BV 6	Resident – 15 years	Surrey BC	9 Dec 2009
SUR 3	Civic Engineer - project manager	Surrey BC	9 Dec 2009
SFPR 2	Western Canada Wilderness Committee	Vancouver BC	17 Jan 2010
COM 1	Ex-school principal	Surrey BC	5 Feb 2010
COM 2	Pacific Community Resources Surrey	Surrey BC	5 Feb 2010
COM 3	Action for Neighbourhood Change manager	Burnaby BC	6 Feb 2010
BV 7	Resident – old timer	Surrey BC	6 Feb 2010
SUR 4	Community Services Coordinator	*Phone interview*	19 Feb 2010
POL 1	NDP, MP	Surrey BC	26 Mar 2010
BV 8	Real estate agent and resident	*Phone interview*	21 Apr 2010
NEWS 1	Journalist -	*Phone interview*	19 Jul 2010
SUR 5	Civic Engineer - roads	Surrey BC	26 Jul 2010
SUR 6	Parks and Recreation	Surrey BC	26 Jul 2010

CODE	Activity	Location	Date
FW 16	Cloverdale Rodeo	Surrey BC	5 Aug 2008
FW 1	Bridgeview exploring	Surrey BC	17 Aug 2008
FW 2	Bridgeview tour by old timer	Surrey BC	18 Feb 2009
FW 3	SFPR Bus tour	Delta, New Westminster, Surrey BC	20 Nov 2009
FW 4	BCA	Surrey BC	14 Mar 2009
AR 1	Surrey archival research	Surrey BC	4 Jun 2009

FW 5	Bridgeview Day – community mapping	Surrey BC	6 Jun 2009
CC 1	City Council meeting	Surrey BC	15 Jun 2009
CC2	City Council meeting	Surrey BC	30 Jul 2009
AR 2	Surrey archives	Surrey BC	7 Aug 2009
FW 6	Bridgeview tour by resident	Surrey BC	16 Aug 2009
FW 7	BCA meeting	Surrey BC	27 Aug 2009
FW 8	Bridgeview tour by resident	Surrey BC	20 Nov 2009
AR 2	BCA archival research	Surrey BC	7-9 Dec 2009
FW 9	SFPR town hall meeting	Delta BC	16 Jan 2010
FW 10	BCA	Surrey BC	16 Jan 2010
FW 11	BCA	Surrey BC	5-6 Feb 2010
FW 12	BCA	Surrey BC	18-9 Feb 2010
FW 13	BCA	Surrey BC	26 Mar 2010
AR 3	United Way archives	Richmond BC	6 May 2010
FW 14	Bridgeview Day	Surrey BC	19 Jun 2010
FW 15	BCA meeting	Surrey BC	26 Jul 2010

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