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Editorial

Kanada ist nicht nur eine hochurbanisierte, sondern vor allem auch eine suburbanisierte Gesellschaft. Dabei ist ‚Suburbia' in den letzten Jahren zunehmend nicht mehr als ein heterogener Urbanität entgegengestellter, vermeintlich sozial homogener und kulturell uninteressanter Raum konzeptualisiert worden, sondern als „complex, contradictory, and multi-authored places eminently worthy of continued re-conceptualization"[1]. Hierbei spielen sowohl demographische Veränderungen als auch eine veränderte Wahrnehmung der ‚Vorstadt' eine zentrale Rolle. Das Thema der GKS-Jahrestagung 2017, „Neue Perspektiven auf Suburbia", greift diese andauernde Rekonzeptualisierung auf; Suburbia, wie die Beiträge in dieser Ausgabe zeigen, ist dabei nicht nur eine Herausforderung an die Kategorienbildung und Analyse in der Stadtgeographie und den Sozialwissenschaften sowie in der Statistik[2], sondern auch in den Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften, nicht zuletzt, weil sich im konzeptionellen Spannungsfeld zwischen urbanen und suburbanen Räumen Auseinandersetzungen um das Verständnis von ‚Modernität' und Fragen der Gestaltung moderner Lebensräume manifestieren.

Dieses Spannungsfeld ist eines, das sich unmittelbar in architektonischer und stadtplanerischer Gestaltung niederschlägt; so arbeitet Claire Poitras in „Quand la banlieue était le futur" (mit einem besonderen Fokus auf Montreal) die widersprüchlichen Dynamiken heraus zwischen den Versuchen, einerseits Suburbia als Wohngebiete der Mittelklasse zu erhalten – mit den damit verbundenen Vorstellungen optimaler räumlicher Organisation in Einfamilienhäusern – und andererseits den aktiven Bemühungen um eine vor allem auch wirtschaftliche ‚Metropolisierung' der Vorstadt.

Planung und Entwicklung, jedoch mit einem anderen Fokus, stehen auch im Mittelpunkt von Richard Whites Beitrag „Toronto's Inner Suburbs Through the Lens of Planning History". White konzentriert sich dabei auf die der Stadtplanung zugrunde liegenden Ideen für einen von den 1950ern bis in die 1970er geschaffenen, ethnisch heterogenen Vorstadtraum, in dem zwar zwei Drittel der gegenwärtigen Bevölkerung Torontos leben, der aber gleichzeitig keine Rolle für das (Selbst-)Bild der Stadt spielt und der, wenn auch nicht repräsentativ für Suburbia, die konstanten Bedeutungsverschiebungen von zentral/peripher, innen/außen und alt/neu eindrücklich belegt.

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1 Bain, Alison L. *Creative Margins. Cultural Production in Canadian Suburbs.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013, S. 4.

2 Turcotte, Martin, 2014, „Life in Metropolitan Areas," Statistics Canada https://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2008001/article/10459-eng.htm, Zugriff 31.12.2017.

Roger Keils „Canadian Suburbia: From the Periphery of Empire to the Frontier of the Sub/Urban Century" blickt seinerseits auf die *inner suburbs,* rückt dabei aber vor allem die Geschichte der Urbanisierung und Suburbanisierung in den Kontext von europäischem Siedlerkolonialismus, indigener Marginalisierung sowie der kanadischen Einwanderungsgeschichte. Die ethnische Diversifizierung der *suburbias,* ihre Entwicklung in eine „post-colonial peripheral urban landscape" globaler diasporischer Prozesse, verkompliziert dabei nicht nur allzu einfache Verknüpfungen von Multikulturalismus und kanadischer Urbanität, sondern – ganz im Sinne des Konzepts der *multiple modernities* – auch universalistische Narrative von Modernisierung und Modernität.

Als kulturelle Narrative und Fiktionalisierung sozialer Interaktion und Struktur tragen ihrerseits auch literarische Texte zur „continued reconceptualization" von Suburbia bei, zur Dekonstruktion der Gegenüberstellung der ‚homogenen Vorstadt' und der ‚kosmopolitischen Metropole', aber auch zur narrativen Aushandlung von (Stadt-)Raum und Subjektkonstitution. Die beiden folgenden Beiträge – Christine Vogt-Williams „'A Ghostly Twin Struggling for Its Own Place': Biological Twinship, Homes and Hauntings in Canadian (Sub)Urban Spaces" und Robert Dions „L'émergence des formes de la « vie de banlieue » en région dans *La Sœur de Judith* de Lise Tremblay" – diskutieren englisch- und französischsprachige literarische Beispiele für die Konzeptualisierung von suburbanen räumlichen Konstellationen und Subjektkonstituierung. Vor dem Hintergrund von Migration und Verlusterfahrung liest Vogt-Williams intersektionale Analyse von Kristen Den Hartog's *The Perpetual Ending* (1998) und Susannah Smith's *How the Blessed Live* (2002) zwei unterschiedliche Konzeptualisierungen von *home* mit- und gegeneinander: *home* als Familienraum und *home* als Form der (nationalen, politischen) Zugehörigkeit. *Twinship* wird in diesem Zusammenhang nicht nur mit Blick auf seine intersubjektive Funktion in den beiden Romanen gelesen, sondern auch im Sinne der *Critical Race Studies* als Instrument der Kritik weißer Hegemonie und der Marginalisierung nicht-weißer Subjektivitäten. Robert Dions Analyse konzentriert sich mit Lise Tremblays *La Sœur de Judith* ebenfalls auf einen Roman, der eine jugendliche Perspektive nutzt, um vor dem Hintergrund der Veränderungen in Québec im Zuge der *révolution tranquille* eine Art Soziologie des traditionellen ländlichen und sich nunmehr transformierenden Milieus zu entwerfen. In Tremblays Roman strukturiert sich letzteres als Banlieue gewissermaßen neu und generiert zwischen den traditionellen Antipoden ‚Wald' und ‚Dorfgemeinde' einen kulturellen Synkretismus aus Katholizismus und nordamerikanischer Massenkultur.

Eleanor Tys abschließender Beitrag wurde im Kontext der 2016er Jahrestagung zum Thema ‚Soziale Gerechtigkeit' verfasst, schließt aber durch seinen Fokus auf neuere Modifikationen des anglokanadischen Bildungsromans durchaus an die von Vogt-William und Dion aufgegriffenen Themen an. Ty konzentriert sich auf drei Romane – Mariko und Jill Tamakis *Skim* (2008), Alissa Yorks *Fauna* (2011) und Richard Wagameses *Indian Horse* (2013) –, die exemplarisch zeigen, wie eine neue Ausprä-

gung des Bildungsromans nicht nur die Entwicklungsgeschichte eines Individuums erzählt, sondern im Rückgriff auf postkoloniale, feministische und ökologische Kritik das Veränderungspotential der Gesellschaft aushandeln.

In seinem abschließenden Forumsbeitrag wirft Martin Thunert einen (Rück)Blick auf die Feierlichkeiten zum 150. Geburtstag der Staatsgründung Kanadas (*Canada 150*) und diskutiert die Kontroversen, welche die Feierlichkeiten zum Jubiläumsjahr innerhalb Kanadas ausgelöst haben. Es geht um Fragen wie: Kann und soll man den ‚Geburtstag' eines Staates überhaupt feiern und wenn ja, wie und was sollte gefeiert werden? Woran sollte erinnert werden und welche Identitäten sollten berücksichtigt werden? Diese Fragen betreffen nicht nur die Feierlichkeiten, die das vergangene Jahr 2017 in Kanada geprägt haben, sondern verweisen auf allgemeinere Fragen der Geschichtsschreibung, des Zusammenhangs von Geschichte und Geschichten und damit nicht zuletzt auf das Thema der GKS Jahrestagung 2018 „*GeschichteN – HiStories – HistoireS*".

Katja Sarkowsky Martin Thunert Doris G. Eibl

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Claire Poitras

Quand la banlieue était le futur

Abstract

This paper aims to highlight the expression of architectural and urban modernity within North American suburbs. Over the past years, the political and cultural influence of suburbs has grown significantly. Their social composition and economic dynamics have also considerably changed. Thus, the suburb's built environment, land use and social life no longer correspond to the image that we had up until the 1980s, namely that of a bedroom community consisting mainly of single-family houses whose inhabitants commute to work on a daily basis. In the 1940s and 1950s, the suburbs' built form and urban design displayed several innovative features. After providing a portrait of the population growth of Montreal's suburbs area, this paper examines the ways in which urban and architectural modernity has been expressed in the built environment of North American suburban areas. My objective is to show that a tension is at work between, on the one hand, the preservation of the suburban ideal consisting of exclusively residential communities of single-family homes surrounded by green space for middle and upper-middle class, and, on the other hand, the ambition of local elected officials promoting the suburb as a place increasingly boasting urban features, such as density and commerce and industry.

Résumé

Cet article vise à mettre en lumière l'expression de la modernité architecturale et urbanistique au sein des villes nord-américaines de la banlieue. Au cours des dernières années, l'influence politique et culturelle des villes de banlieue et de la périphérie s'est considérablement accrue. La composition sociale et les dynamiques économiques de ces villes ont également beaucoup changé. Ainsi, le cadre bâti et la composition sociale et fonctionnelle des banlieues ne correspondent plus à l'image qu'on en avait jusque dans les années 1980, à savoir celle de la cité-dortoir constituée essentiellement de pavillons résidentiels et dont les habitants travaillent ailleurs. Or, dès les années 1940 et 1950, l'aménagement et les formes architecturales des milieux suburbains affichent des caractéristiques innovantes. Après avoir dressé un portrait de la croissance démographique des municipalités de banlieue de la région de Montréal, le texte examine la manière dont la modernité urbanistique et architecturale s'est exprimée dans l'environnement bâti des régions métropolitaines nord-américaines. L'objectif est de montrer que depuis les années 1980, on assiste à une tension accrue entre, d'une part, le maintien de l'idéal subur-

bain où prédominent l'habitat pavillonnaire, la vie familiale et la nature et, d'autre part, la volonté des élus municipaux de faire la promotion de milieux suburbains ayant des caractéristiques urbaines de plus en plus affirmées.

Introduction

Depuis 2006, les principales régions urbaines canadiennes ont accueilli de nombreux nouveaux ménages. Spécifiquement, plusieurs municipalités situées dans la banlieue des régions métropolitaines de Montréal, Toronto et Vancouver ont connu des taux de croissance démographique de plus de 10% entre 2006 et 2016. Certaines d'entre elles ont même vu leur population augmenter de plus de 25% (voir le tableau 1).

Comment la banlieue canadienne est-elle de nos jours représentée par les autorités municipales? Qu'est-ce qu'on met en valeur pour attirer les ménages? Quels sont les traits particuliers de l'idéal suburbain actuel ? Est-ce que les concepteurs des publicités engagés par les municipalités tendent à reproduire l'idéal suburbain tel que mis en place à la fin du 19e siècle caractérisé par la faible densité résidentielle, la vie familiale, l'homogénéité sociale, la prédominance de ménages propriétaires et la quête de vivre dans un milieu où la verdure est omniprésente ? Pour répondre à ces questions, un examen du matériel promotionnel contemporain utilisé par des municipalités situées dans la grande banlieue de Montréal et de Toronto permet de montrer que cet idéal et ses principales composantes demeurent des arguments de vente pour attirer les jeunes familles. De plus, une analyse historique révèle qu'en Amérique du Nord les villes de la banlieue ont joué, au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, un rôle clé dans la mise en place d'une diversité d'activités économiques et culturelles souvent associées aux innovations spécifiques aux grands centres urbains. On peut penser notamment aux réalisations architecturales d'Eero Saarinen (1910-1961) pour les entreprises IBM, General Motors and Bell Laboratories (Knowles et Leslie, 2001) construites en banlieue des villes de New York et de Detroit dans les années 1950 et 1960.

Tableau 1- Municipalités des régions métropolitaines de Montréal, Toronto, Vancouver et Québec ayant connu un taux annuel de croissance démographique de plus de 25%, 2006-2016

Région métropolitaine de Montréal				
	2006	2011	2016	% croissance
Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac	11 311	15 689	18 074	59,7%
Saint-Colomban	10 136	13 080	16 019	58,0%

Vaudreuil-Dorion	25 789	33 305	38 117	47,8%
Mirabel	34 626	41 957	50 513	45,8%
Saint-Amable	8 398	10 870	12 167	44,8%
Région métropolitaine de Toronto				
	2006	2011	2016	% croissance
Milton	53 889	84 362	110 128	104,0%
Whitechurch-Stouffville	24 390	37 628	45 837	87,9%
Bradford West Gwillimbury	24 039	28 077	35 325	46,9%
Brampton	433 806	523 911	593 638	36,0%
Ajax	90 167	109 600	119 677	32,0%
Région métropolitaine de Vancouver				
	2006	2011	2016	% croissance
Surrey	394 976	468 251	517 887	31,0%
Langley	93 726	104 177	117 285	25,1%
Région métropolitaine de Québec				
	2006	2011	2016	% croissance
Ste-Brigitte-de-Laval	3 790	5 696	7 348	93,0%
Shannon	3 825	5 086	6 031	57,6%
Ste-Catherine-de-la-Jacques-Cartier	5 021	6 319	7 706	53,4%
Boischatel	5 287	6 465	7 587	43,5%
Beaumont	2 180	2 420	2 942	34,9%

Source : Statistique Canada, *Profils des communautés*, 2006, 2011 et 2016

Ce texte est divisé en trois parties. Dans un premier temps, il rappelle brièvement l'état de la recherche sur les banlieues au Canada. Dans un deuxième temps, une analyse des stratégies de promotion des municipalités de banlieue dans les grandes régions de Montréal, Toronto et Vancouver est proposée afin de saisir la teneur de l'idéal suburbain dans le contexte contemporain. L'environnement bâti suburbain tel qu'élaboré dans les années suivant la Seconde Guerre mondiale est examiné dans un troisième temps afin de faire ressortir son caractère novateur.

1. L'étude de la banlieue canadienne. Un domaine de recherche florissant

La recherche récente sur l'espace suburbain au Canada et ailleurs dans le monde fait part des nombreuses transformations dont il a été l'objet au cours des vingt dernières années, notamment sur le plan des formes de développement et des modes de gouvernance qui s'y déploient (Basten, 2002 et 2004, Hamel et Keil, 2015). Or, un examen de la manière dont les municipalités de banlieue au Canada se projettent et se mettent en scène pour attirer de nouveaux ménages montre que les valeurs clés utilisées pour faire la promotion de la banlieue demeurent somme toute assez similaires à celles qui ont été élaborées au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale en Amérique du Nord. Ainsi, la banlieue représente un milieu favorable à l'épanouissement de la famille nucléaire que procure notamment l'habitat pavillonnaire. L'usage de l'automobile pour les déplacements quotidiens (Wolford, 2017) et la stricte séparation des fonctions dans l'espace sont d'autres caractéristiques clés. Celles-ci contribuent au maintien de l'idéal suburbain défini par la faible densité résidentielle, la vie familiale, l'homogénéité sociale, la prédominance de ménages propriétaires et le désir de vivre dans un milieu où la verdure est omniprésente (Poitras, 2012).

Au cours des dernières années, des programmes de recherche d'envergure ont été menés pour mieux comprendre les espaces suburbains. Le programme Global Suburbanisms dirigé par Roger Keil à York University s'est notamment intéressé à la portée internationale du processus de développement suburbain. L'ouvrage de Richard Harris (2004) intitulé *Creeping Conformity. How Canada Became Suburban (1900-1960)* a aussi permis de démontrer l'importance du mode de vie suburbain chez les ménages canadiens. Bien qu'installées dans un milieu où tout était nouveau, les familles aspiraient d'abord à devenir propriétaires et à bénéficier des avantages que cela leur procurait.

Dans son ouvrage sur la modernité architecturale, Christopher Armstrong (2014, p. 175) souligne que dans la région de Toronto les acheteurs des nouvelles maisons étaient, dans les années 1950, assez réticents à choisir un design moderne. Ainsi, les formes évoquant par exemple l'architecture géorgienne en s'inspirant de l'architecture classique des années 1790-1830 en vogue en Grande-Bretagne et aux États-Unis avaient la cote auprès des acheteurs. Malgré une certaine résistance à l'adhésion aux formes architecturales modernes, des promoteurs en collaboration avec les élus municipaux entament de vastes opérations d'aménagement en banlieue pour permettre aux ménages de vivre l'expérience suburbaine. Cette dernière est alors représentée comme étant résolument tournée vers l'avenir.

Quelques travaux pionniers dont la recherche menée par l'historien Paul-André Linteau sur la municipalité de Maisonneuve dans l'île de Montréal (Linteau, 1981) et l'ouvrage du géographe Richard Lewis (2000) sur la localisation des entreprises industrielles dans la région de Montréal de 1850 à 1930 ont mis en lumière l'apport des activités économiques de production dans le développement des villes subur-

baines. L'historien Jean-Pierre Collin (1986) a également montré comment des ménages des classes salariées ont réussi à atteindre le rêve de l'habitat suburbain dans les années 1950 grâce à l'intervention des membres de la Coopérative d'habitation de Montréal qui avait assuré la construction de plusieurs centaines de maisons sur des terres agricoles situées dans l'Est de la ville.

La comparaison de l'environnement bâti suburbain contemporain à celui érigé depuis le début du XXe siècle dans les grandes régions urbaines nord-américaines nous permet de constater que plusieurs éléments de nouveauté ont d'abord été implantés en milieu suburbain. En ce sens, mon hypothèse est que, par le passé, au même titre que l'urbanisme des villes-centres, l'espace suburbain a donné lieu à des innovations urbanistiques et architecturales. Ces innovations qu'on observe en banlieue touchent notamment à l'habitation, au commerce, aux activités d'enseignement et de recherche, ainsi qu'aux lieux de culte. De manière plus précise, on peut dire que les innovations se reflètent dans les formes architecturales et le design, ainsi que par l'usage de nouveaux matériaux de construction.

2. Comment est représentée la banlieue au Canada ? Une analyse des stratégies de promotion des municipalités

L'analyse du matériel promotionnel[1] servant à attirer les ménages à la recherche d'un lieu où habiter révèle une certaine tension entre la représentation de la banlieue comme le milieu parfait pour y élever sa famille et un milieu tourné vers l'avenir. Ainsi, le matériel promotionnel diffusé sur les sites Internet des municipalités québécoises et canadiennes présentent habituellement des espaces verdoyants où les enfants peuvent jouer en toute quiétude.

L'une des villes dont la croissance démographique a été la plus substantielle entre 2006 et 2016 au Québec – la population a presque doublé – est Sainte-Brigitte-de-Laval située à une trentaine de kilomètres du centre de la ville de Québec. Ayant mauvaise presse à cause d'un aménagement peu respectueux de l'environnement – et faisant face à des problèmes de qualité d'eau potable –, cette municipalité réussit quand même à attirer des nouveaux ménages notamment en raison de son caractère abordable. Son slogan «Une ville qui se réinvente» vise sans doute à faire oublier les difficultés d'approvisionnement en eau qui ont mis à mal sa réputation à l'échelle de la région. L'image que ses dirigeants cherchent à valoriser est celle du dynamisme et de la croissance. Ces caractéristiques sont clairement exprimées dans l'environnement bâti défini par la nouveauté : les maisons, les écoles et les parcs fraîchement aménagés ont tout pour plaire aux familles. D'ailleurs plusieurs municipalités de banlieue placent la famille au cœur de leur stratégie de promotion. Les slogans mettent aussi l'accent sur la proximité de la nature et la qualité de vie que

1 Pour faire l'analyse des valeurs sur lesquelles on mise pour attirer des nouveaux ménages, nous avons consulté les sites internet des municipalités des régions métropolitaines de Montréal, Toronto, Vancouver et Québec ayant connu une forte croissance démographique depuis 2006. La liste de ces municipalités se trouve au tableau 1.

cela procure : *Habiter la vraie nature* ou *La vie est belle à Fossambault* comme l'annoncent des municipalités en banlieue de Québec.

Typiquement, ces outils de marketing territorial mettent en scène de jeunes enfants jouant librement dans des parcs et espaces verts. Les familles établies depuis peu profitent aussi de nouvelles écoles et de services de qualité. Par exemple, les dirigeants de la municipalité de Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac située sur la rive nord de Montréal mettent l'accent sur l'offre de parcs et des services d'éducation. Le caractère «neuf» des secteurs résidentiels et commerciaux aménagés est un attribut qui s'oppose souvent aux espaces agricoles ou agro-agricoles en voie d'être transformés par l'arrivée des nouveaux ménages (figure 1). L'objectif des élus municipaux est d'offrir aux jeunes familles à un prix abordable le confort que fournit l'habitat pavillonnaire. De plus, l'accès aux services conçus pour les enfants est un autre avantage :

> Proposant à sa population une programmation d'activités adaptée, plusieurs parcs et espaces verts, trois écoles primaires et une école secondaire, la Ville de Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac se fait un devoir de placer l'épanouissement de la famille au centre de ses priorités. (Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac, http://www.ville.sainte-marthe-sur-le-lac.qc.ca/, consulté le 30 août 2017.)

Ayant connu le plus fort taux de croissance démographique (59,7%) dans la région de Montréal en 2011 et 2016, cette municipalité «jouit de son effervescence» pour citer le texte de présentation du site web (Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac, http://www.ville.sainte-marthe-sur-le-lac.qc.ca/, consulté le 30 août 2017.)

Figure 1 – Vue d'une rue dans un lotissement résidentiel récent aménagé à Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac dans la région métropolitaine de Montréal. Photographie : Denise Caron, 2017.

Dans son texte portant sur l'expérience qu'il a vécue en grandissant dans une ville de taille moyenne au Québec, l'écrivain William S. Messier cite également des slogans adoptés par les municipalités de banlieue et les promoteurs immobiliers (Messier, 2015, p. 143). L'accent est mis sur l'omniprésence de la nature et la qualité du patrimoine. Messier fait une remarque ironique au sujet des caractéristiques utilisées par les concepteurs des slogans et devises : «il semble que la banlieue se définisse souvent par ce qu'elle n'est pas» (Messier, 2015, p. 143).

Les slogans auxquels ont recours les municipalités pour vendre la banlieue mettent l'accent sur la présence des parcs et espaces verts – voire de la nature – et des écoles primaires et secondaires. Les valeurs familiales sont aussi valorisées. Sur le plan de l'environnement bâti, en banlieue tout est neuf et en bon état. De plus, les éléments paysagers comme les collines, les vallons et les plans d'eau sont mis en scène : «Habiter la banlieue c'est habiter la nature» comme l'énonce la municipalité de Saint-Colomban sur son site web. Le dynamisme des municipalités est également souligné. Par exemple, la municipalité de Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac se définit comme «Une ville qui jouit de son effervescence» (Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac, http://www.ville.sainte-marthe-sur-le-lac.qc.ca/, 2017). Quant à la municipalité de Saint-Amable au sud de Montréal, elle utilise le slogan «Fier de son horizon». Or, avant de s'inscrire au palmarès des municipalités ayant connu une très forte croissance démographique, cette ville de la banlieue de Montréal a longtemps été reconnue pour avoir été le théâtre d'une catastrophe environnementale majeure – l'une des plus marquantes dans l'histoire récente du Canada –, alors qu'une décharge où étaient amoncelés des millions de pneus avait brûlé et rejeté une fumée toxique dans l'air pendant plusieurs jours. Pour leur part, les dirigeants de la municipalité de Saint-Colomban située sur la rive-nord de Montréal misent sur ses racines historiques et ses atouts naturels pour attirer les ménages. Entre le début du 19e siècle et les années 1920 des ménages d'origine irlandaise s'y sont établis. Le toponyme de la municipalité renvoie au moine Saint-Colomban (540 env.-615) venu d'Irlande et ayant fondé de nombreux monastères en Europe. D'ailleurs, les racines irlandaises de la municipalité sont soulignées annuellement lors d'une fête familiale ayant lieu au parc Felan. Ayant comme slogan «La nature habitée», la municipalité utilise dans ses armoiries le vert, le bleu et le blanc pour rappeler l'apport des premiers fondateurs et l'omniprésence de la nature, dont les nombreux lacs de la municipalité.

D'autres villes de la banlieue de Montréal font appel à leur localisation géographique pour attirer les jeunes ménages. On y vante notamment l'offre d'infrastructures sportives, culturelles et de loisirs. L'idée selon laquelle les familles faisant le choix de s'établir en milieu suburbain est garant d'un avenir prometteur revient souvent dans le matériel promotionnel des municipalités : «Semer pour l'avenir» (municipalité de Saint-Philippe, http://www.municipalite.saint-philippe.qc.ca/html/accueil.htm), «Une ville à choisir, un avenir à réussir» (municipalité de Mirabel,

http://www.ville.mirabel.qc.ca/). Ayant fait l'objet d'un boom démographique et économique récent, Mirabel est surtout bien connue dans l'histoire récente du Québec alors que le gouvernement fédéral y ait fait construire le nouvel aéroport international de Montréal au début des années 1970 (Laurin, 2012). Devant être la porte d'entrée de l'Amérique, cet aéroport innovait sur plusieurs plans et s'affichait comme étant «L'aéroport où le futur est présent». Son implantation à plus de 50 kilomètres de Montréal avait entraîné d'importantes expropriations et la perte de terres agricoles. Près de trente ans plus tard, les vols de passagers ont cessé en raison notamment de l'absence d'un lien de transport collectif avec Montréal. Depuis, des terres agricoles ont changé de vocation pour accueillir des nouveaux lotissements résidentiels et des zones commerciales.

Les nombreuses devises utilisées par les municipalités suburbaines mettent l'accent sur le bien être que procure la proximité de la nature. Les atouts patrimoniaux de certaines villes sont également évoqués pour séduire les ménages à la quête d'un endroit où établir sa famille. Par exemple, les municipalités de L'Assomption et de Mont-Saint-Hilaire misent sur la culture, l'art et le patrimoine pour attirer les futurs habitants. Cela découle en partie du fait que plusieurs municipalités de la banlieue montréalaise ont été aménagées à partir d'un noyau historique établi au milieu du 19e siècle, voire avant dans certains cas (Collin et Poitras, 2002), d'où l'intérêt d'assurer la continuité et le respect de la tradition.

Les municipalités suburbaines canadiennes des régions métropolitaines de Toronto et Vancouver ont aussi recours au marketing territorial pour attirer les jeunes ménages. Ainsi dans le Grand Toronto, les villes de banlieue ayant connu une forte hausse démographique font la promotion des valeurs familiales. Par exemple, sur son site internet, la municipalité de Milton s'affiche comme un milieu sûr, sain et viable : « Milton is a blend of urban and rural, modern and historic, all set in the backdrop of the Niagara Escarpment » (Town of Milton, http://www.milton.ca/en/index.asp, consulté le 29 août 2017). Situées en périphérie de la région de Toronto, les municipalités de Bradford West Gwillimbury, de Mono et de Brampton s'affichent également comme des milieux propices au ressourcement et à la préservation des traditions familiales. Les loisirs et les activités de plein air sont au cœur du mode de vie qu'offre le territoire de la grande banlieue de la métropole canadienne. Dans la région métropolitaine de Vancouver, l'esprit du lieu et l'omniprésence des arts constituent des qualités que possèdent des villes de banlieue en croissance comme Langley et Port Moody.

Ce qui se dégage de l'examen du matériel promotionnel des municipalités est l'importance accordée à la vie familiale et aux activités de loisir. Les acteurs du développement suburbain contemporain misent donc sur des représentations relativement stéréotypées de la vie familiale. Par comparaison à la vague de suburbanisation déployée aux lendemains de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, c'est comme si celle-ci produisait à l'identique ce qu'elle était dans les années 1950-1970. En examinant de plus près l'architecture et l'aménagement des espaces suburbains de ces décen-

nies, on peut constater que l'originalité et la nouveauté était alors au cœur des préoccupations des concepteurs et de leurs clients.

3. L'environnement bâti suburbain moderne

Faire avancer la science

Aux lendemains de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, les activités de recherche et d'enseignement supérieur prennent une place accrue dans les villes canadiennes (Trépanier, 2012). En même temps que les villes croissent et s'étalent, un mouvement de délocalisation de certaines activités est à l'œuvre et favorise la concentration des activités de recherche et de développement. De vastes campus où sont appelés à collaborer des experts techniques et des scientifiques sont aménagés. On reprend en quelque sorte le modèle du campus universitaire qui offre aux personnes le fréquentant un environnement propice aux échanges intellectuels grâce à la quiétude et aux espaces de rencontre. À cet égard, on peut rappeler qu'en Amérique du Nord, les premières universités sont implantées à la périphérie des villes. Pensons à l'Université McGill qui est établie sur les flancs du mont Royal à Montréal dans les années 1820. Cette tradition se perpétue jusque dans les années 1960 alors que les premiers campus urbains sont aménagés dans plusieurs villes nord-américaines. Le cas de l'Université Laval dans la région de Québec est éloquent à cet égard. Fondé en 1663 par le premier évêque de Québec Mgr François de Montmorency-Laval, le séminaire de Québec instaure au milieu du 19e siècle l'Université Laval où sont enseignés le droit, la médecine et les arts (Leclerc, 2013, p. 43). Située initialement à l'intérieur des fortifications de Québec, cette institution d'enseignement supérieur est redéployée dans les années 1940 sur un nouveau campus dans la municipalité suburbaine de Sainte-Foy aujourd'hui intégrée à la ville de Québec. Au moment de la création du nouveau campus, l'accroissement du nombre d'étudiants, de même que l'étroitesse et la vétusté des bâtiments du séminaire sont des motifs évoqués pour justifier la relocalisation de l'établissement d'enseignement sur des lots agricoles et boisés (figure 2). Le choix du nouveau site permet d'aménager un campus verdoyant où sont graduellement érigés des pavillons de grande taille et conçus avec des matériaux modernes comme le béton. On confie à l'architecte Édouard Fiset (1910-1994) la planification d'un campus visant à briser l'opposition ville-campagne (Leclerc, 2013, p. 47). À partir des années 1940, plusieurs campus universitaires canadiens d'envergure sont ainsi déployés ou redéployés en périphérie des villes, parmi lesquels on compte York University (figure 3), University of British Columbia ou encore Trent University située en banlieue de la ville de Peterborough en Ontario.

Dans le cas de York, au moment de l'annonce du début des travaux d'aménagement et de construction du nouveau campus universitaire, des revues spécialisées en architecture soulignent l'aspect très novateur du concept architectural et du plan d'ensemble :

Figure 2 – Vue aérienne de la Cité universitaire de l'Université Laval à Sainte-Foy en banlieue de Québec en 1968. Source : Archives la Ville de Québec.

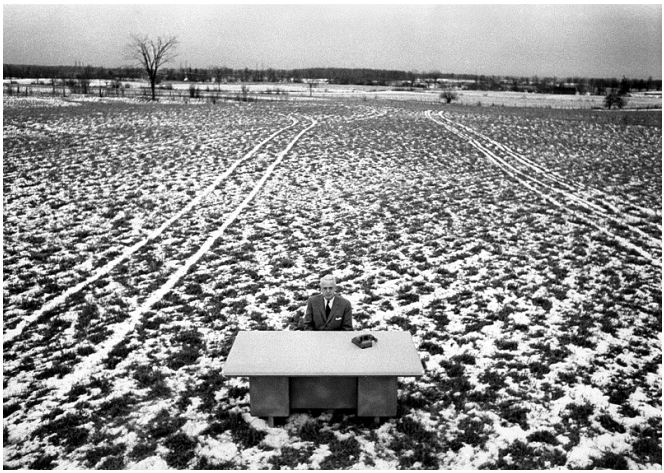

Figure 3 – Le président de York University Murray Ross assis à son pupitre installé sur des terres agricoles où l'établissement d'enseignement et de recherche est maintenant érigé. Source : York University Library, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collection, ASC01639.

«York est le premier grand complexe universitaire canadien qui ait été conçu en bloc et mis au point selon un plan d'ensemble. (…) Le nouveau 'Campus York', dont la maquette figure ci-dessous, englobera tous les aspects de la vie universitaire,

avec plus de 60 édifices disséminés sur une superficie de 475 arpents.» (*Architecture-bâtiment-construction*, juillet 1963, p. 8).

La banlieue nouvelle ou l'architecture moderne en banlieue

À la fois les villes centres et les municipalités de banlieue sont le théâtre de changements importants avec l'arrivée des nouveaux moyens de transport, de lieux de consommation que sont les centres commerciaux ou encore d'espace de diffusion de la culture (complexes des arts de la scène). L'aménagement de grands ensembles de logements sociaux et la construction de nombreuses tours d'habitation changent aussi le paysage urbain et suburbain. Alors que les ménages quittent la ville-centre à partir des années 1950, les propriétaires des commerces font aussi le choix de la décentralisation pour se rapprocher de leur clientèle. Dans les régions urbaines nord-américaines, des succursales des grands magasins sont implantées dans des petits centres commerciaux situés en périphérie de la ville-centre. Au Canada, des joueurs clés comme Morgan's (La Baie), Eaton's et Simpson's aménagent des succursales de plus petites dimensions dans les nouveaux centres commerciaux suburbains. L'enjeu du mode de transport pour accéder aux magasins est au cœur de cette décision qui est prise par l'ensemble des dirigeants des grands magasins en Amérique du Nord : dorénavant, les clients et les clientes peuvent faire leurs courses en utilisant la voiture (Dyer, 2002, p. 610).

Dans les régions urbaines canadiennes, plusieurs architectes ont conçu des bâtiments aux formes nouvelles. L'un des plus importants au Québec est Roger D'Astous (1926-1998). Après avoir obtenu son diplôme de l'École des beaux-arts de Montréal au début des années 1950, il poursuit sa formation dans l'atelier de Frank Lloyd Wright au Wisconsin et en Arizona (Bergeron, 2001). À son retour au Québec, D'Astous réalise pour plusieurs clients des églises et des résidences aux formes inédites. La plupart des bâtiments qu'il conçoit sont situés en banlieue de Montréal alors en plein essor. Par exemple, des clients lui commandent des vastes résidences situées dans la banlieue huppée de Laval-sur-le-Lac. *La maison de demain* qu'il conçoit pour les constructeurs d'habitation en 1961-1962 dans la municipalité de Boucherville en banlieue sud de Montréal (figure 4) sert de modèle à un nouvel environnement domestique où règnent la lumière naturelle et les aires ouvertes (Docomomo Québec, 2013). Dans les villes de banlieue situées dans l'île de Montréal, les représentants de l'Église catholique apprécient aussi les formes originales que dessinent D'Astous dans la municipalité de Cartierville (figure 5). En plus d'avoir conçu des maisons d'exception dans plusieurs municipalités de la grande région de Montréal, D'Astous est aussi sollicité pour dessiner des plans de résidences secondaires qui se démarquent radicalement du petit «chalet» (*cottage*) traditionnel québécois.

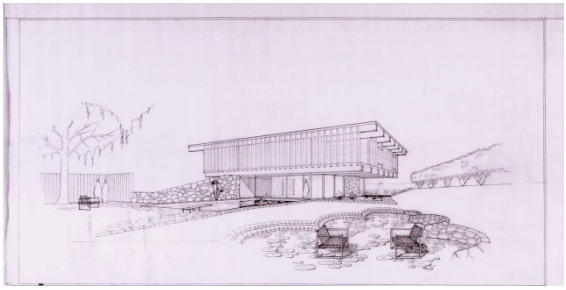

Figure 4 – Vue en perspective de la maison de demain, rue Jeanne-Petit, Boucherville, Québec, Roger D'Astous architecte, 1961. Source : Centre canadien d'architecture, numéro de référence ARCH160685.

Figure 5 – L'église Notre-Dame-du-Bel-Amour située dans l'ancienne ville de banlieue de Cartierville dans l'île de Montréal, Roger D'Astous architecte, 1955-1957. Photographie : Denise Caron, 2016

L'importance de la pratique religieuse au Québec qui se maintient jusqu'au début des années 1960 permet aussi aux architectes des lieux de culte de renouveler le langage architectural de ces derniers. D'Astous se démarque alors particulièrement par la conception d'églises, dont celle de Notre-Dame-des-Champs à Repentigny et de Saint-Maurice-de-Duvernay sur l'île Jésus qui est intégré à la nouvelle ville de Laval lors de sa création en 1965 à partir de la fusion des municipalités situées de l'île. Laval devient alors la deuxième plus grande ville du Québec avec près de 200 000 habitants. La reconfiguration de l'espace de la périphérie dû au boom résidentiel entraîne la disparition de nombreuses terres agricoles au profit de nouveaux secteurs résidentiels qui accueillent les ménages.

Guy Desbarats (1925-2003) est un architecte actif dans la région de Montréal ayant également contribué à renouveler le vocabulaire architectural de la banlieue et en particulier des lieux de culte. Au milieu des années 1960, il conçoit notamment l'église de Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin dans la municipalité suburbaine de Saint-Lambert (figure 5) (Dufour, 2004). Située sur la rive sud de Montréal, cette banlieue aisée est reconnue pour la qualité de son environnement bâti ponctué de résidences conçues par de nombreux architectes alors en vogue (Collin et Poitras, 2002).

Figure 6 – L'église Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin construite en 1965-1967 dans la municipalité de Saint-Lambert sur la rive sud de Montréal, Guy Desbarats architecte. Source : Inventaire du patrimoine religieux

Figure 7 – Hôtel de ville de Laval (auparavant hôtel de ville de Chomedey), architecte Guy Desbarats, 1961-1965. Source : Ville de Laval

Durant la même période, on confie à Desbarats et à ses associés les plans de l'hôtel de ville de Chomedey, une municipalité intégrée quelques années plus tard à la nouvelle ville de Laval (figure 6). Dans la grande région de Montréal, Desbarats dessine aussi des plans de maisons aux formes épurées construites dans des banlieues cossues comme Outremont et Westmount.

En Ontario, le développement de villes comme Mississauga et Scarborough en banlieue de Toronto à partir des années 1940 donne lieu à des aménagements novateurs conduisant à transformer la physionomie et les fonctions des espaces suburbains. Alors que certains quartiers centraux des grandes villes faisaient l'objet de programmes de rénovation urbaine – pensons à Regent Park à Toronto ou aux Habitations Jeanne-Mance à Montréal – la périphérie connait aussi des transformations majeures sur le plan des formes urbanistiques et architecturales. La présence de résidences modernes en banlieue des grandes villes canadiennes est particulièrement marquante.

Comme le souligne l'historien Richard White (2016), les villes de banlieue au Canada sont des espaces planifiés qui incarnent des principes urbanistiques ayant été mis de l'avant à partir des années 1940. C'est dire que les élus et les gestionnaires des municipalités suivaient alors les orientations d'aménagement formulées par les urbanistes. Ainsi, dans la région du Grand Toronto, l'idée de disperser certaines activités dont celles de la production industrielle a été prévue dès les années 1940 pour créer un équilibre dans la répartition des activités urbaines. À cet égard, White (2016) a bien fait ressortir le rôle joué par les professionnels de l'aménagement – urbanistes et architectes – dans le Grand Toronto. L'enjeu de la circulation automobile est particulièrement abordé par les planificateurs et les experts techniques afin d'assurer l'efficacité du système routier et autoroutier (White, 2016, p. 33). La circulation automobile est aussi prise en considération dans les nouveaux secteurs suburbains aux rues curvilignes. À cet égard, la ville de Don Mills fondée en 1952 – devenue aujourd'hui un quartier de Toronto – représente le stéréotype de la banlieue planifiée. De nombreuses entreprises dans le domaine biopharmaceutique et celui de l'informatique dont la société IBM s'y sont installées. Don Mills Garden City est donc considérée comme la première banlieue planifiée de la région de Toronto. Érigée à partir de 1953, elle comprenait au moment de son établissement un nombre substantiel d'immeubles de bureaux hébergeant notamment des sièges sociaux.

Christopher Armstrong (2014) s'est également intéressé à l'histoire de la modernité architecturale du Grand Toronto depuis la fin du 19e siècle. Il fait remarquer que la plupart des concepteurs qui ont laissé leur marque dans le paysage de la ville provenaient de différents pays. Ceux-ci ont pour ainsi dire amené leur bagage intellectuel et leurs talents au Canada (Armstrong, 2014, p. 5). Le nouveau secteur résidentiel planifié dénommé Thorncrest Village situé dans la municipalité d'Etobicoke en banlieue de Toronto en est un exemple (Vitale, 2011). Son concepteur est l'architecte et urbaniste d'origine hongroise Eugene Faludi (1897-1981). Intervenant dans un espace utilisé à des fins d'agriculture, Faludi propose un précepte d'aménagement où l'automobile constitue le principal moyen de transport (Armstrong, 2014, p. 150).

Une autre contribution d'un professionnel réputé de l'architecture et de l'aménagement est celle de Mies Van Der Rohe à l'île des Sœurs dans la région de

Montréal. Située dans le fleuve Saint-Laurent, cette île connaît un développement important avec l'inauguration du pont Champlain en 1963 qui la relie à Montréal. Un promoteur de Chicago initie alors un projet de développement résidentiel et sollicite Mies Van Der Rohe pour dessiner les plans des immeubles à haute densité et ceux d'une petite station-service. L'architecte allemand laisse aussi sa marque distinctive et prestigieuse dans la banlieue aisée de Westmount en participant à la conception de deux tours en verre et en acier inaugurées en 1966. Cet apport de concepteurs de diverses origines culturelles a été certes marginal en termes quantitatifs mais il a marqué d'une manière originale l'environnement bâti des régions métropolitaines canadiennes.

Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, la croissance démographique dans les grandes régions urbaines canadiennes est plus forte en banlieue que dans les villes-centres. Les acteurs du développement urbain/surburbain doivent donc planifier l'aménagement de secteurs résidentiels pour accueillir les nouveaux ménages. On prévoit aussi offrir aux travailleurs des lieux d'emploi accessibles par des moyens de transport (Armstrong, 2014, p. 173). Au Québec, les architectes sont particulièrement sollicités pour concevoir des lieux de culte. Au milieu des années 1960, l'Église catholique est très en demande en raison de la croissance démographique due au baby boom et à la modernisation des rites que suscite Vatican 2. Visant à rajeunir les rites, ces changements mènent à l'abandon du modèle traditionnel du plan en croix latine.

Dans les régions urbaines nord-américaines, plusieurs autres exemples d'activités de recherche et développement situées en banlieue abondent. À cet égard, l'informatique qui se déploie dans les années 1970 nécessite des aménagements spécifiques. Les dirigeants des entreprises ne choisissent pas alors nécessairement les grandes villes pour y implanter leurs activités. Aménagé dans la municipalité de Warren en banlieue de Detroit dans les années 1950, le General Motors Technical Center – mentionné plus haut dans ce texte – marque un point tournant dans l'histoire de l'aménagement des grandes entreprises en milieu suburbain (Friedman, 2010). Les représentations de ce vaste parc scientifique où sont imaginés les véhicules automobiles de demain font le tour du monde. D'ailleurs, le document de présentation du nouveau complexe de fabrication des automobiles s'intitule *When Today Meets Tomorrow* (GM Heritage Center). Conçu par l'architecte et designer d'origine islandaise Eero Saarinen (1910-1961), le GM Technical Center inaugure un modèle de parc industriel défini notamment par le prestige (Friedman, 2010).

Les produits et les biens de consommation fabriqués en banlieue sont résolument modernes. Par exemple, au milieu des années 1950, l'Office national du film du Canada nouvellement créé est implanté dans la ville de Saint-Laurent en banlieue ouest de l'île de Montréal. Les images du site montrent alors que le secteur est très faiblement peuplé. Dans les années 1970, le développement du secteur de l'informatique contribue aussi l'essor de municipalités situées en périphérie des grands centres urbains. La société IBM implantée à Toronto depuis les années 1910 choisit d'installer son nou-

veau siège social à Don Mills en banlieue de la métropole canadienne. L'entreprise d'informatique implante aussi une usine de fabrication de microprocesseurs dans la petite municipalité de Bromont nouvellement créée et située des Cantons-de-l'Est à une heure de route de Montréal. Inauguré en 1972, l'usine d'IBM devient rapidement l'un des plus gros employeurs de la région qui est facilement accessible grâce à un réseau autoroutier la reliant notamment aux États-Unis.

Pour conclure. La banlieue cherche-t-elle encore à se renouveler ?

Dans ce texte, nous avons voulu démonter l'apport culturel de l'environnement bâti de la banlieue canadienne. Au cours des dernières années, des chercheurs et des praticiens de l'aménagement ont cherché à réhabiliter les espaces suburbains et leur environnement bâti. Ainsi, de nouveaux courants en aménagement urbain et suburbain ont été élaborés afin de répondre aux dynamiques économiques et socioculturelles des régions urbaines contemporaines. Par exemple, l'aménagement de villes-lisières (*edge cities*) (Garreau, 1992) a favorisé la constitution de pôles secondaires à proximité des grands axes de transport et où sont concentrées des fonctions urbaines (sièges sociaux et bureaux, commerces, services à la personne) qui étaient autrefois regroupées au centre-ville. L'urbanisme néo-traditionnel (ou le *New urbanism*) a également concouru à redéfinir la forme et la vocation des espaces suburbains en encourageant la mixité des fonctions urbaines et la marchabilité des environnements urbains (Grant et Bohdanow, 2008). Cela dit, le vocabulaire architectural moderne demeure somme toute assez marginal dans l'environnement suburbain des régions métropolitaines canadiennes (Armstrong, 2014, p. 349). L'intérêt renouvelé pour le patrimoine moderne n'est pas étranger à la considération que suscite l'espace suburbain. De plus, un nombre accru de villes et de communautés de la banlieue s'affiche comme des milieux complets et autonomes par rapport à la ville-centre. Il reste à voir si au cours des prochaines décennies les acteurs du développement suburbain (urbanistes, architectes, promoteurs, élus locaux) pourront contribuer à l'élaboration d'un cadre bâti aussi novateur que celui aménagé au cours des années 1960 et 1970.

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Richard White

Toronto's Inner Suburbs Through the Lens of Planning History[1]

Abstract

This article is a study of the planning ideas that shaped the city of Toronto's 'inner suburbs', a large area of suburban fabric built in the first generation after the Second World War that houses nearly two million residents, some two-thirds of the city's current population. Planning was well established in Toronto at that time, and these suburbs were fully planned, at both a metropolitan and neighbourhood level. Much of this area has undergone a slow decline since the 1970s. The privately owned housing has not received the sort of capital upgrades that housing in the older inner city has and is becoming run-down, and the average income of residents has fallen. The article explores possible connections between this socio-economic decline and their planning.

Résumé

L'article se propose d'étudier les idées d'aménagement selon lesquelles a été conçue « la banlieue intérieure » de Toronto. En fait, il s'agit d'une grande zone de bâtiments suburbains de la première génération de l'après Seconde Guerre mondiale, où habitent presque deux millions de personnes, c'est-à-dire environ deux tiers de l'actuelle population de la ville. L'aménagement de l'espace urbain étant bien établi dans le Toronto de l'époque, ces zones suburbaines ont été entièrement planifiées, à la fois sur le plan métropolitain et celui des quartiers respectifs. Depuis les années 1970, une grande partie de cette « banlieue intérieure » subit un lent déclin. Contrairement aux immeubles plus anciens du centre-ville, les habitations privées de la « banlieue intérieure » n'ont pas été modernisées et sont désormais marquées par une dégradation continue, la moyenne des revenus des résidents ayant baissé. L'article examine les possibles relations de cause à effet entre le déclin et les plans d'aménagement de la « banlieue intérieure ».

1 Acknowledgements: This paper is an expanded version of a keynote address presented to the 2017 conference of the GKS. The author would like to thank the conference organizers for inviting him and the conference participants for their thoughtful questions and comments. Thanks also to the three accomplished Canadian colleagues – Larry Bourne, Richard Harris, and Pierre Filion – who read and commented on the first draft of this written paper, to the anonymous reader from the journal who did the same, and to David Hulchanski and Richard Maarinen of the Neighbourhood Change research project at the University of Toronto for providing up-to-date data and image files for use in this paper.

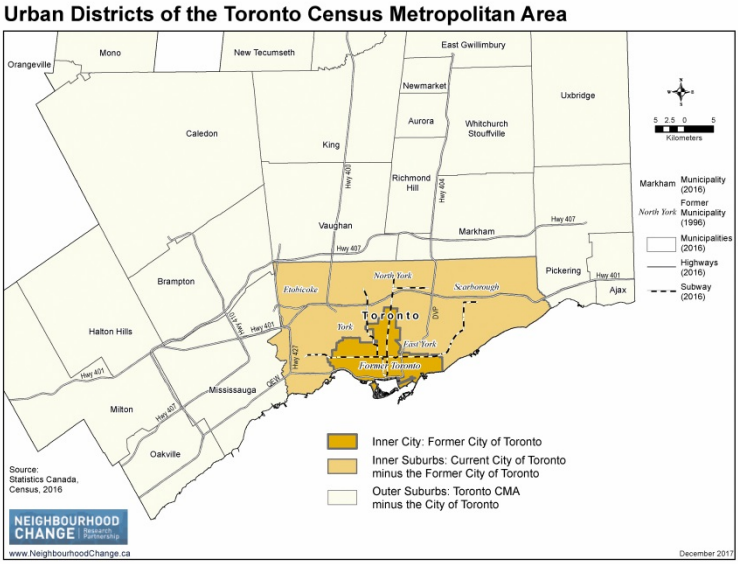

Fig 1 (courtesy of Neighbourhood Change)

Notwithstanding the wheat fields and canoes still found in much of its national imagery, Canada is a predominantly urban nation and has long been recognized as such by anyone who gives the matter even a modicum of thought. Indeed, the census of Canada classifies over 80% of the country's population as urban. But the census also reveals another perhaps less widely considered fact – a large proportion of that 80%, probably at least half, resides in suburbs not cities. Distinguishing between city and suburb is no straightforward task, so exact proportions are elusive, but 'at least half' seems a reasonable estimate (Turcotte, 2008; Canada, 2001). In Canada overall 48% of the population of metropolitan areas lives in neighbourhoods classed as low-density, a good proxy for suburbs. The City of Toronto, Canada's most populous city, is nearly on that average, at 47%; Montreal is lower (34%) and Calgary higher (67%). Looked at another way, 52% of Canada's metropolitan population lives over 10 kms from a city centre; Toronto's proportion, with its extensive suburban hinterland, is far higher at 76%. That is to say understanding Canadian cities requires some understanding of Canadian suburbs.

This essay offers a contribution to this by exploring the planning ideas that shaped Toronto's "inner suburbs", a suburban area built between about 1950 and 1970 that is now generally considered a distinct, identifiable part of Toronto. (Fig 1)

It is premised not on the idea that these suburbs are typical, or representative of Canadian suburbs generally – although there is evidence of their planning principles being applied in western Canada (Taylor 2010) – but primarily on the belief that as home to nearly two million people in Canada's largest city these suburbs are, at the very least, a significant part of Canadian urban life. Interestingly, however, they are not part of the city's popular image, even the city's own cognoscenti paid them little attention until recently, and the famous urbanist Jane Jacobs, despite spending nearly forty years in Toronto, paid them no heed whatsoever. Yet they are a fascinating urban form: no longer new but not yet old, peripheral at one time but now woven into an extensive urban carpet, and seemingly based more on the older urban function of production than the newer one of consumption. Moreover by virtue of their extent and substantial population they are diverse in built form, economic activity, and ethnic make-up, and as such bear almost no resemblance to the archetypical white, middle-class North American 'suburb' – providing further evidence, if it is needed, of the uselessness of that worn out archetype (Relph, 2014, Chapter 5; Fishman, 1988). How and why they came to have the form they have might be considered significant on its own.

But in recent years they have begun receiving attention for other reasons. Lacking the charm and cachet of the pre-automobile inner city, the larger houses of later suburbs, and the low prices of the distant urban fringe, the inner suburbs are rarely found on lists of where to live in Toronto. In fact the lists they often do appear on are of the city's disadvantaged, underserviced districts. Some years ago the academic housing analyst David Hulchanski, after a careful analysis of census data, confirmed that Toronto's inner suburbs, largely middle-class in their first generation, had evolved in the last forty-some years into predominantly low-income areas (Hulchanski 2010). This finding raised considerable alarm. It prompted the City of Toronto to consider new investments and social programs for certain inner-suburb neighbourhoods, and served as the take-off point for a comprehensive new program of research by Hulchanski and several academic colleagues (Neighbourhood Change; Parlette 2012; Cowen/Parlette 2011).[2] Before long the picture of the inner suburbs as sites of disadvantage had become firmly entrenched in the local discourse; a widely-read commercial magazine described them as "spiralling into poverty", and noted that certain inner-suburb neighbourhood names now evoke images of "crumbling postwar apartment blocks, underfunded schools or gang warfare" (Fulford 2015; Burale 2015).[3]

2 The City first designated a group of "priority investment neighbourhoods" and, later, a slightly different group of "neighbourhood improvement areas"; details of both are publicly accessible on the City of Toronto website.

3 Fulford's piece introduced a series of residents' profiles entitled "Toronto is Failing Me"; this characterization was immediately challenged by one of the profiled residents, as reported in Burale's blog post.

Heartening as it is to see good empirical research shaping both public discourse and new social programs, this now widely-accepted picture does have some missing pieces. One is what caused it all. Analysts generally connect it to the social polarization brought about by the ascendancy of neo-liberalism, which may be so, but the mechanism by which neo-liberal policies actually caused incomes to decline in these suburbs is not usually identified (Parlette 2012, is an exception).[4] Moreover, declining incomes in specific areas is not quite the same thing as growing overall income disparity; low income people might simply be remaining in or migrating to certain neighbourhoods, for any number of reasons, thus 'lowering' aggregate neighbourhood incomes. The matter warrants further investigation. Another missing piece is historical perspective. The data used in Hulchanski's study go back to 1970 – this is fundamental to the findings – but since most of the inner suburbs were built before 1970 the picture might benefit from a longer timeline that includes their genesis.

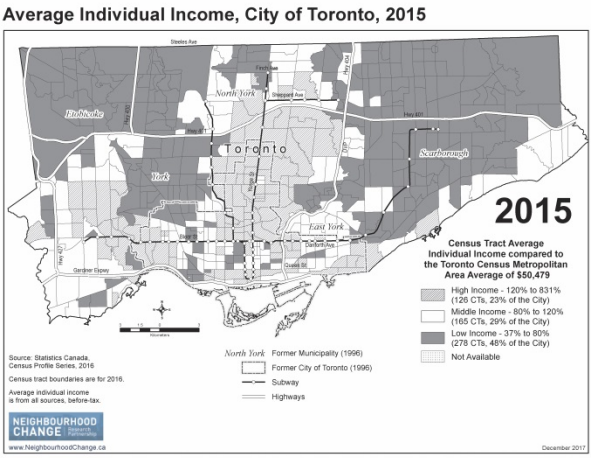

Fig 2: Map from Hulchanski, *The Three Cities*, identifying the affluent inner city (light grey), the shrinking middle-class suburban areas (white), and the lower-income inner suburbs (dark grey). (courtesy of Neighbourhood Change)

The current study makes no effort to challenge the observation that average incomes in nearly all of Toronto's inner-suburb census tracts are now lower than the average income for the metropolitan area overall (Fig 2) (Hulchanski 2010, Map 3). In fact it has been carried out with this social reality in mind. It simply explores to

4 Parlette's dissertation, to this liberal-empirical historian, seems overly-influenced by non-Toronto research and rather tendentious in its analysis.

what extent the planning and building of these suburbs, all of which occurred before 1970, might have contributed to that reality. Nor does it challenge the widely accepted notion that neo-liberalism is causing greater social inequality – although it does, admittedly, start from the premise that we do not fully understand the link between advancing neo-liberalism and declining incomes in Toronto's inner suburbs, and that other factors are worth considering. It seeks, all told, to add to our understanding rather than to refute observations and explanations put forward by others.

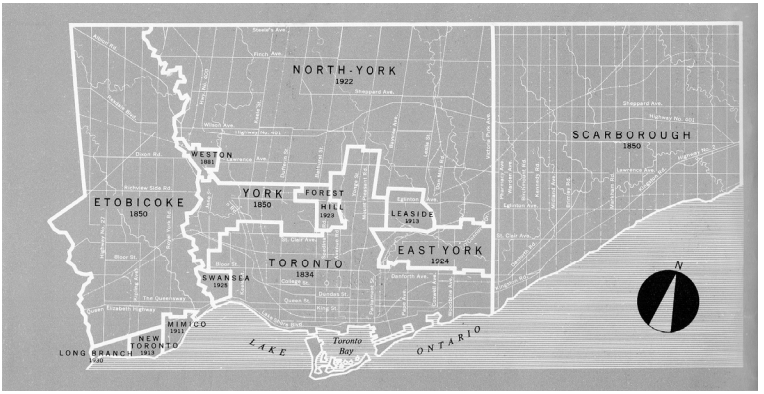

Fig 3: The thirteen municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto, as created by the Government of Ontario, effective 1 January 1954, showing their original incorporation dates. (White, *Planning Toronto*, Fig. 2.3)

Toronto's inner suburbs are examined here through the lens of planning history. They make a fascinating case study for the planning historian: their creation was guided by a set of planning principles, some common at the time and some not, explicitly laid out in major planning reports, and their original form has been so minimally disturbed by renovation and rebuilding that these principles are clearly evident in the landscape today. Identifying and explaining these planning ideas, and showing them having been applied, makes up the main part of this essay. But planning history can contribute to the bigger picture too, and with concerns over the state of Toronto's inner suburbs so prevalent, locally at least, it seemed appropriate, and desirable, to move on to consider any possible connection between the planning and the declining incomes of these areas. The paper thus concludes with some speculative analysis of this matter.

Creating the Inner Suburbs

The part of Toronto now considered the inner suburbs was built in a single generation from about 1950 to 1970. Toronto and its environs had changed very little in

the generation prior to that, urban growth having been curtailed first by the Depression and then by the war (Lemon 1985). The city boundary had been static even longer. Although Toronto had grown rapidly in the 1920s, spilling over its municipal boundary, city council had refused to annex any new territory, largely for reasons of fiscal prudence, so the boundary stayed put and this peripheral growth, forced to remain outside the city, organized itself into separate small municipalities. When the postwar boom began taking hold in the late 1940s, and urbanization of the hinterland picked up, Toronto was surrounded by several small municipalities that, although functionally part of the city, were politically and administratively independent. There was no formal body to control or even co-ordinate the growing urban region – not an efficient or a desirable arrangement.

The solution was Metropolitan Toronto, a federated municipality created by the Province of Ontario in 1954 by partially amalgamating Toronto with its surrounding municipalities (Rose 1972; Frisken 2007). It was only partial in the sense that the thirteen municipalities affected, including Toronto itself, all continued to exist even though they were joined together into a new over-arching metropolitan municipality. (Fig 3) Municipal responsibilities were divided between the two levels of government – some were assigned to one of the two levels and others were shared between the two – according to a scheme set out in the provincial Metropolitan Toronto Act (Ontario 1953).

Metropolitan Toronto included not just the built-up towns and villages outside Toronto's municipal boundary but also three adjacent rural townships in which future large-scale urbanization was expected. The expectation was fulfilled. In the first decade of Metropolitan Toronto's existence, 71K new single-family homes were built in these until-then rural areas, and in the twenty years from 1951 to 1971 their population increased from 50K to 500K (MTPB 1970; MTPB 1963a). This rapid development, which astounded and unsettled many who witnessed it, created Toronto's inner suburbs.[5]

Planning the Inner Suburbs

Planning was one of the responsibilities the two levels of municipal government shared. Metropolitan Toronto planners would plan metropolitan-wide infrastructure and services, and broad-brush land use, while municipal planners would plan local roads and services and site-specific land use. This dual responsibility worked well for the city of Toronto, which already had a planning department, but less well for the smaller municipalities that lacked, and were not always inclined to establish, planning operations. Provincial law required all municipalities to appoint planning

5 The amalgamation begun in 1954 was completed in 1998 when the federated municipality of Metropolitan Toronto became the unitary City of Toronto, fully dissolving the individual municipalities that had been retained in 1954.

boards and begin developing official plans, but not all did, and even when they did their boards were not always effective.

The new metropolitan city, however, took its planning responsibility seriously (White 2016, Chapter 2). Soon after Metro, as it was called, was formed it hired several professional planners who then engaged staff to develop an official plan. It took several years, but in 1959 the planners completed a draft metropolitan plan and presented it to council for approval (MTPB 1959). This plan was not and in fact never would be approved, for various reasons, yet it might as well have been because its planning principles served as an unofficial guide for the urbanization of the metropolitan area, especially for the inner suburbs considered here.

The first, and most fundamental, planning principle was that there would be no 'satellite towns' – meaning new, master-planned towns built from scratch on rural land well away from the existing city. Satellite towns (also called New Towns) were the planning orthodoxy of the postwar years, but Metropolitan Toronto would not have them; it would grow simply by expanding its existing urban area. Growth would not be uncontrolled. Urbanization would be permitted only on land designated for that purpose, and the designated urban area would be expanded only as needed. But unlike, say, postwar London, England, growth of which was scattered around the city's hinterland in designated New Towns, Metropolitan Toronto would have what was often called a 'contiguous' urban area. The big city would just grow bigger (Fig 4).

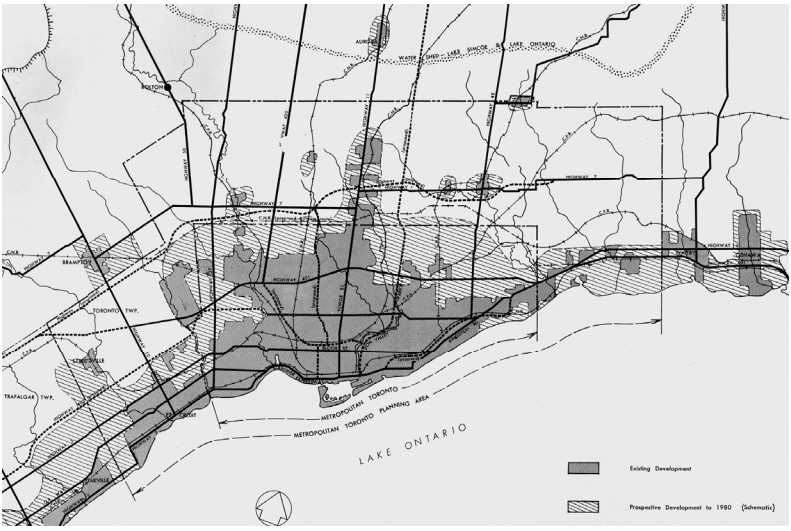

Fig 4: The Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board's proposed form for the urban region – existing urban area in solid grey and projected future urban area, all of it attached to existing urban land, in diagonal hatching. (White, *Planning Toronto*, Fig. 1.23)

There are two reasons for this unusual policy. One is Hans Blumenfeld, an aging (b. 1892) but still vital German-trained architect/planner who, after a long, varied international career, found himself working for the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board in 1955 as one of its senior planners. Some years earlier Blumenfeld, while working in the United States, had concluded from his extensive experience that new towns were not an effective way to accommodate urban expansion. Appealing as they were to those seeking to avoid the problems of big-city congestion, they simply did not work; "growth by accretion will remain the rule, and growth by procreation the exception" (Blumenfeld 1967, 38) he asserted in a 1948 article. Blumenfeld brought this idea with him to Toronto, and apparently without much opposition made it a guiding principle of the metropolitan plan.

The second reason for avoiding satellite towns is that urban development would have what the planners called "lake-based" piped services, an important planning principle of its own. Municipal water would be drawn from Lake Ontario, treated at a lakefront treatment plant, and piped out to all corners of the urban area; neither groundwater (from wells) nor surface water (from rivers and streams) would be used for municipal supply, and the old public systems that did were to be shut down. Similarly, all water-borne sewage produced in the metropolitan area would be collected in local sewers and piped down, untreated, to large lakefront plants where it would be treated and dispersed far out in the lake; neither septic tanks nor local sewage plants would be acceptable for servicing new urban development (contrast with Rome 2001). A closed system such as this, with lake water piped out from the lake and suburban sewage piped back, made distant satellite towns illogical. The foundation of this policy, one might note, was the provincial public health authority which had concluded, after studying the region in the late 1940s, that large scale urban development that used only local treatment plants, or septic tanks, for sewage treatment would debase the local groundwater so badly that it would threaten public health (White 2016, 60-61; Gore/Storrie 1949).

A corollary of these two principles – that development must be confined to a contiguous urban area and permitted only when lake-based piped services are in place – is that in a rapidly growing area in which private enterprise is building all the housing, which Metropolitan Toronto was, public authorities have an obligation to install those piped services as quickly as possible. And they did. The metropolitan government could not build the entire new system in an instant, but it strove to do so as rapidly as its finances and management capacity allowed.

Another important metropolitan planning principle was that residential densities should be kept relatively high throughout the metropolitan area, an idea that complemented their policy of setting and holding a strict urban boundary. It applied to both the inner city, where, with some minor exceptions, existing densities would be maintained – the planners neither envisioned nor desired a de-populated inner city – and to the newly urbanizing suburban areas, where development would be at

densities higher than typical North American suburbs. The latter meant new suburbs would include townhouses and apartment buildings along with conventional suburban homes. Density was deemed desirable not only because it would make services and businesses viable, but also because, since high-density rental housing generally attracts lower income people, it would promote social mixing, which the planners wanted (White 2016, 127-31; Comay 1983). It is important to note, however, that this multi-unit housing would be created by private developers, not by government; the metropolitan plan encouraged its creation, but neither the planners nor any other public agency would build it (Ontario Housing Corporation, 1984).[6]

In the realm of transportation, Metropolitan Toronto planners called for a "balanced" system, meaning a balance between public (i.e. transit) and private (i.e. cars/roads) modes of travel, but also, for the latter, a balance between expressways and 'arterial' roads – six-lane roads, with minimal residential or commercial development along them, intended to carry heavy traffic, but built on-grade (neither sunken nor raised) and thus with traffic lights at major intersections. Two east-west expressways were planned for the eastern half of the metropolitan city: a major inter-city expressway, then being built across the metropolitan area by the Province of Ontario, and an eastward extension of the lakeshore expressway that had been completed from the west only as far as the downtown. Arterial roads were considered sufficient for the newly-built suburban areas, reflecting the planners' wish to provide mobility for cars, trucks, and public-transit buses without the disruption and expense of expressways. The priority given to public transit might seem surprising for a postwar North American city, but the city of Toronto's existing transit system was being heavily used, and the commission operating it was committed to expanding services across the entire metropolitan area.

One less widely recognized but important planning principle was that substantial land should be designated for industry along railway corridors and major highways throughout new suburban areas. There were two reasons for this. One is that it would provide the local municipalities with a plentiful property tax base. Property tax revenue was shared among the municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto to a degree, but having a good local tax-base was still advantageous. The other more planning-related reason is that it would reduce the need for employees to travel long distances to work and thus lessen the demand for roads and buses.

One final metropolitan planning principle was to use the river valleys, called "ravines" locally, as public parkland; they would be left in a fairly natural state, with minimal landscaping and construction, but they would be made publicly accessible by roads and public transit. This too was a rather novel idea. North American urban parks in the early postwar years tended to be more for recreation and active games, with playing fields and open-air performance venues, than for nature (Cranz 1982,

6 Some public housing was also built in the suburbs in these years, and some privately-built, multi-unit, suburban housing was later purchased by public housing authorities.

103-26), but the metropolitan planners fixed on the idea of leaving them largely undeveloped, fully aware, it might be said, of the expense they were avoiding.

Metropolitan planning prescribed broad-brush land use, not detailed land use for individual parcels of land. This finer level of detail was the domain of local municipal planners. But with planning not yet well developed in the local municipalities, especially in the three large municipalities of Etobicoke, North York, and Scarborough that, as rural townships, had had little need to plan, they were in no position to undertake detailed land-use planning. Scarborough, although resistant at first, did engage a permanent Planning Commissioner soon after Metropolitan Toronto was formed, and developed an Official Plan – though its impact is hard to determine. So the main force that shaped the internal design of the inner suburbs was not local municipal planners, or any public authority, but the private development firms that built the suburbs and the planning consultants they hired. For the most part, these firms would assemble tracts of farmland in areas designated for development, engage planners to lay out the streets and lots and engineers to devise the neighbourhood infrastructure, seek and usually obtain approvals for their scheme from government authorities, and then either build houses themselves or, more commonly, sell off lots to smaller-scale builders who would build and sell the housing (White 2016, 91-113).

The chief guiding principle for the consultants planning these suburbs was the "neighbourhood unit", a concept devised by the American social planner Clarence Perry for the 1929 Regional Plan of New York that by the 1950s had been internationally adopted (Perry 1929; Whittick 1974, 714-16; Silver 1985). Perry believed that a new urban area should foster a sense of community among its residents and that this could best be achieved by emulating traditional neighbourhoods: a population of about 6,000, a public school at the centre alongside other community buildings and open space, a mix of housing types and sizes (including rental apartments), and commercial shops and services that, following the planning principle of separating land uses, were to be on the periphery of the neighbourhood outside the residential areas. Mostly in the interests of safety, Perry also favoured keeping through traffic outside the neighbourhood on wide, large-capacity roadways and having streets inside the neighbourhood, apart from one or two access roads, only for local traffic.

By the time Toronto's postwar inner suburbs were being designed, Perry's concept had been enhanced by several additional design novelties, most of them rooted in the celebrated layout of Radburn, New Jersey, which was conceived about the same time as Perry's neighbourhood unit, and the even better known American greenbelt towns devised under Roosevelt's New Deal administration in the 1930s (Hall 2002, 132-36; Ward 2002, 117-19). Chief among these were curving residential streets – now such a common marker of suburbia – that looped back to where they began so as to be of no use for anything but local traffic, and public walkways behind and between private yards to facilitate access to public spaces. Both these design elements were intended to keep pedestrians safe from motor vehicles.

Evidence in the Landscape

Such are the planning ideas, metropolitan and local, that shaped Toronto's inner suburbs. They were widely applied, and are literally everywhere in Toronto's inner suburban landscape. For this study, eleven suburban neighbourhoods were examined, at various levels of detail, across the eastern half of the city, most of them in what is still called Scarborough despite that municipality having been dissolved into the single City of Toronto in 1998. They offer plentiful evidence (City of Toronto, Neighbourhood Profiles).[7] (Fig 5)

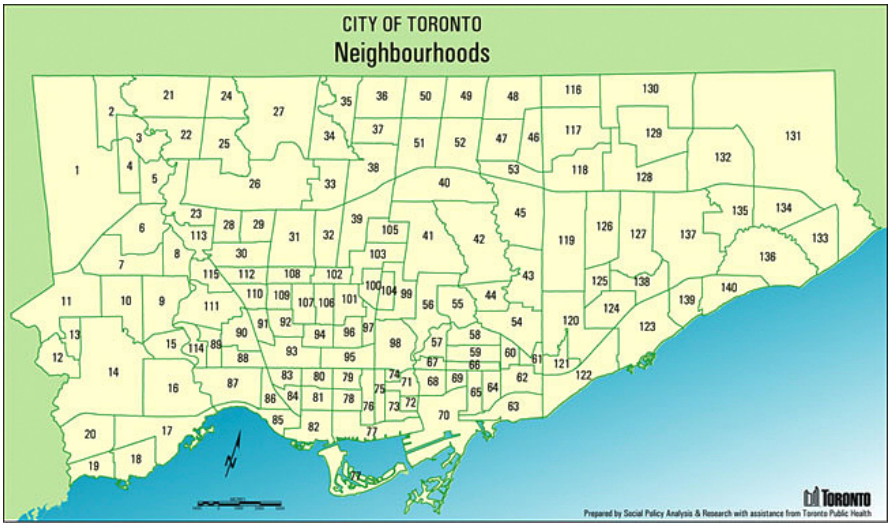

Fig 5: Neighbourhoods observed for this study: Clairlea (120), Oakridge (121), Victoria Village (43), Woburn (137), Knob Hill (part of 127), Midland Park (part of 126), Bridlewood (part of 117), Steeles (116), Milliken (130), Ionview (125), Kennedy Park (124) (City of Toronto, Neighbourhood Profiles)

First, just by looking at a map one can discern several of the metropolitan planning ideas (Fig 6). The principle of lake-based piped services is, of course, not apparent since evidence of it is buried underground; nor, in a sense, can one see the absence of satellite towns insofar as the absence of anything is usually hard to see. But the principle of contiguous urban development that followed from those two is certainly evident in the urbanized areas having no open spaces between them; one neighbourhood runs immediately up against the next. What divides the neighbourhoods are the arterial roads, another key element of the metropolitan plan. Natural

7 Neighbourhood names and boundaries are not official, and often vary. Mostly for convenience, fieldwork was done largely in Scarborough, an early adopter of planning; these metropolitan planning principles might not have been as widely applied in other parts of Metropolitan Toronto.

ravine parks, running alongside or in some cases through the residential neighbourhoods, are visible, as are the smaller, man-made parks amid the residential neighbourhoods. The style of street layout shows as well: looping residential streets and longer, curving streets to convey cars and buses into and through the neighbourhood.

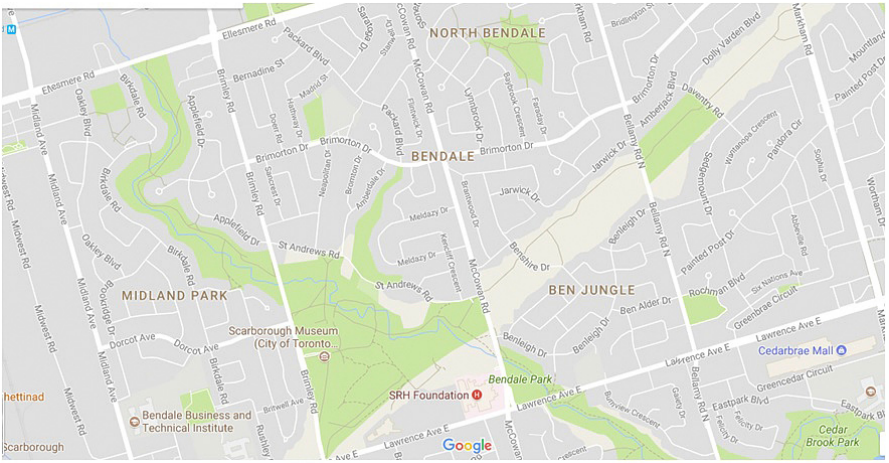

Fig 6: Google map of central Scarborough

Fig 7: Young girls' after-school slow-pitch softball game, schoolyard/park in central core of Milliken neighbourhood, McCowan Road south of Steeles Avenue. (Photo by author)

Fig 8: Small local shopping strip, barely holding on, Victoria Park Avenue, north of Eglinton Avenue, Victoria Village neighbourhood. (Photo by author)

Driving and walking about reveals much more. Residential areas are clearly separate from the arterial roads bordering the neighbourhoods; one senses the roads, especially their noise, but few vehicles enter. Neighbourhoods are islands of residential land use, as they were supposed to be, free not only of vehicles but also of

commercial activities of any sort. One sees plenty of multi-family housing. Every one of the neighbourhoods examined has some, usually townhouses and high-rise apartment buildings; whole complexes of the former were usually part of the original neighbourhood design, while one or two of the latter were generally built a few years later along the peripheral arterial roads on land designated for this purpose. Every neighbourhood has a public school, or two if it is large, usually backing onto or somehow connected to public parkland, as Perry's concept prescribed. Churches are also common, especially in the older, pre-1960, neighbourhoods. (The changing role of Christian churches in suburban neighbourhoods, reflecting both the sudden decline in religious observance among the established middle classes and the influx of non-European Christian sects, warrants its own study.)

The neighbourhoods are well endowed with public open space. Many have stretches of ravine parkland along their borders, usually with multiple pedestrian access points. All have fully-developed neighbourhood parks with a playground and often a playing field (Fig 7), and these parks also have several access points. Some neighbourhoods have public walkways between properties providing pedestrian access to various places and services; not all are well located, but their placement might have made more sense when the neighbourhood was initially built.

The neighbourhoods also, invariably, have commercial strips or malls along their edges, again consistent, basically, with the neighbourhood unit concept though most have evolved and do not function quite as the planning concept envisioned. Small shopping strips now seem to serve a drive-in rather than a walk-in clientele, although they do often include ethnic restaurants and grocery stores that may have local patronage (Fig 8); some of these strips have failed, however, and their land is now slated for residential development – demand for housing being, apparently, greater than demand for local shopping. Most larger shopping malls have survived, but clearly, considering the size of their parking lots, they have not done so by serving a local clientele.

Finally one cannot help but notice the proximity of industrial plants, again as planned. Toronto has experienced some de-industrialization in recent decades, and as a result some of these industrial sites, and even some of the industrial buildings themselves, are being used for commercial storage, exercise gyms, religious institutions, and large-scale retail rather than for industry. As well, some areas have been cleared of industrial buildings and used instead for what is termed 'brownfield' residential development, although proximity to roads and railway lines limits this somewhat. Many industrial buildings and sites, however, still remain industrial.

The Legacy of Planning

There can be no doubt that Toronto's inner suburbs were planned. Virtually every land use, every street, and every amenity is where it is because a plan prescribed it thus, something possible only when urban development occurs *de novo*, as was the case here. Not all the *buildings* in the inner suburbs were planned to be as they are –

an important distinction. Planners prescribed the size and configuration of individual lots, and which land uses would go where, and in doing so influenced what sort of buildings were erected. However, a building's actual design, and how it used its site, was in the hands of the landowner or builder who built it, along with, in some cases, architects hired by them. But the overall design and function of the suburbs was planned.

What then might be the connection between their planning and their declining average incomes? Touring through the inner suburbs today they do indeed, as might be expected, show signs of low income; one is struck immediately by the poorly-maintained houses, suggesting houses that may not be owner-occupied or an owner/occupier who lacks the funds for regular maintenance. Even more striking is the rarity of substantial rebuilds or stylish upgrades – such a contrast to the old inner city where it seems almost every other house has had substantial capital invested in it. Many streets seem almost as-built, unchanged in sixty years. At the same time, however, by no means do the neighbourhoods feel abandoned, or even under-populated. Unoccupied houses are rare. Many residential areas are alive with care-givers and children when school lets out. People are clearly making do. Language like "spiralling into poverty" and "crumbling postwar apartment buildings" seems overly alarmist, verging on the anti-slum panics of years past, yet there is, unmistakably, an absence of affluence. Homeowners with the means and inclination to renovate – the notorious gentrifiers who have overrun the pre-1914 city – are nowhere to be seen. To some this might not be a bad thing, but whether good or bad the absence of affluent in-migrants, so visible in the landscape, so anomalous for Toronto, does begin to look like one of the causes of declining aggregate incomes relative to the rest of the city. How significant a cause, one cannot say; falling incomes among those who remain, whether from individuals aging or from well-paid jobs disappearing, undoubtedly contributes as well. But accepting it as a factor of at least some significance allows the question atop this paragraph to be reworked into one that is more answerable, or at least about which one can speculate: what role has planning played in making the inner suburbs unappealing to Toronto's gentrifiers?

It must be said, to begin, that some of the declining appeal of the inner suburbs can be attributed to the general turn against 'the suburbs' – any suburbs – by the fashionable middle and upper classes after about 1970, a cultural shift of considerable importance in the evolution of urban form. In Toronto this general drift was likely accentuated by the style of early postwar mass-market housing; with designs rooted largely in the austere prewar world, 1950s housing surely had little appeal to the increasingly affluent, cosmopolitan baby-boomers of the 1970s (Fig 9). Early efforts to accommodate the car, which even in the 1950s Toronto's homebuyers expected a house to do, led to some quite awkward designs. Yet so great was the demand for housing in the early postwar years that literally thousands upon thousands such houses were built in Metropolitan Toronto, with a degree of uniformity

made necessary, one presumes, by the rapidity of their construction. So scarcely a generation after they were built these houses were not what people of means and style wanted to live in, or among. This aspect of the inner suburbs resulted, essentially, from their having been built with great urgency by a massive investment, public and private, in a short period of time amid particular circumstances, bringing to mind Jane Jacobs's fascinating insight that "cataclysmic money" so often yields inferior urban form. (Jacobs 1992, Chapter 16). Planning had nothing to do with this.

Planning has produced some appealing features. Foremost might be the carefully-sited and usually walkable neighbourhood schools, a foundation of neighbourhood planning that families with children no doubt find attractive. Perry's idea of the school serving as the basis for a *community* was, in these suburbs at least, rather fanciful on account of the many childless households and the substantial turnover of population. Changes in the population of school-age children have made some schools under-used and others over-used, creating problems for school board administrators, but the neighbourhood schools themselves were and still are a desirable asset. Moreover, contrary to recent rhetoric these schools are as well-funded as those anywhere else in the city, not because of planning but because the metropolitan government made it a policy to equalize public education revenues. Municipal jurisdictions with low property tax revenues do not have lesser-funded public schools.[8]

Fig 9: Houses in Clairlea, as built in the early 1950s. (Photo by author)

Fig 10: Looking west to former industrial land across Midland Avenue, south of Ellesmere, Midland Park neighbourhood. (Photo by author)

Some might also consider the inner suburbs' plentiful open space to be a desirable feature. Neighbourhood parks have come under criticism for being little-used and larger than necessary,[9] and indeed the designated dog zones now seem to be

8 Schools in non-affluent areas are proving unable to raise as much money in local fund-raising drives, a point of growing significance.

9 Green Space is negatively weighted by the City of Toronto in its quantitative assessment of inner suburb neighbourhoods, apparently because it produces low residential density – City of Toronto, 2014.

the only well used parts of many large parks. Still, some residents likely enjoy them. One wonders, as well, if the principle of the quiet residential island free of through traffic and commercial activity might appeal to some. Planners now criticize this too, especially the strict prohibition of commercial activity from residential areas, and in many new suburban developments planners have brought back the old rectilinear grid of through streets – though to promote mixed uses rather than through traffic. Walking along these calm, curved streets today one wonders why the principle that spawned them has fallen so totally out of favour, and whether residents oppose it as much as planners – who likely live elsewhere – do. All told, these features may have been deterrents to some potential in-migrants but magnets to others.

The planning principle of urban contiguity (absence of satellite towns) and the related principle of building at moderate density might also be judged as having left a mixed legacy. Taken together, the two have produced some desirable features. Plentiful commercial service strips is one. Many of these strips have failed, as noted, but many do survive – often housing well-regarded but low-priced ethnic food shops and restaurants – and although their relation to their immediate neighbourhood may be at odds with their original purpose they do provide useful local services. Another is viable public transit, an aspect of Toronto's inner suburbs considered both unusual, comparatively speaking, and commendable. Had these suburbs been built in the form of satellite towns, the growth option Metropolitan Toronto rejected, they could never have been served by regular public transit – unless all residents worked in the same central location, which would not have happened. Toronto has among the highest rates of transit use in North America and the planning principles of the inner suburbs have helped make it so (van Susteren 2007; Sorensen/Hess 2007). It is true that transit service in the inner suburbs could be much better: existing subway lines barely reach the inner suburbs, densities are not sufficient to support all-day frequent service, and access to transit is difficult in many places. All this may have been, and may still be, a deterrent to affluent in-migrants. That is to say planning principles have allowed viable public transit in the inner suburbs, but perhaps not enough of it to satisfy those who can afford to live in the old, better-served city.

It must also be acknowledged that the planners' desire for density has produced features that some likely find unappealing: major road allowances are rather slim, roads and industries are close to houses, and open space between neighbourhoods is minimal, resulting in an overall compactness that can feel rather unrelenting and, maybe for some, un-suburban. The fact is that these inner suburbs – not as mixed and walkable as old urban neighbourhoods but not as open and spacious as conventional suburbs – are something of an urban hybrid, and as often with such things, many will prefer one of the recognizable progenitors to the ambiguous blending of the two.

The idea of employing a grid of arterial roads to service this entire urban area – a key transportation planning principle – may be a problem of its own. Busy arterial

roads are never far away from anywhere. And while it is true that their continuous heavy traffic is the flip-side of traffic-free residential areas, they produce noise, degrade the air, and, when one has to cross them to reach a grocery store or bus stop, can threaten life and limb. Surely they are carrying far more traffic than ever envisioned, since the number of people and amount of economic activity out beyond them, and thus dependent on them for the movement of people and goods, has probably doubled or tripled in the sixty years since they were built, making them a greater hazard now than when first envisioned as an efficient, low-cost way to service a new suburban area. Here may be a case of a planning idea that although apt when first applied was not well suited to changes that ensued. The alternative would have been fewer but larger roadways, which is to say expressways; they too degrade the environment, although perhaps in a more localized, less pervasive, manner.

The proximity of industrial to residential land may also be a problem of its own. Dispersing industry throughout the metropolitan area seemed like a good idea because it promised to reduce the distances industrial workers had to travel for employment, but one doubts the principle actually provided such benefits. Residents of the inner suburbs did not all work in industry, and even for those who worked in a local plant it is hard to imagine that having their plant just down the street would be desirable. This is just as true today; even where party supply outlets have replaced industrial plants, the proximity of these industrial-looking lands has a way of debasing adjacent residential neighbourhoods (Fig 10).

Fig 11: Townhouse complex in Woburn neighbourhood, laid out and built as part of the original neighbourhood design, early 1960s. (Photo by author)

The planning idea with probably the greatest impact on the inner suburbs is the notion that residential areas should include multi-unit housing, another manifestation of the desire for density. This housing takes two main forms: townhouses, some intended for rental and some for owner/occupation, and rental apartments, both high-rise and low-rise (Fig 11). Several neighbourhoods also have stretches of 'semi-

detached' houses,[10] usually on the streets closest to industrial employment areas. It is hard to say what impact this has had on neighbourhood appeal. Considering the antipathy that better-off inner-city property owners have towards apartment buildings one might think that higher-income people would be deterred by their presence. This is not readily apparent. What little upper-middle-class housing exists in the neighbourhoods observed for this study seems as likely to be in the vicinity of multi-unit housing as not, which is no surprise since the latter is almost everywhere.

Yet this planning idea surely has contributed to the inner suburbs' lower than average incomes in another, more direct way – it has allowed, in fact encouraged, lower-income people to live in the inner suburbs. Through the lens of planning history the presence of lower-income people in Toronto's inner suburbs is, essentially, a successful implementation of the planners' goal of socio-economic diversity. And it begins to seem possible that, since the inner suburbs were devised from the start to include lower-income residents, the demographic phenomenon of the last two generations could actually be the absence, or the departure, of higher-income residents.

Presenting this catalogue of planning ideas that may have lessened the appeal of the inner suburbs to affluent in-migrants is not meant to suggest that social problems in the inner suburbs can, or should, be remedied by somehow making these neighbourhoods more appealing to gentrifiers. Quite the contrary. There is, of course, a similarity between the features just catalogued and the very real shortcomings that current residents of the inner suburbs encounter in their day to day lives and often strive to remedy through their own community actions. Indeed, why would there not be an overlap between qualities that discourage higher-income people from moving in and qualities that burden lower-income people already there? So perhaps these deterrents should be remedied – insofar as they can be – for the sake of those who live with them. Yet a curious irony is brought to light by this overlap: the very features that burden the lower-income residents of the inner suburbs may also be protecting the inner suburbs from gentrification and the rising cost of living that would almost certainly ensue.

Immigration and Planning

One final aspect of the inner suburbs' planning to address briefly is their connection to immigration. Like all major North American cities, Toronto has been a city of immigrants for as long as it has existed, the proportion of immigrants (defined simply as non-Canadian-born) ranging around 40% throughout the twentieth century (Lemon 1985, 196, Table VII). The proportion is somewhat higher now, approaching 50%. The inner suburbs have their share, but not an outsize share. In 1971, the inner suburbs had 52% of the urban region's population and 51% of its

10 The common local term, British in origin, for side-by-side duplexes, of which Toronto has tens of thousands.

immigrants; in 2016 they had 33% of the region's population (their population was still increasing, but growth in the outer suburbs was diminishing their share) and 37% of its immigrants, so immigrants are now slightly over-represented in the inner suburbs, but not by much (Canada, 1971 and 2016).

It is the case, however, that several of Toronto's neighbourhoods with the highest proportion of foreign-born are in the inner suburbs. The East York high-rise neighbourhood of Thorncliffe Park, with some 70% non-Canadian-born, is perhaps the best known (Saunders 2010, 311-23). But several neighbourhoods in north-eastern Scarborough show similar demographic profiles (City of Toronto, Neighbourhood Profiles). In Milliken and Agincourt, for example, some 75% of residents are non-Canadian-born, about one-third of which are newly-arrived (since 2001) immigrants, and some 65% of residents do not speak English at home – an obvious challenge for the local school teachers. So clearly the inner suburbs, at least some parts of them, are serving as an entry-point for immigrants to the city, another social reality of considerable significance.

Interestingly, however, unlike Thorncliffe Park the two above-named heavily-immigrant Scarborough neighbourhoods, Milliken and Agincourt, are not among those identified by the City as needing "Neighbourhood Improvement", a classification based on an amalgam of economic, social, and health measures (City of Toronto, 2014). Evidently a high proportion of immigrants is not necessarily correlated with the declining incomes and social distress for which the inner suburbs are now well known. Also worth noting, these two neighbourhoods are not heavily stocked with high-rise apartment buildings (though they do have some, as well as more row houses and duplexes than the Toronto average). In fact 50% of the households in Milliken are single-family homes, well above the proportion in the city overall, so it would appear that high-rise apartments, though an important part of immigrant settlement in Toronto, are not the only form of housing used by immigrants.

As for the role of planning in all this, having the inner suburbs function as an immigrant entry point was not explicitly part of any plan, but the planners did see multi-unit suburban rental housing as potential homes for the immigrants – primarily European at that time – who were arriving in Toronto in large numbers while the inner suburbs were built (Jones 1963). So the current situation is neither entirely unexpected nor in any way contrary to plans.

Conclusion

The prime objective here has been to explore the planning ideas employed in creating Toronto's inner suburbs and to consider whether and how these ideas shaped the inner suburbs of today. Clearly, based on what has been presented here, Toronto's inner suburbs were planned, at both a metropolitan and a neighbourhood scale, and the planning principles employed did indeed shape the physical and, to a degree, social aspects of the inner suburbs. This needs to be said on account of a general, if not always explicitly expressed, sense among critics of suburbs that 'sub-

urbia', as it is still often pejoratively labelled, was more an unintended consequence than a desired outcome, and that the *absence* of planning is, in fact, why it has the form it has. This study reveals just the opposite: Toronto's inner suburbs were planned, and their physical form is what its planners wanted. One might disapprove of their urban form, but whatever shortcomings one sees in them are almost certainly the result of planning, not of its absence.

Has planning contributed to the inner suburbs evolving into areas with lower than average incomes? Using the proxy question of whether it contributed to making the inner suburbs unattractive to affluent in-migrants, the answer is not definitive. Some planning ideas may have lessened their appeal, such as placing industries close to residences, strictly separating uses, relying on arterial roads, and creating excessive local parkland; but others, such as neighbourhood public schools, transit-supportive densities, local shopping options, and plentiful multi-unit housing, could well have done the opposite. But all these may be less important than the planning idea of including at least some lower-cost rental housing in all residential neighbourhoods; this, on its own, ensured the inner suburbs would include a significant number of lower-income residents.

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Roger Keil

Canadian Suburbia: From the Periphery of Empire to the Frontier of the Sub/Urban Century

Abstract

Canadian suburbia is part of settlement of indigenous landscapes. It was originally a product of the rapid growth of cities in the periphery of the British Empire. Working class immigrants often self-built their housing on the poorly serviced but surveyed lots of the industrializing cities; industry sometimes followed on the seemingly endless greenfields beyond. Later generations of European immigrants moved from crammed inner city quarters to post World War 2 subdivisions in the periphery, now opened up by inter-regional highways, transit, sewer and water services and soft infrastructures such as schools and universities. Many relocated to residential areas around emerging assembly plants of the Fordist period. Supported by federal housing programs, suburban single family homes became the standard of an Anglo-Saxon settler society in which landed property reigned supreme as an economic reality and ideological icon of arrival. In some places, such as Toronto, an alternative modern suburban landscape was erected in the form of tower neighbourhoods that stood out futuristically from townhomes and bungalows below. Ostensibly built for the domestic middle class, they turned out to become the port of entry for many new immigrants that came from around the world.

In extension of this trend in what is now the "inner suburbs", in recent decades, the suburbs and exurbs of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver have become the chief destinations of new generations of immigrants, mostly from non-European countries. This has changed the social composition, meaning and politics of suburbia fundamentally. The Canadian sub/urban periphery is now a prime site of the formation of globalized suburban constellations that define this century.

Résumé

La banlieue canadienne a originalement été un produit de la croissance rapide des villes situées aux périphéries de l'Empire britannique. Les immigrants de la classe ouvrière construisaient souvent leurs propres logements sur des parcelles mal-entretenues, mais quand même levées, des villes industrielles ; les générations ultérieurs d'immigrants européens ont déménagé des quartiers populaires situées au centre-ville, à des subdivisions périphériques, de la période d'après la deuxième guerre mondiale, maintenant ouvertes par les autoroutes inter-régionaux, les services d'eau et d'égout et les infrastructures 'douces' comme les écoles. Plusieurs ont déménagé à des régions entourées par des

usines de montage, qui ont émergés pendant la période Fordiste. Soutenus par des programmes fédéraux de logement, les pavillons suburbains sont devenus la norme de la société Anglo-Saxon, une société dans laquelle les propriétés terriennes régnaient comme réalité économique et comme icône idéologique d'arrivée.

Par contraste, pendant les décennies récentes, les banlieues et les exurbs de Montréal, Toronto et Vancouver sont devenues les destinations principales des nouveaux générations d'immigrants, pour la plupart venant de pays non-européens. Ce phénomène a changé la composition sociale, le sens et la politique de la banlieue, fondamentalement. La périphérie sub/urbaine canadienne est maintenant le site principal de la formation de constellations globalisés suburbains qui définissent ce siècle.

Introduction: the periphery of empire

Canada is a settler society: this means that suburbanization is also a taking of indigenous land. Let me begin this essay on suburbanization not in the core of Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver from where the suburban is usually imagined as a somewhat strange place, a kind of Mordor, a deep dark forest where the wild things are. Let me instead approach the suburban from the unsettled resource fringe of the Empire, a throwback to Harold Innis's (Keil et al. 1998) world of staples and continental scales, to the indigenous lands and frozen northern expanses from which neither cities nor suburbs are usually viewed. In modern settler societies like in the Americas, although land famously is imagined as *tabula rasa* (Veracini 2012: 342), it has had pre-colonial histories of indigenous use. The history of settlement entailed that these lands were opened up to survey, subdivision, development, and new modes of life. This was accomplished to a large degree by imagining these lands as 'new', 'empty' or 'a void' waiting to be urbanized and the uses of the land as archaic and obsolete (C. Harris 2004; Jacobs 1996). Lorenzo Veracini has interpreted "both suburbia and settler colonial phenomena as premised on an anxious escape that comprehensively rejects environments that are perceived as increasingly threatening" and noted "that suburbia *re-enacts* settlement" (2012: 340; emphasis in the original). Where Veracini focuses on the intersection of the formation of settler colonies with a particular type of suburbanism – a secessionist, middle class residential landscape characterized by "the single-family house, the nuclear family, the separation between work and home, and the separation between gendered spaces" (2012: 340) –, the Canadian case bears out other aspects of suburbanization: sprawling resource economies, mixed morphologies and socio-demographic and -economic diversity as we shall see below.

A country built historically on resources and staples and currently still banking on their continued economic value, urbanization and suburbanization are directly inscribed into the colonization of the Canadian land mass, its waters and of its peo-

Building on the feral edge, Kelowna (photo credit: author)

ples. At the beginning of considering the trajectory of the suburban in Canada, then, must exist an acknowledgement of the context of colonization. Following Cole Harris, that involves the taking and segregation of land at its core: "The experienced materiality of colonialism is grounded, as many have noted, in dispossessions and repossessions of land" (C. Harris 2004: 167). For that insight, Harris draws on Frantz Fanon and Edward Said. He quotes the latter in these terms:

> Underlying social space are territories, land, geographical domains, the actual geographical underpinnings of the imperial, and also the cultural contest. To think about distant places, to colonize them, to populate or depopulate them: all of this occurs on, about, or because of land. The actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about (Said 1994, 78; quoted in C. Harris 2004: 167).

The stark reality that follows from this development in British Columbia manifested itself in "a reserve (reservation) system that allocated a small portion of the land to native people and opened the rest for development. Native people were in the way, their land was coveted, and settlers took it. The line between the reserves and the rest—between the land set aside for the people who had lived there from time immemorial and land made available in various tenures to immigrants— became the primary line on the map of British Columbia" (C. Harris 2004: 167).

The suburban landscape to which now most Canadians lay claim from coast to coast is mostly a function of the development part of this relationship of uneven spatialization. In this sense, as Stefan Kipfer has shown recently, in an essay on the pipeline politics that now span the Canadian expanse, "[t]he segregationist thrust of settler colonialism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries relegated indigenous peoples to 'non-urban' settlements and symbolically excluded them from 'urban' civilization, indeed, 'history'" (Kipfer 2016: 22). While indigenous land becomes part of the operational landscape of the – resource-based – settler capitalism of the Canadian state, indigenous people become marginalized out of consciousness or even material existence. At the same time, the taking and subdivision of land has led to a tremendous gap in long-term wealth in all settler societies, including Canada. In Canada and in the United States political conflict has erupted over the compensation and reconciliation of land ownership denied to indigenous communities as well as African Americans/Canadians, as generational wealth has largely bypassed these communities while white privilege can be easily read off the map of suburban home- and asset-ownership (Holmes 2017).

Capitalocenic footprints

Each year, I take a group of up to 100 undergraduate students 150 kilometres north of Toronto to two historic sites in the small industrial town of Midland, Ontario. One is the Huronia Museum, a community based institution that, since the 1940s, presents a version of indigenous history to mostly schoolchildren and German visitors. It has a palisaded indigenous village by a lake that contains longhouses, wigwams, a sweat lodge and other real or imagined parts of native life before contact. This well-meaning relic from a different period of colonialism is overshadowed by the other site, across town where the first Europeans in Ontario settled in the 1630s: Sainte Marie Among the Hurons, a lavishly equipped "living museum" where guides in period costumes take visitors through a history of ten years of missionary life in the 1630s. This representation of distantly past forms of "settlement" sits adjacent to suburban development – industrial and residential – in the town of Midland and along the Georgian Bay shore to the East. Those suburban extensions in a midsize near northern Ontario town are now naturalized vis-à-vis the prior forms of settlement in the area that used to cover the landscape for hundreds of years before. The longhouses are now the historically marked Other in an environment of generalized modern suburbia.

The building of cities and suburbs in the bush, or in previously indigenous agricultured landscapes as in the case of the Wendat territory, has a long and lasting history in Canada. Rob Shields reminds us, of course, that the colonization of the land in Canada, especially where it is tied to resource exploitation in the North, is *primary* suburbanization before urbanization. In the resource periphery, suburban subdivisions emerge where no city yet exists. He calls the product of such voracious land taking in the bush "feral suburbs" and observes for the Tar Sands capital Fort

McMurray, Alberta that "strangeness vies with normality as cultural and economic forms of shift-work and suburban life are remade" at that particular frontier of suburbanism (Shields 2012: 206). Importantly, Fort McMurray signals a mode of suburbanization that is more universal now in Canada and elsewhere, in that it gives up the city as its referent. Shields observes:

> Many thus rent basement suites in the new suburbs laid out on freshly cleared land, bulldozed into the pine and spruce forests and muskeg bogs of the flat, boreal plain above the downtown river valley, which is situated at the confluence of the Athabasca and Clearwater Rivers. Set up above the river valley, suburbia in Fort McMurray is independent of the pre-existing downtown (Shields 2012: 207).

In this sense, the "feral" suburbanism of "Fort Mc" is also the frontier of suburbanization more generally. At that particular edge, suburbanism rehearses life in predictable sameness as vinyl meets the wild. Yet such suburban frontier ways of life now signal the historical end of suburbanization as a specific mode of automobile-based suburbanization that emanates out from historical centres. It attains autonomy from the assumed teleology of the urban.

Yet, the suburbanization of the edge of Empire (now the empire of carbon), also begs questions about survival in the age of climate change. Ultimately, if it doesn't work here where the oil is squeezed from the mossy ground, it can't work anywhere. We are reminded here of Andrew Ross's (2011) keen observations, in his book *Bird on Fire,* about Phoenix, Arizona, one of the most suburban cities in the world and perhaps "the world's least sustainable city". As cities like these exist across the continent, they continue to present a challenge for us to think through the future that is in stock for all of us at the end of the pipeline.

Geographically, the notion of absolute ecological limits was brought home to the residents of feral suburbia in Fort McMurray during the devastating wild fires of 2016 that turned 1,958 structures into ash and rubble, translating into the loss of 2,574 housing units (Bird 2016). It sent thousands of families packing up their belongings trekking down highway 63 to Edmonton driving literally through a ring of fire. The resettlement was still ongoing almost a year after the event.

The Fort McMurray tragedy calls into question the notion of suburbanization as an escape from the dangers of the city and the perils of living *against* rather than *with* the metabolism of the natural environment. As the late great historian of California, Kevin Starr (2017 [1993]), said about the deadly suburban ecologies of his home state: There is danger everywhere:

> We flee to the suburbs for safety — and a firestorm engulfs us. We flee to the suburbs because we believe the human factor in the city has reached a critical mass of deficiency. In the city, there are too many crim-

> inals, too many sociopaths, too many homeless and marginalized. And then a transient — another way of saying marginalized — lights a fire in the suburb of Altadena, and 115 homes fall victim to the firestorm in the San Gabriel foothills. We know Los Angeles is combustible. We saw it burn in April-May, 1992. In that instance, the social factor — a volatile populace in certain sections of the city, an unpopular verdict, a contagion of criminal behavior spreading like wild fire — ignited the flames. And yet, in the case of the firestorms that engulfed neighborhoods in Altadena and Sierra Madre, in Laguna Beach, in Villa Park and the Anaheim Hills, in Thousand Oaks and Malibu, the human factor — a careless transient and as many as three, perhaps more, deliberate acts of arson — initiated the catastrophe.

But there is also another way of thinking about the Canadian north as a form of intricate and internal operationalization of a landscape of urban society in Canada more generally. In Ft. McMurray the Canadian suburban crystallizes as both a space where problems originate and where they manifest themselves. In this, they are the prime spaces of the Anthropocene, or, as Jason Moore has called it more plausibly, "the capitalocene" (2015): Suburbanization is where the destructive trajectory of the capitalocene finds an address and a culpable actor network of political economies that produce and use space. In the Canadian resource suburbs at the edge of Empire, both aspects of the suburban meet: their own ravenous appetite for the irreplaceable energies of the fossil fuel deposits, and the production of those fossil fuels in a pervasive resource economy itself.

Canadian suburbia thus is part of a larger extended urbanization. Brazilian scholar Roberto Monte-Mor (2014) has proposed the notion of "extended urbanization" as a framework to understand the Brazilian Amazon. We can use this concept to describe the vast reach of the Canadian suburban, too. In Canada, like in Brazil, a highly urbanized country with a giant, seemingly undeveloped, land mass, the extended suburban is a way of continental life. What seems peripheral at first, however, becomes the location of new forms of centrality (see Keil 2017; Kipfer 2016).

In a country where centrality is usually understood to be synonymous with a few urban agglomerations along the Canadian-US border, and especially with the large centres of Toronto, Montreal, Calgary and Vancouver within that geography, Fort McMurray, "the suburb at the end of the highway" as Claire Major (2013) has named it, signals a type of inbetweenness that has heretofore been mostly identified with the urban. Major, accordingly, describes Ft McMurray in terms reminiscent of the Los Angeles of Edward Soja in the 1980s:

> Thus it is possible to make the claim that Fort McMurray is at the crossroads of many things and many people. Passing through it is South Korean-made, industrial-scale equipment, transported to Imperial Oil's

> Kearl Lake site by way of Washington, Idaho, and Montana; the equipment was too large to be driven through the Rocky Mountains. It is where live-in caregivers, usually from the Philippines, enable Albertan or newly migrated families from eastern Canada to get relatively affordable childcare. It is home to professional, skilled immigrants, recruited directly from the Middle East, India, South America, South Africa, and Australia to meet the technical labor gap and to manage mines. It is a place of speculative capital, of Israeli companies and Chinese foreign interests. It is an incomplete tapestry of people who lack connection to place (Major 2013: 146).

Importantly, Ft. McMurray is a suburb *before* urbanization and in that it is just a symbol of something broader. Here is how Major describes the sprawl of Ft. Mc Murray: "'Sameness' is a movement westward and into a suburb that is neither low-brow nor banal, nor exclusive and separate; rather, suburban life is the default outcome because there is nothing else available" (2013: 146). But these words describe suburbanization in Canada more generally. The lack of an alternative and the availability of space and technology predispose the suburban in ways that would not equally be plausible in other geographical and social settings such as, say, the Netherlands or Switzerland.

The core of Empire

Canadian suburbia was originally a product of the rapid growth of cities in the periphery of the British Empire. Working class immigrants often self-built their housing on the poorly serviced but surveyed lots of the industrializing cities; industry sometimes followed on the seemingly endless greenfields beyond. Later generations of European immigrants moved from crammed inner city quarters to post World War 2 subdivisions in the periphery, now opened up by inter-regional highways, transit, sewer and water services and soft infrastructures such as schools and universities. Many moved to residential areas around emerging assembly plants of the Fordist period. Supported by federal housing programs, suburban single family homes became the standard of an Anglo-Saxon settler society in which landed property reigned supreme as an economic reality and ideological icon or arrival. In some places, such as Toronto, an alternative modern suburban landscape was erected in the form of tower neighbourhoods that stood futuristically out from townhomes and bungalows below (Logan forthcoming). Ostensibly built for the domestic middle class, they turned out to become the port of entry for many new immigrants that came from around the world. In extension of this trend in what is now the "inner suburbs", in recent decades, the suburbs and exurbs of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver have become the chief destinations of new generations of immigrants, mostly from non-European countries. This has changed the social composition, meaning and politics of suburbia fundamentally. The Canadian sub/urban periphery

is now a prime site of the formation of globalized suburban constellations that define this century.

Suburban edge, Brampton (photo credit: author)

So, let's now leave the North and move south, from the periphery of Empire to its core. Toronto has been the heart of the Canadian economy for half a century, and it was an important location even at a time when Montreal was still the undisputed economic, financial and cultural centre of the country. As Richard White (2016), John Sewell (2009), and others have explained, the suburban in Toronto was a planned tragedy. Richard White (2017) noted just recently:

> In the early 1950s, once it became clear that Toronto's metropolitan area was going to continue growing, the Province of Ontario created a planning board to plan and manage the expected expansion, and the board did so in a remarkably comprehensive manner: land-uses, roads, transit, piped services, parks, schools, and even, to a degree, health and social services all formed part of a metropolitan plan. Moreover the plan was actually followed and the required infrastructure was built, at a size and scale sufficient for the projected population.

Richard Harris reminds us that this was not always the case. In fact, the earliest forms of suburbanization in Toronto as elsewhere in Canada were bottom up, informal (in the colloquial sense), individualist acts of building on the periphery. "In Toronto unplanned development and the growth of blue collar suburbs were close-

ly intertwined," declares Harris in his landmark book on the subject (1996: 4). During the period of initial industrial urbanization, up until the 1930s in Toronto, for example, much of it was working class and immigrant. Towards the middle of the century, this was reversed and the suburbs became less proletarian (Harris 1996:50).

While these were not quite the *gecekondu* of Istanbul in scale and pervasiveness, the overnight shacks that popped up in Toronto's east end or elsewhere early in the 20th century and later grew into brick buildings served by water and sewer, had sidewalks in front and later even transit service, and they were also peripheral in the double sense. They existed as an outcome of the class, ethnic and racial separations that sorted the populations who arrived in that frigid outpost of the Empire on Lake Ontario; and they drove the expansion of the city in lockstep with the peripheralization of industry. Because, long before the consumer temples of the shopping malls became the signature artefact of the suburban ring, it was the factories that signalled the edge..

So, what Harris (1996: 1) has called the settling in the "shacktown fringe" was a formative moment in Toronto's and Canada's history as well as the source of a mythology that has inscribed itself into the suburban narrative of the country since. The protestant grid of the settler landscape, to engage a notion by Richard Sennett (1992), did its ordering work in Toronto and elsewhere in the country. It was the ideal blueprint for a suburban nation. It lined up slim, private property after slim private property, up and along rectangular streets. In the beginning, as Harris continues, this entailed "families building their own homes" (Harris 1996: 2) – later to be replaced by large and small scale property development corporations who also exchanged the idiosyncratic, organic, vernacular of the suburban home for a standardized, machine-based aesthetic that could be reproduced at will. But the myth of the self-built home lived on in the general acceptance of the home as the place to live and the suburban homestead as the fulfilment of the Canadian dream. Much later, it became the basis of what the architect Raymond Carver called – and I am relying here on Steven Logan's superb forthcoming book on the modernist suburb in Toronto and Prague – "house lust" which Carver defined in these terms: "the enjoyment of a beautiful house [which] is par excellence a satisfying and intellectual accomplishment" (quoted in Logan, forthcoming: 145). To Carver, like to many European immigrants from the Scottish, English and Irish a century ago, to the Italians and Portuguese in the post World War 2 decades, and the East and South Asians of today, this house lust was the core of the immigrant experience. In the 1950s when Carver is active, the self-building was largely over but the "deep and primitive urge" to "possess and beautify a place you can love" persisted. Logan notes perceptively: "House lust brought Europeans to North America, becoming the 'most important element in the life-style of any community'" (Logan forthcoming: 145).

Scarborough, immigrant suburb (photo credit: author)

Naturally, once built, the immigrant communities are changing. From his perch in Hamilton, Ontario, Richard Harris observes that "the transitional aspect of suburban land is obvious" (2013: 33) and continues that this simple truth still is not easy to grasp. He invites us to "see the city block as a one-time urban fringe" (ibid.). Yet, the reality of suburban change, and the existence of the land market that structures it is often hard to accept, especially for the suburbanites themselves. In Canada, like in much of the Anglo Saxon world, the landscapes and morphologies of which have served as the model for most writing on suburbia, this dialectics of constant change and the hesitation to admit it, is tied to the three connected aspects of low density urban form, private home ownership and an automobile infrastructure. The first two aspects were more or less historical accidents as the low-density development now typical of most cities in Australia, America and Canada was not the only form suburban areas could have adopted although some have argued that the horizontality of the suburban settler colonial landscape was a distinctive mark of these societies (Veracini 2012: 342-3).

As Pierre Filion and Claire Poitras among others remind us, the determining factor of infrastructure was important: infrastructure was the message. Expressway networks in particular allowed development to fan out – also supported by extensive other networked infrastructures such as big sewer pipes and electricity grids – over extensive swaths of subdivided land (Filion 2013; Poitras 2011). The late modern and

imperial periods of extensive colonial urbanization around the globe had given the new suburban settlers a range of choices between the classic bungalow and the mansion. The bungalow represented the simplicity of private residential space that had been spread under British colonial rule from India to the UK, California, Canada and other parts of the world (King 2004). The mansion was a product of the preferences of early modern English gentry who brought a romantic and sometimes lavish sense of luxurious style to the periurban zone from the city, often linked to tourism near and far. In this settlement of the English, Canadian American and Australian (soon to be suburbanized) countryside, based on the principle of enclosure to a considerable extent, a new national narrative was woven, as Alvaro Sevilla-Buitrago tells us, with the threads of a "new symbolic economy that had a direct influence on the image and imagination of national territories" (Sevilla-Buitrago 2014: 251). To this imaginary, to which much of Canada subscribed, the single family home was central. That it also fit nicely with the growing demands of a mass-produced form of housing and the desires of the development industry to maximize their profits on a grid of tract housing cemented the role of the bungalow-mansion spectrum of houses at the core of the suburban model in much of the English commonwealth.

Yet, it is necessary to remember that "the dominance of the freestanding single-family house in major urban settings is a relatively recent phenomenon" and a product of "a great deal of experimentation" (Ford 1994: 127). Especially during the Victorian era, the drive for middle class domesticity and distinctive national culture coalesced in such a way that "[w]hile city dwellers elsewhere in the world were content to live in a wide variety of settings, to be an American was to live in a house" (Ford, 1994: 134). This urban ideal ultimately also infused the massive suburbanization that characterized America in the 20th century. And, as Keller Easterling has perceptively noted, "[a] design idea for suburbia becomes more powerful when it is positioned as a multiplier that affects a population of houses" (2014: 84). The house became the relay station of the Fordist-Keynesian regime of accumulation, a position that lingered into the current age of Metroburbia when consumption of space and gadgetry knows no bounds (Knox 2008).

In Canada, as elsewhere in the British Empire, the suburb of homes was also a suburb of home*owners*. Alongside the form, there was the private title to the land and to the property that characterized this thrust of suburbanization in Anglo-America. Houses were owned, as was the land, whether those structures were built through a formal, regulated process of subdivision and mass production or a more informal ("unplanned") process of acquisition and sweat equity (R. Harris 1996). Established discursively versus "the lodger evil" and the "unstable tenant," home ownership was considered a societal goal with in-built benefits of great value. Privacy was seen as the glue of society and contributed to the protection of the family. The disciplining effects of home ownership on workers and immigrants were emphatically emphasized.

Taken together, these developments resulted in what Richard Harris (2014) has called "three suburban stereotypes about North American suburbs": the ideal quest for privacy, conformity with the suburban ideal, and the common misgivings among researchers about suburbia. In any case, homeownership was a central feature of the new Canadian sub/urban society that was taking shape. Richard Harris writes:

> In Toronto and across the continent, just about everyone felt that homeownership was a good thing. They believed that it reinforced the independence of the family, encouraging thrift and reducing demands upon the public purse. It was the general opinion that homeownership had an especially beneficial effect on workers and immigrants, two groups whose commitment to the status quo could not be taken for granted. Homeownership was supposed to encourage stable work habits while providing workers with a stake in the capitalist system. It gave immigrants roots, helping to 'naturalize' them to North American ways and making them good citizens (1996: 97).

The spreading, not yet sprawling, of the suburban form appeared as some sort of fulfilment of the "romance of the common life" (R. Harris 1996: 20). For those who were not pushed, the pull seemed more than plausible as Richard White has observed: "Suburbia in the 1950s was so much more attractive than run-down old city neighbourhoods, with their rows of nearly windowless old houses crammed into narrow lots on streets arranged in unimaginative rectilinear grids" (White 2017). The distinction, the move away, was still logical, part of an almost natural wave that was hard to resist. The holdouts were either too rich or too poor to move, the middle classes headed for the fringe, which, in sum, also helps explain the fact that in 1970, at the height of the suburban expansion, income differentials appeared rather flat.

Having spent so much time now to dwell on the single family home, it must be added that much housing in suburban Canada, in contrast to its southern neighbour, comes in the form of high rises. The concrete slab tower is a dominant feature of the inner, and even outer suburbs of Toronto, for example. More than 1000 such towers exist, mostly built in the 1960s through the 1980s. Their fate is peculiar as they have become both visible and invisible landmarks of suburban life. Visible when they are projection spaces for the discourse of suburban decay; invisible as they continue to be hidden from plain view when it comes to the debate on the future of urbanity in Toronto. The towers, to which we will soon return in the closing sections of this paper, are also a stark reminder that in Canada, as elsewhere, the suburbs are a complex and complicated product of three modalities that make and govern them. Far from being just a consequence of consumer desire, as the development industry wants to make us believe, suburbanization is a strategic production of space. Suburban governance in Canada regulates suburbanization as a sys-

temic product of state action, capital accumulation and increasingly private authoritarianism (Ekers/Hamel/Keil 2012). In some form and combination, these three modalities of governance build the suburbs and regulate suburban life. In Canada, more than in the United States and less than in Europe, the state has imposed itself in defining the morphology, pace and reach of suburbanization. This has, moreover, made the suburbs a strategic space for immigrant settlement.

High rises, inner suburbia, Toronto (photo credit: author)

The suburbs define Canada. They are the country's most defining form of settlement. They are the core of Empire. Some see this now come to an end. Jennifer Keesmaat, the charismatic former chief planner of Canada's largest city, predicts the end of suburbanization in Toronto and elsewhere by pronouncing that "in the 20th century, growth was all about moving outwards. In the 21st century, it is all about coming back in again" (in: Greene 2016, Video 1). That may be true for some but for now, the spread and sprawl continue. Let's look at what those urban peripheries might have in store for us in the near future.

After Empire

To find the Canadian suburb today, we have to look beyond Empire towards the postcolony. This entails mainly two strident advances.[1] One is to free ourselves from the theoretical baggage of the urban gaze towards the suburbs and free suburbanism from the fetters of the urban-centred yardstick. And the second advance is to look beyond the arrival cities of the liberal mind to the reality of the postcolonial in

1 This first section borrows from joint work with Sean Hertel.

the Canadian periphery. Let us first deal with the existing urban view on the suburbs. There is a curious, and somewhat quaint, passage in Jane Jacobs's last book, *Dark Age Ahead* (2004). The great American urbanist, whose life and death was so intimately linked to her adopted hometown of Toronto, Canada, where she resided for 37 years, tells in her typical anecdotal style of an excursion from her inner city habitat in the Annex neighbourhood to the region's suburban ring:

> Vaughan is a suburb directly across the street from Toronto, at the northernmost border of the city. It is a subdivision of a larger suburb named Woodbridge, which in turn is a political subdivision of a suburban and exurban sprawl called York. Vaughan has many gated, expensive housing tracts, along with the usual suburban complement of shopping malls. Except for a tiny heart of shops around a public square along with a large apartment house, at the center of Woodbridge, where one actually sees human beings walking, there is nothing physically resembling a city. But the heart, including the apartment building and scattering of old houses left over from the time when this was a country town, is humanly scaled, pleasant, and physically welcoming. Two of my neighbors and I decided to drive up to Vaughan on a beautiful autumn Saturday and see what changes had been going on up there. (2004: 89)

Without denigrating the memory and legacy of the great Jane Jacobs, it is obvious here that her grasp on the Toronto suburbs was fleeting, superficial and rather judgmental. Yet, what is remarkable about this short passage in the context of our current concern is the *attitude* on display as she "drives up to Vaughan" with her neighbours. In her drive-by analysis of the world "across the street from Toronto", Jacobs takes much downtown baggage with her which she then unpacks and places at the feet of the suburbanites. It is this hyperbolic "suburban safari", a certain colonial, touristic perspective that is equally troubling about and typical of much urbanist discourse today in Canada and elsewhere. Jacobs deprecates the obvious shortcomings of those landscapes from an unapologetic city-ist vantage point. What is wrong about the suburbs she visits is clearly of their own making and signs of the general decline that is subject to her musings in the pessimistic *Dark Age Ahead*.

Jacobs ends with a ray of hope: "Is suburban sprawl, with its murders of communities and wastes of land, time and energy, a sign of decay? Or is rising interest in means of overcoming sprawl a sign of vigor and adaptability in North American culture? Arguably, either could turn out to be true" (2004: 169-70). Hope on the side of the great urban barefoot doctor who leaves the inner city with her medical kit to mend the wounds of the sick suburb supersedes for now the depression of those landscapes. Yet, still, the intended fixing appears to remain a task to be undertaken by the enlightened urbanists from the centre rather than by the suburbanites them-

selves. We now see legions of well-meaning urbanites and urbanists descend on the Canadian suburbs to fix their woes with "more city," with an "urban solution". That solution entails, in most cases, a set of predictable ingredients (pedestrianization, transit hub development, densification, etc.) that, if properly mixed, would save the suburbs from themselves.

I propose a different approach. I posit here that the Canadian suburbs of the 21st century are more than incomplete or immature cities. They cannot be entirely understood from the intellectual construct and geographical place called city and from the mentality of a gentrified, inner city urbanity against which they are often measured. Much more, they must not be subjected to the colonial gaze and ultimately grasp of the inner urban reformer without taking the lived experience, city-building expertise and political presence of suburban communities into account (Keil 2017).

Arriving in Canada, Living in Suburbia

Let's end our trip to post-Empire Canadian suburbia with a contemplation of what we mostly find when we get there. In the inner suburbs, the outer reaches of the City of Toronto, we find a landscape of high-rise towers in the midst of a sea of low-rise bungalows and split levels. Shawn Micallef who has walked through the expanses of this landscape for his superb new book *Frontier City* (2017) talks about a "topography of Toronto *noir*, a mid-century modern drama well lit by sodium vapour lamps, at once more suburban and affluent than the usual dingy settings of *noir* tales" (42). It is a landscape without "continuous flow" (50), interrupted by infrastructures and zoning changes, it is the domain of Ford Nation, the nameless supporters of Toronto' s late, flawed suburban mayor Rob Ford which – like a postpolitical undead itself – has recently latched itself onto a renewed mayoral campaign of Rob's older brother Doug. Those areas, often perceived as "a suburban wasteland" (51), are, however, home to Toronto's large and growing immigrant population. Beyond the broken veneer of the ordinary lies a new urban society, largely detached from the classical centre that used to define the periphery. Its urbanity is unmoored from anything that classically defines middle class urbanity. More likely, it resembles the urbanity that Canadian political theorist Julie-Anne Boudreau sees as typical for today's world: "a geographically uneven set of historical conditions, which affects ways of life, modes of interaction, economic transactions, political relations and worldviews" (Boudreau 2016: 12). The inner suburbs are of a marginal urbanity where unevenness is a striking reality in socio-economic and socio-spatial terms.

Toronto journalist Doug Saunders (2011) tends to normalize immigrant suburbanization in his work on the *Arrival City* into a universal and predictable experience of liberal market based success (secured by social democratic rule regimes). This certainly captures part of that experience. And in combination with the national ideology of multiculturalism, this programmatic interpretation has had much currency. But what is happening in Canadian immigrant suburbs now is a different story. In

order to get to know this story, we need to venture beyond the city limits, into outer suburbia.

In the suburban ring around Toronto where now more than half of the region's people live, the majority of the population will soon be non-white and new immigrant throughout. Those suburban cities, from Mississauga and Brampton in the west to Markham in the east, have become home to large minorities or even majorities of East and South Asians -- Chinese, Tamils, Pakistani, Indians – as well as hundreds of thousands of migrants from elsewhere in those parts of the world that mostly feed Canadian immigration.

These "cities in waiting" are not quite set in their ways and shapes but they are slowly congealing into a post-colonial peripheral urban landscape. They represent new assemblages of the global. They are contiguous extensions of the immediate urban form but they represent satellites of global connectivities, outcrops of diasporic population flows. Immigration turns into settlement in the suburban fringe. The suburban constellation that emerges in the Toronto suburbs may look like a contiguous extension of the suburban form but they represent a break with the narrative of urbanization and modernization that had heretofore carried Canadian urban history. This break may signify two things: suburbs are not anymore the kind of passive places that wait to be integrated into a preordained trajectory of urbanization; and the Anglo-Saxon modernity for which suburbanization was the most visible expression is now challenged by new, multiple narratives of modernization that take a different direction altogether. The emergent immigrant suburbia offers new complexities. Toronto used to be called Vienna surrounded by Phoenix, Arizona. Now, Toronto is better described as Los Angeles surrounded by Shanghai.

Perhaps most importantly, these developments trouble the conventional use of the concepts of multiculturalism and diversity that seem innate to Canadian urbanism. As Jay Pitter tells us in her introduction to a critical new book on the subject, we have entered a period of "hyper-diversity". Politically, this entails an "intersectionality [that] requires us to acknowledge that our cities contain diversities within diversities within diversities. They are deeply complicated places" (Pitter 2016: 9).

One of those newly complicated suburban places "where the visible minorities are now the majority" (Ahmed-Ullah 2016: 242) is the City of Brampton, home to almost 600,000, in the north west of the urban area. More than 350,000 of these were citizens from visible minority populations in 2011. Noreen Ahmed-Ullah lists nicknames for the place as "Browntown", "Bramladesh", or "Singhdale". These are reflections of a majority south Asian residential population, and perhaps also workforce, in the burgeoning suburb whose population is projected to grow to 840,000 in 2031. Brampton has now entered debates about its future that entail, among other aspects, the question whether the presence of forty percent South Asians in one place will eventually lead to ghettoization or enclaving in the future. Be that as it may, and only speculative answers can be given at this point, a new era has begun. Ahmed-Ullah resumes: "Regardless of whether Brampton is or isn't a ghetto, that

label alone is an ominous marker. It raises tough questions about the future of a city that's been profoundly reshaped by the immigrants who've made their homes here" (Ahmed-Ullah 2016: 244). To Ahmed-Ullah there could be all kinds of answers to these tough questions, whether this leads to more insularity or more political power, for example. One thing is clear, though, if we want to understand Canadian suburbia, or for that matter the Canadian city today, we better start in the urban periphery where we find Brampton, Mississauga, Vaughan or Markham.

The suburban has now become the norm of the urban and the norm of settlement across Canada, policies and plans that promote re-urbanization not withstanding. Suburbanization is inscribed in the edge of Empire in history and current resource geographies. The core of Empire is unthinkable without suburbanization. It structures the ways cities have grown in at least a century. The post-suburban presence in the Toronto suburbs is also a postcolonial future where new relationships of city and society are generally negotiated beyond the traditional understandings of Anglo-Saxon suburbia.

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Christine Vogt-William

"A Ghostly Twin Struggling for Its Own Place": Biological Twinship, Homes and Hauntings in Canadian (Sub)Urban Spaces

Abstract

Kristen Den Hartog's The Perpetual Ending *(1998) and Susannah Smith's* How the Blessed Live *(2002) consider how biological twins negotiate the urban, rural and suburban spaces that form the contexts in which they relate to each other and their parents. The conceptual boundaries between city spaces as well as the rural and suburban spaces in these novels are envisioned through family dynamics and the concept of home which, according to Rosemary George, bears some scrutiny: "The politics of location come into play in the attempt to weave together a subject-status that is sustained by the experience of the place one knows as Home or by resistance to places that are patently 'not home'. Locations are positions from which distance and difference are formulated and homes are made snug" (George, 1999: 2). With such scrutiny in mind, this paper deploys intersectional readings of whiteness, gender and racialised bodies to chart the twins' relationships to the spaces they travel to, in order to deal with traumas of violence and loss that have contributed to fragmented senses of selves, by reconstructing homes for themselves which may or may not have room for their twinship. At the same time, the Asian Canadian positions evoked in the twins' stories in both novels function as 'ghostly twins' of white Canadianness, struggling to take up their spaces in Canadian cultural and national imaginaries. Thus postcolonial textual hauntings of exclusionary white Canadian politics regarding 'not quite white' and non-white presences require equal attention.*

Résumé

The Perpetual Ending *(1998) de Kirsten Den Hartog et* How the Blessed Live *(2002) de Susannah Smith explorent comment les jumeaux biologiques gèrent les espaces urbains, ruraux et suburbains constituant les contextes dans lesquels ils communiquent entre eux et avec leurs parents. Les frontières conceptuelles entre les espaces urbains, ruraux et suburbains dans ces deux romans sont abordées à partir de dynamiques familiales et le concept de foyer qui, selon Rosemary George, doit être étudié de plus près : « The politics of location come into play in the attempt to weave together a subject-status that is sustained by the experience of the place one knows as Home or by resis-*

tance to places that are patently 'not home'. Locations are positions from which distance and difference are formulated and homes are made snug » (George, 1999 : 2) Dans ce sens, cet article propose des lectures intersectionnelles de la blancheur, du genre et de la classe pour saisir les relations des jumeaux aux espaces qu'ils visitent. Leurs voyages ont pour but de les aider à gérer leurs traumatismes de violence et de perte qui ont contribué à leurs perceptions de soi fragmentées, et de reconstruire des foyers où leur jumelléité peut ou ne peut pas avoir sa place. En même temps, les positions canado-asiatiques évoquées dans les histoires de jumeaux des deux romans servent également de 'spectres jumeaux' d'une canadianité blanche. Elles luttent pour assurer leur place dans les imaginaires culturel et national du Canada. Ainsi les 'poursuites' textuelles postcoloniales d'une politique canadienne exclusivement blanche concernant les présences 'pas tout à fait blanches' et de couleur méritent, elles aussi, notre attention.

[…] Suburbia
where the suburbs met utopia
What kind of dream was this
so easy to destroy?
And who are we to blame
for the sins of the past?
These slums of the future? […]
Pet Shop Boys, 'Suburbia', *Please,* Parlophone, 1986

Kristen den Hartog's *The Perpetual Ending* (1998) and Susannah Smith's *How the Blessed Live* (2002) consider how family relations are negotiated in urban, rural and suburban Canadian spaces.[1] Both texts address migrations from suburban areas and isolated rural islands to cityscapes, whereby the protagonists engage in modes of self-reinvention entailing the confrontation of the loss of home. Hence both novels stage forms of displacement and distancing from suburban and rural homescapes contingent on the disillusionment and thwarted desire evoked by the song lyrics in the epigraph to this essay. The conceptual boundaries between city spaces as well as the rural and suburban spaces in these two Canadian novels are represented through how family relations (e.g. spousal and parent-child attachments and estrangements) shape, and are imagined in the home space.

This essay attempts to read two understandings of home against each other: (1) the home as an intimate family space, and (2) the home as country or nation

1 Both novel titles will be abbreviated hereafter as *TPE* and *HBL*. Reviews of both novels are available on *Quill and Quire.com*, a Toronto-based online literary magazine (http://www.quillandquire.com, accessed 29 August 2017). Critical scholarship on the novels is currently unavailable and since the novels are not very well-known, short synopses of each text have been provided in the corresponding sections of this essay.

which encompasses the geophysical, cultural, historical and political. Both these concepts of home inform constructions of the city spaces in these two novels, whereby the idea of twin space – posited through the use of biological twinship – could be read as a form of radically open Thirdspace that allows for the complex connections between space, time and social being (Soja, 1996: 7)[2]. In their journeys of self-reinvention, it is notable that the twin protagonists move to Canadian urban spaces firmly aligned with multicultural contexts marked by racial and ethnic difference. Here I put forward that both texts construct Canadian contexts as predominantly white, while implementing Asian Canadian frameworks as tools for the white protagonists in navigating the suburban/rural – urban binary. The Asian Canadian frameworks (Chinese Canadian and Japanese Canadian) accessed are set up as shadowy spectral urban resources, whereby their histories and contemporaneities are not given currency or valency in the conception of Canadian spaces, thus 'unhoming' these cultural presences, while 're-homing' white subjectivities in urban spaces.

Biological twinship is a prominent similarity: Jane and Eugenie Ingram are identical twins in den Hartog's text, while Lucy and Levi Morgan are opposite-sex fraternal twins in Smith's text. The bodies of the twins themselves are read as twin spaces where modes of sameness and difference are interrogated – hence offering templates of individual selfhood with very close (second?) simultaneous selves. The condition of twinship demonstrates how these protagonists perceive themselves as either two halves of a whole unit or a doubling of one entity. Both sets of twins use urban spaces to reinvent themselves as individuals, rather than as one half of a twin dyad. Their childhoods are associated with rural and suburban spaces marked by loss, violence and forbidden desire, which continue to haunt the adult twin protagonists in their respective city spaces where they produce new homes. While the certainty of twinship is grounded in the notion of having a reliable second self in the twin, the novels gradually reveal, how their home spaces become threatening to the twins' selfhood in which their sense of twinship is imbricated. Both novels have plots that are driven by twin separation – through disruptions of family relationships due to spousal conflict, death of a parent or sibling, and parent-child estrangements. Both texts offer variations on the absent or lost twin returning to haunt the surviving or abandoned twin, as revenants that function as catalysts to deal with loss. While these memories of family dysfunction furnish necessary sites of haunting to produce twin urban spaces for new homes, additional historical and cultural hauntings of Othered, unbelonging forms of Canadianness can be traced,

2 In *Thirdspace* (1996), Edward Soja posits a 'trialectics of space' based on Henri Lefebvre's 'conceived', 'perceived', and 'lived' space models in order to disrupt binary categories (60-70). I put forward that twin space can be read as a form of Thirdspace that is open to intersectional readings of spatialization that considers political exercises of power especially in the context of racialised, gendered, disabled and classed positions – this is part of my research agenda in the context of my larger project on biological twinship in Anglophone literatures.

which will hopefully instigate rumination on representations of Canadianness in fiction produced by white-identifying Canadian writers.

Producing Cityspace – Creating Twin Space

The analysis of literary and other cultural representations provides valuable insights on how urban and suburban spaces are produced and maintained. As such, creative works allow for critical engagement with discourses and practices that shape lives and spaces. Hence urban writers produce city spaces in their works, by mapping and charting social interaction, memory, myth and desire in their stories (Deer, 2008: 120–121).

And indeed den Hartog and Smith both can be read as mapmakers of the Canadian cities they address in their works, whereby myths, desires, memories and twin bodies all have their specific (if messy!) functions in creating such spaces and being created by them in turn. In both novels suburban and rural spaces are marked as home spaces, by memories saturated with family relations and interactions. Here I am mindful of Annette O'Connell's observation that both fantasies of and interrogations of Canadian rural (and I would add, suburban) spaces as viable familial spaces are often presented as identifying as white:

> […] the safety, watchfulness, and orderliness of a rural community was complicated by equal investments in freedom, anti-order, non-regulation and at times, illegal acts, for those understood to belong. Again, this more contested regulation of rural life was available to those who were able to position themselves as white. (2010: 544)

At the same time, O'Connell's caution that '[w]hile the urban rural binary exists, this must not impede insights into the differences within rural spaces' (544) indicates the necessity of intersectional readings which question homogeneous categories and subjects by locating them in networks of relations that complicate their social situations (See Bailey, 2011: 54). The twin protagonists draw the reader into their private home worlds where forms of 'anti-order' and 'non-regulation' can be traced in familial relations, that are not quite in keeping with the frames of 'safety, watchfulness, and orderliness' expected of ideal families and communities. Both novels also portray the potential of these families' isolation within the rural and suburban communities which also constitute and generate these home spaces – thus illustrating levels of (voluntary?) integration or exclusion of the families in these communities. The ostensibly intact family home spaces in suburban and rural contexts represented in both novels are evocative of traditional portrayals of Canadian literary space as bucolic, as Nancy Burke observes:

> The city was rarely a setting of choice for Canadian writers until the last half of the 20th century. […] While Canadian literary space had tended

> to be bucolic – the Prince Edward Island villages and farms, the wilderness and arctic, which so captured the imagination of Europeans from the time they appeared in Canadian writers' narratives as well as the vast prairies and the ubiquitous small town […] – this has been Canadian space for most writers. […] Even later, when the population began to live in urban agglomerations, the setting of texts, fueled perhaps in part by nostalgia, was often rural. (Burke, 2003: 303)

What is notable here is Burke's emphasis on a specifically Anglophone production of Canadian rural and small town spaces as contingent with islands and prairies, peopled by Canadians of English and Scottish descent, as can be noted by her citing of Prince Edward Island contexts (likely alluding to L. M. Montgomery's well-known *Anne of Green Gables* series), invested in producing coherent portraits of Canadian family and community life. Such portrayals promote idyllic notions of Canadian space, referred to by O'Connell as 'thick rural spaces that are safe, family friendly and caring' (2010: 544). Den Hartog's and Smith's texts, however, demonstrate how especially the parents' investments in certain forms of domestic order and watchfulness in their rural and suburban homes are complicated by acts of disorder, violence, neglect and personal desire, thus belying the fantasy of rural and suburban Canadian landscapes as 'safe, family friendly and caring'. This idyll is interrogated in both novels with regard to domestic security for women and children – whereby the commitment of the communities in these spaces to safety and care is not clear.

Along similar lines, in her 1999 essay 'Bodies-Cities', Elizabeth Grosz elaborates on cultural linkages between the body and the city:

> The city in its particular geographical, architectural and municipal arrangements […] affects the way the subject sees others […], the subject's understanding of and alignment with space […]. Moreover, the city is also […] the site for the body's cultural saturation, its takeover and transformation by images, representational systems, the mass media, and the arts – the place where the body is representationally reexplored, transformed, contested, reinscribed. In turn the body (as a cultural product) transforms, reinscribes the urban landscape according to its changing (demographic, economic and psychological) needs, extending the limits of the city, of the sub-urban, ever towards the countryside which borders it. (1999: 385-386)

While Grosz elucidates on how the city functions as one constituent of the social identity of the body, through its architectural, spatializing and geographical arrangements, she alludes to the significance of the family as extending the social geography of the city. In light of this understanding of the contingency of bodies and cities, charting the construction of families across the rural, suburban and urban

spaces in these two novels would be a necessary exercise. Here the twins' consciousness of their twinship is contiguous with their perceptions of their own bodies as essential to how they negotiate the city spaces they encounter. This is effected in their readings of how the arrangements of homes in accordance to the distribution of bodies (their own and those of their parents) in these homes affect the relations between these bodies. The twin protagonists' movements into city spaces often entail confronting forms of cultural shock at the kinds of difference, perceptions of disorderliness, defamiliarization and familial fragmentation. At the same time, the protagonists' socialization into the dominant English Canadian context does not entertain a multicultural or transcultural understanding of Canadian demographics – a circumstance that is attributable to a particular understanding of their childhood suburban space as exclusively white. In this light, I access Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi's observation that "[o]ne of the operative assumptions in whiteness studies is that both forms of race thinking – race as biological difference or race as cultural difference – are conceptualized against some assumed white norm" (2011: 5), to consider the implicit binary of white Canadian identity / non-white Asian Canadian identity in both texts.

In *The Perpetual Ending*, the 10-year-old narrator Jane Ingram is explicit in her reading of Toronto as urban space where difference congregates – this is marked in racial terms using the parameter of skin colour:

> Yonge street, old street, goes on forever, no street stops it. […] Here people come from everywhere. In shades of pink and brown, some so black there is purple in them. At home, with the odd exotic exception, people come in white only. Peachy pink, the colour of me, of you […] (*TPE,* 81)

This description of a main thoroughfare in the heart of downtown Toronto from the young Jane's perspective underscores the perception of this urban space as a racialised and exoticised space for the (fatherless, fragmented) white family from the suburbs, thus alluding to a predominantly white demographic in Deep River that is more familiar to the Ingram twins. The twins' self-description addresses the childish understanding of whiteness as shades of pink (which Jane aligns firmly with herself and her twin) as part of a plethora of differences that congregate in the city – thus setting the twins apart from "home", where "people come in white only".

In *How the Blessed Live*, while this explicit form of racial distinction is not as easily discernible – the comparatively isolated home space of Ontario island society is implicitly understood as white. Of the few references to physical indicators of whiteness, one is found in a letter from Daniel Morgan to his dead wife Wren, the mother of the twins: at this point the twins have left home and Daniel is alone with his memories of their childhood:

> "Wren, down at the beach this afternoon, I found a turtle shell. Empty, […] Disappeared from its home. […] Tonight, reading one of their old books, stories by the brothers Grimm. Remembering how blonde their hair was. How they glowed sometimes with a light that didn't seem entirely earthly. […] I am hollow from all this missing" (*HBL*, 124-125)

The empty turtle shell on the beach (itself a threshold space) and the book of fairytales allow the father to reflect on the absence of his family – and the immense sense of loss that marks his home space. The description of the blonde[3] twins locates them in a mythic space of memory, yearning and fantasy connecting them to afterlife spaces, which Daniel imagines his dead wife as inhabiting. The blondness and halo-like glow of the twins, reminiscent of European representations of angelic beings, thus reify mythic understandings of twins as semi-divine beings; there is the sense of the father being haunted by his absent twins who were reminders of his dead wife.

Both novels then foreground the crises of white Canadian family structures and values against the backdrop of rural/suburban space: such spaces are home to seemingly intact families, while the urban spaces are presented as fragmented family spaces, in which the twins work through the estrangements experienced by their families. Interestingly, the twins in both texts do not undertake these measures together; rather each twin encounters and shapes these urban spaces on their own in their efforts to reinvent themselves as individuals – at the same time, urban space is envisioned in both texts as twin space, because of the protagonists' consciousness of their twinship as inextricable aspects of their identities. The urban spaces are negotiated and navigated using the memories of the twin who is either dead or absent; hence these twin spaces are marked by loss since the twin dyad is halved. Such urban navigations are fraught by haunting, where, according to Tiina Kirss, '[w]hat haunts is not subject to conscious memory: unbidden, it comes back for visits, and recurs through uncanny phenomena, personified or atmospheric' (2013: 21). Twin bodies, by virtue of their twinship, can be considered doubled forms of visible and emotional haunting for each other and for their families. The uncanniness of two such similar bodies makes differentiating between them fraught with uncertainty. This is manifest as personified and atmospheric haunting, while the protagonists' private twin memories work to maintain and/or sever twin connections, in their oscillations between identities coloured by twinship and desires for individuality.

At the same time, other forms of familial loss and estrangement are constantly evoked: In *The Perpetual Ending*, the absent abusive father David haunts Jane and

3 Elsewhere, after a day out on the lake near their home, Daniel describes his twins: "Their faces glowed pink […] in the firelight" (54) – thus resonating with Jane Ingram's descriptions of shades of pink contingent on racial understandings of whiteness as associated with suburban home spaces in *The Perpetual Ending*.

Eugenie in their new home in Toronto, while they try to acquaint themselves with the city – Jane yearns for her father, while Eugenie is indifferent to his absence. As an adult, Jane later moves to Vancouver, carrying memories of her twin's coeval experiences of Toronto with her, but is unable to communicate this story to her lover Simon, who invests Vancouver with new meaning for Jane. In *How the Blessed Live*, Lucy and Levi consistently reflect on their estrangement from each other in their separate cities of Vancouver and Montreal, while their dead mother's absence from their lives underscores their absence from each other's lives. While Lucy instigates this twin separation due to her pregnancy after an incestuous encounter with her brother, Levi (and their father) are ignorant of the pregnancy. Thus the twins' sense of the urban spaces they choose as new homes are marked by hauntings of lost and estranged family members; both Jane Ingram and Lucy Morgan are the twin sisters whose narratives are marked by their secrets, their untold / untellable stories – which in turn haunt their later urban home spaces of Vancouver.

Homes and Hauntings

Home spaces contingent on normative ideals of the family unit bear scrutiny with regard to how belonging is envisioned and how identities are generated. While the home is often read as the quintessential family space, Rosemary George argues that the home is a space of power relations relating to the management of difference:

> […] the basic organizing principle around which the notion of the 'home' is built is a pattern of select inclusions and exclusions. Home is a way of establishing difference. Homes and home countries are exclusive. Home, I will argue, along with gender/sexuality, race and class, acts as an ideological determinant of the subject. […] The politics of location come into play in the attempt to weave together a subject-status that is sustained by the experience of the place one knows as Home or by resistance to places that are patently 'not home'. Locations are positions from which distance and difference are formulated and homes are made snug. (1999: 2)

Here I see George conceptualizing home on two levels: on the microcosmic level of an intimate family space housing its members, as well as a macrocosmic understanding of a country and a nation as a home space. The twin protagonists are themselves space-producing agents in their respective city spaces: the childhood memories of the past are mobilized in the twins' adult decisions to relocate to their chosen cities to pursue their own dreams, desires and yearnings. In following one twin's story then, the reader is tempted to imagine a parallel narrative of the missing or absent twin, in order to compare their trajectories and thus map out similarities and differences. Hence the fascination of doubled bodies bearing the same genetic make-up opens up possibilities of two selves pursuing alternate paths in life, based

on different choices, whereby one notes that the identities of twins include considerations of bodily and psychic spaces firmly rooted in the concept of twinship itself as home.[4]

In line with Rosemary George's microcosmic understanding of the home as intimate family space, parents have the responsibility of shaping home spaces conducive for functional family relations. The fathers in both novels are instrumental in imbuing the home spaces (an unnamed rural island on Lake Ontario and the suburban town of Deep River, Ontario) with forms of patriarchal authority (one is a hermit widower and the other is a xenophobic alcoholic). The mothers of these families are absent (through death at childbirth) or ineffectual (a failed attempt to escape domestic abuse). This begs the question then of how both paternity and maternity work to shape home spaces and which normative structures are involved in producing families – here lived environments of suburban and urban spaces would be contingent on decisions influenced by the gendered arrangements within families, with regard to childcare, travel to work spaces, schools and centres of social interaction in communities, among others.

The Perpetual Ending offers a particular reading of how gender contributes to shaping homes (whiteness and class are unmarked parameters intersecting with gender, demonstrating how patriarchal norms work in this home space). The small town of Deep River is a suburban space, invested with heteronormative values aligned with a middle class nuclear family ideal. This ideal is disrupted when the Ingram twins' mother Lucy decides to leave her husband David and move to Toronto to escape her husband's abuse – and to pursue her personal dream of becoming an artist. The mother's promise of home in two spaces is aligned with the parents' love for their twins – but which is marked by their own estrangement from each other:

> "Twice as much, half as much." This is splitting up. It doesn't mean the love is halved, in fact it might be doubled, because love for a child – for two children – is a whole different love story. We will live in two homes, she tells us, Deep River and Toronto. In a way, we'll be lucky. (*TPE*, 60)

This description of two homes with twice as much love available for her twins is aligned with Lucy's desperate attempt to reinvent herself, to move beyond the prescribed roles of motherhood and wifehood imposed on her by her husband – and normative societal expectations. The twins' childhood experience of the urban space of Toronto is designated as a space of twinship where what might be consid-

4 This would be applicable to twins who have not been separated at birth, while it is debatable in the cases of twins who have been raised separately and are ignorant of each other's existence – in which instance, such twins may experience the lack of the twin either as a phantom haunting or may not feel any lack at all. For in-depth study on this phenomenon, see *The Minnesota Study of Twins Reared Apart* (1990) by Thomas Bouchard et al.

ered a doubled, two-in-one perspective, exhibits divergences into individuality ("[…] there are people in between us, noticing our sameness. They look from me to you, you to me, as though they are seeing double. This at a time when we could not be more different. […] irritation prickles off me like electricity" (*TPE*, 45)). This urban space is also rendered as a radical maternal Thirdspace of uncertainty and possibility through their mother Lucy's attempts to realize her artistic ambitions and to set up home in more unconventional ways free from patriarchal control. At the same time, the 'twoness' of the home space, doubled now in two different locales, with the parents separated, furnishes an additional dimension to the idea of twin space in the novel, which vacillates between doubling and halving ('twoness' and 'oneness').

This actual halving of the home where Lucy is suffocated by her husband's erratic emotional violence, resonates with Caroline Rosenthal's comparative reading of US and Canadian urban fiction at the millennium[5], where she remarks on how women's experiences are often elided in imaginings and representations of national identity:

> While Canadian urban fiction at the turn of the millennium explored those myths and groups that national narratives and canons had excluded, literary criticism in the United States looked back at earlier definitions of city fiction and reexamined modernist paradigms and modes of its representation. […] In the twenty-first century, urban critics further claimed that the term and concept of city fiction is so closely connected to modernist perceptions of space and of the subject that it eclipsed the specific urban experience of women and of groups that were racially and ethnically different […]. (Rosenthal, 2014: 250)

Rosenthal's reading of Canadian fiction set in urban space adds another dimension to George's reading of the home space (both as private domestic space and as national spaces of cultural (un)belonging), where power is exercised, to include and exclude certain experiences (i.e. those of women and racialised groups). Both novels demonstrate how women's experiences are eclipsed in the construction of suburban spaces which are conceived of as family spaces – but also show how uneasy homes are set up by the female characters in cities chosen as new home spaces, in order to effect recalibrations of themselves, as family members and as individuals. While *The Perpetual Ending* foregrounds female experiences of domestic abuse in the figures of Jane and her mother Lucy, *How the Blessed Live* pays equal attention to the experiences of the fraternal opposite sex twins, Lucy and Levi. What is significant in both novels is that the mothers of these families demonstrate forms of ab-

5 The pairing of these novels can be considered a form of Janus-faced textual twinship, since *The Perpetual Ending* was published in 1998 and *How the Blessed Live* was published in 2002 – i.e. two years before and two years after the turn of the century marking the millennium. Both novels allude to racial and ethnic difference in Canadian urban spaces – while foregrounding a hegemonic understanding of Canadian cultural and national identity as predominantly white.

sence which disable normative family dynamics, engendering troubled relationships between the children and their fathers, and contingently between the twins themselves. This inability to generate coherent and constructive relationships later extends to other people outside the twins' family constellations: Jane is unable to tell her partner Simon about her mother's experience of her husband's abuse nor talk about her twin's death; Lucy gets pregnant after an incestuous encounter with her twin brother – and leaves home without telling him or her father about her condition. Both these female twins in the two stories carry memories of their twins as ghostly texts with them to their new city homes – in Vancouver.

Framed against George's macrocosmic reading of home as contiguous with cultural spaces of citizenship, both novels deploy frameworks of race alongside questions of gender in conceptualizing Canadian cityscapes as inclusive (or exclusive?) spaces in the protagonists' attempts to reinvent themselves, through recreating home spaces. While both novels are invested in exploring women's positions which have traditionally been elided by national narratives (as Rosenthal has observed), they clearly foreground whiteness, underscoring Linda Peake's and Brian Ray's observation that:

> […] the one enduring meta-narrative in Canadian society is 'whiteness'. […] In the national imaginary the 'real' Canada – Canada as the great white north – lies beyond the nation's largest cities in the countryside and small towns (also overwhelmingly white). (Peake/Ray, 2001: 180).

While Asian Canadian identities are constructed as Other in both novels, white Canadian identity is the normative unmarked racial designation. Thus, in line with Richard Dyer's observation that: "[t]he sense of whites as non-raced is most evident in the absence of reference to whiteness in the habitual speech and writing of white people in the West" (2005: 2), both den Hartog and Smith have positioned themselves clearly as speaking exclusively from and for a white Canadian social space, by implementing mainly white narrators and focalizers in their works. At the same time, the portrayals of Asian Canadian subjectivities are rendered in shadowy insubstantial contours, meant to serve as props denoting urban space.

While, as Eleanor Ty has observed "[m]uch has changed […] with the changing demographics and immigrant patterns, especially in the medium to large cities in Canada" (2006: 63), these two texts demonstrate a curious non-recognition of Japanese and Chinese Canadian histories as part of greater Canadian historical and cultural narratives. This lacuna contributes to 'shaping narratives of 'absence' and 'presence', which demand that 'people of colour […] internally and externally (un)belong' (see Peake/Ray, 2001: 181), rendering the Canadian cultural spaces constructed in the novels markedly monolithic in their imagination of Canadian cultural identity. Instead these histories appear subliminally (and firmly!) aligned with urban spaces where non-white Others are reinscribed as unbelonging sojourners. They are spec-

trally mobilized in the literary mapping of these city spaces, to provide screens to reconstitute fragmented white twin selfhoods into whole individuals with unique stories. Asian Canadian spectral positions then occupy the ambiguous border terrain of the 'outsider within' the Canadian imaginary, conditionally sanctioned by whiteness in these narratives, as long as they are useful in reconstituting and reinforcing white belonging.

The spectrality of Asian Canadian presences in these two texts can be read as forms of postcolonial haunting, which reference the ways in which the narratives of transition from long periods of colonial rule to independence in former colonies reverberate with colonial power relations in the postcolonial phase of history (see O'Riley, 2007: 2; cited in Kirss, 2013: 25; see also Joseph-Vilain/Misrahi Barak, 2001: 17-26).[6] The concepts of ghostliness and spectrality in the context identified here are contiguous with cultural narratives that are marginalized and unintegrated into the larger cultural and national narrative – thus Othered histories are seen as irrelevant to the dominant historical and contemporary contexts:

> Spectrality may be seen as a threshold phenomenon rendered potentially and intermittently visible between what Jan and Aleida Assmann have called 'communicative memory' and 'cultural memory', before official versions of history solidify, often minimizing and erasing the traces of violence […] (Kirss, 2013: 22).

Thus in den Hartog's and Smith's literary mappings of the twins' journeys to selfhood, I find Asian Canadian bodies being spectralised in the city spaces of Toronto and Vancouver illustrating George Elliot Clarke's observation that "non-whites have often served as a kind of phantom resource" in white Canadian literary texts (1998: 108). Such mappings in these novels contribute to producing cultural narratives aligned with a certain solidification of 'official versions of history' that edit out Asian Canadian narratives. Such reductions of Asian Canadian presences to manageable, palatable forms of difference are designed to furnish white selves with non-threatening new home spaces. Chinese Canadians and Japanese Canadians are represented as never quite having arrived in the Canadian cultural imaginary in both texts, despite their geophysical presences. This non-arrival allows a nuanced reading of the term 'revenant', which is valuable to the concept of postcolonial hauntology, based on Gayatri Spivak's definition of the ghost as an entity that "coordinates the future in the past, the ghost is not only a revenant (a returner, the French for 'ghost'), but also an arrivant, one who arrives" (Spivak, 'Ghostwriting',

6 Such haunting is the return of the spectre of colonialism in new incarnations – which then begs the question if there is such a 'post'-colonial phase when taking into account the contemporary conditions of indigenous North Americans and the current manifestations of racialised discourses, attitudes and behaviours, which complicate discourses of gender, sexuality, religion and class.

1995: 71 cited in Kirss, 2013: 23). Hence I advocate reading Chinese and Japanese Canadian contexts as diasporic narratives, where the actions of leaving, arriving and returning would be salient to understanding how homes are made (im)possible in diaspora. In this light, the concept of the revenant would be pertinent to Rosemary George's reading of home as an exercise in inclusions and exclusions, which in turn is contingent with Avtar Brah's reading of diasporic space as:

> the point at which boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and otherness, of 'us' and 'them' are contested. […] the concept of diaspora space […] includes the entanglement […] of the genealogies of dispersion with those of 'staying put'. (1996: 209)

Thus while the twins are haunted by their memories of suburban/rural home spaces and missing siblings and lost parents in the process of reinventing themselves in urban homes, other forms of textual haunting take place in the narratives where some histories and identities are not allowed to arrive and make home in Canada. In the following sections, I demonstrate how the twin protagonists in both novels (with the exception of the dead Eugenie in *The Perpetual Ending*) claim these spectral diasporic bodies, thus accessing non-white unbelonging positions on a temporary basis to negotiate their own unbelonging and crisis in their relocations to urban spaces. Notably these spectralised Asian Canadian bodies are feminized in both texts and rooted in city spaces of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. They function as sites of displacement for violence, sexually deviant behavior and traumatic loss experienced by the twins – so that these can attain consensus and reintegrate their fragmented white selves into new wholes. Thus these feminized Asian Canadian spectral bodies perform care-giving functions traditionally associated with home-making.

Asian Canadianness – Spectral Diasporic Reimaginings of Urban Home Space

While Chinese and Japanese Canadian histories may not seem immediately identifiable as postcolonial narratives in the sense that Kirss puts forward, it would be necessary to read these histories in the context of migratory movements during the late 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries at the height of colonial administration in Canada and elsewhere. Chinese and Japanese immigrants to Canada during these periods were subject to colonial racial discourses and diverse forms of exclusion and policing by the Canadian government based on just such discourses.

Indeed, Chinese Canadian and Japanese Canadian histories and current political concerns still grapple with racialisation and racism that reflect the narrative of unbelonging and Othering addressed in the concept of 'diaspora'. Thus, fraught with regard to theoretical and political engagements with race, the idea of diaspora "can be seen to reinscribe and champion essentialised notions of racial and ethnic difference, as well as contest and fracture them" (Alexander, 2010: 113). In her insightful

essay on diasporic citizenship, Lily Cho has commented on the designation of Asian Canadian positions as 'minority', which "marks a relation defined by racialization and experienced as diaspora" (2007: 98). This understanding of diaspora is built on Avtar Brah's cautious linking the diasporic with the status of 'minority', where diaspora is to be understood as "embedded within a multi-axial understanding of power; one that problematizes the notion of majority/minority" (Brah, 1996: 189). Thus in exploring the entangled relations between citizenship, literature and nation, Cho notes that "Asian Canadian literature […] relates as a minority literature to Canadian literature […] because it cannot be divorced from the long histories of racialization that mark Asian Canadian communities as being in the minority in relation to the dominant culture" (98). I see this understanding of diasporic identity in this minority/majority binary operating in these two texts, whereby Chinese and Japanese Canadians are used as urban signifiers by virtue of their racialisation, while at the same time marking them as not quite having arrived in Canada. Spectralized Asian Canadianness seems to 'ghost' through these literary Canadian cityscapes, performing certain functions to underscore the narrative of white Canadian citizenship, illustrating Cho's position that "[d]iaspora allows us to be up against citizenship, to embrace it even as we hold it at some distance, to recognize it as both disabling and enabling" (108).

In both texts the white Canadian selves (understood as English-Canadian) attempt physical affiliations with so-called 'visible minority' groups, in order to root themselves in their urban spaces. The Chinese-Canadian (*The Perpetual Ending*) and the Japanese-Canadian (*How the Blessed Live*) characters are not rendered as three-dimensional agents in the narratives; rather they are evoked and reduced to essentialised bodies and types marking urban spaces, while being instrumentalised for the twin protagonists' own processes of self-reinvention. In *The Perpetual Ending*, Jane Ingram refers to a Chinese classmate, Helena Ying, whose only function is to validate Chinese food in the twins' immediate experiential childhood context of Toronto (126), and Mai Ling, the adult Jane's Chinese neighbor on Granville Street, Vancouver (13), who takes in Jane's pet goldfish when she leaves the city. The stories of both women are not incorporated into the Ingram twins' lives – they function as mere props to denote an essentialised non-threatening Chineseness marking the two urban landscapes that are home to the twins. In *How the Blessed Live*, Levi Morgan has a relationship with a Japanese Canadian woman Alex grounded at first in their artistic cooperation, which then develops into a brief sexual affair (98-100). Aside from the fact that she is adopted, speaks French, English and German fluently, and is a member of a street performance artist troupe, there is not much else about the character that allows for more complexity that might denote Japanese Canadian integration into the Montreal cityscape. Indeed Alex serves as a canvas against which Levi can confront the loss of and estrangement from his twin Lucy, while serving as a model for his sculptures of the female body, which he creates with Lucy

in mind, working through his memories of their twin space of home on the unnamed Ontario island.

The Ingram Twins in Toronto – *The Perpetual Ending*

The Perpetual Ending is a first person narrative told from Jane Ingram's' perspective, addressed to her twin sister (second-person narrator 'you') in the twelve chapters of the first section eponymously entitled *Eugenie*. The text itself turns out to be an uneasy twin space, due to this narrative structure, since Jane and Eugenie are mirror-image twins, whose thoughts and emotions evoke impressions of very close and secure doubled selves – which however reveal themselves to be the opposite of each other producing conflict and uncertainty ("Sometimes you are just like me and sometimes you are just the opposite, a thing I might never understand" (83)). This section deals with Jane's memories of their childhood in the small town named Deep River in Ontario and their move to Toronto at the age of ten with their mother Lucy – to escape their father's abuse. This sojourn however proves temporary since David travels to the city to reclaim them after a few months. The attempt on the father's part to forcibly reunite the family and return to the suburban home space results in an even more traumatizing fragmentation of the family, ending in the destruction of the twin dyad: Eugenie dies in a traffic accident. As the surviving twin, Jane is estranged from her parents and moves to Vancouver as an adult[7], where she commemorates her childhood experiences with her twin by writing children's stories, which are interspersed through the entire narrative at key points, when Jane remembers specific incidents about her sister or her parents. She returns to Toronto and to Deep River, Ontario to confront another impending loss – her mother is dying of cancer.

Jane's arrival in this urban space evokes memories of her twin's death and the parents' separation**.** She associates her childhood experience of Toronto with Eugenie, more specifically their common experience of Chinatown – and her personal comparison of this urban space with the suburban space of Deep River. Both spaces contain Jane's memories of her family before and after her twin's death:

> When you and I lived here we would have gone to Chinatown to see the strange fruits and vegetables and their Chinese-character labels. […]

7 Jane's adult life as a singleton (a twin who has lost her sibling) is marked by her love for Simon which is closely interwoven with her experience of Vancouver and which offers some security in her otherwise fragmented and displaced sense of self. Hence the last six chapters gathered in the second section are entitled *Simon*; who is the second person in her life, with whom she has an intimate relationship comparable to that with her twin. While Jane yearns to tell Simon about her twin – she is unable to do so (19). The narrator tells the story, with Simon as her intended addressee ('you'), who ironically remains ignorant of this hidden story – unlike the reader, who is privy to Jane's thoughts, her loss and private mourning. In this section, Jane disrupts her relationship with Simon, leaving him and Vancouver for an indefinite period – leaving him still ignorant of her dead twin.

> Heaps of blushing mangoes. The clean green smell of coriander. A Saturday, Spadina's wide sidewalk swarming with people, the musical Chinese voices loud, then quiet in my ears. […]
> There was always a creepiness about this city, remember? Even back then, when the city was smaller, to us it was huge, and everyone was someone we did not know, just the opposite of home. (42, 44)

The adult Jane maps twin space in Toronto for herself anew by remembering the space of Chinatown, where she and Eugenie used to spend their Saturdays. While Jane perceives the city as 'creepy' connecting to her childhood discomfort with her experience of Chinatown as the very anti-thesis of 'home', this adult sense of 'creepiness', the 'uncanny', is exacerbated in hindsight, by memories of her twin whose death is linked with this urban space and with their father's violence in taking them away from the city. The Chinatown space, redolent of cultural difference, marks it as an 'unhoming' as well as a twin space for Jane, reminding her of life before and after her twin's death ("When you and I lived here …"). The verb "lived" takes on double meaning with regard to Eugenie's actual state of being alive in Toronto and dying before the twins could return with their parents to Deep River, as well as alluding to the twins as residing in Toronto urban space.

Chinese Canadian identity is sublimated into the twins' experience of Chinese food, and rendered familiar up to a point. Aside from this manageable difference, the immensity of the city space is saturated with forms of cultural difference that are bewildering to Jane, but enjoyable to Eugenie. While Jane manages to consume some forms of difference, she is worried about being "polluted" as can be seen in her preoccupation with germs and filth which comes to symbolize objectionable, undisciplined difference. Eugenie however seems capable of embracing difference in ways that make her similar to their mother Lucy, who is intent on engaging with diverse cultural contexts within the city space in the framework of her training as an artist. Thus the city space of Toronto is the site of the twins' gradual separation into individual entities; their estrangement is also a foreshadowing of the impending, more permanent separation.

Jane's yearning for an intact family seems about to be fulfilled when David comes to visit his family in the city. Lucy and the twins introduce him to more 'authentic' Chinese food, thus making them urban 'experts' in educating him in cultural diversity that constitutes urban life:

> Afterwards we take him to Chinatown. He is our tourist. He has never before eaten anything Chinese except egg rolls and sweet 'n' sour chicken balls, and so we show him sticky buns and dumplings and wormy noodles in blackbean sauce, which we know all about because we have been here many times with Lucy and also because at school we have a Chinese friend, Helena Ying, who brings real Chinese food in her lunch

> box. 'I think we got ourselves a couple of city girls here, Luce," he says, smiling. Oh, his happy smile. I want to say, Please can we come home now? Because here people live on the streets, you see. […] Everyday something happens, Daddy. The floating germs are invisible, they might be all over us, inside us by now. I am careful not to touch, but Eugenie touches everything. […] (126-127)

Dining out in Chinatown, the twins and their parents perform the idealized intact family; the symbolic value of a family meal in cementing the different levels of homing and belonging is read from the child's perspective, whereby she grasps at the hope that the family may reunite. The Chinatown space itself is an urban site of family and community interaction for Chinese Canadian families, where family lunches and dinners in Chinese restaurants are moments of specific Chinese Canadian sociocultural performance that reinforce this cultural identity. However the Chinese Canadian contexts and people constituting Chinatown are absent; this urban space is hence implemented as a noiseless canvas for the child's imagined family reunion. Helena Ying is a Chinese body that is used to demonstrate how Chinese food has valency as a viable urban cultural marker; Helena is thus implemented to 'do Chineseness' and render it authentic and 'real' for the twins. At the same time, this episode draws attention to the form of multicultural benevolence based on conditional forms of acceptance of non-threatening 'visible minority' contexts, where dominant hegemonic groups can consume difference that can satisfy curiosity and craving without being potentially 'infected' by the same. While David is considered the 'tourist' who is willing to be fed strange and exotic foods by his wife and children, Jane is intent on demonstrating how Chineseness has become familiar to her in ways that cannot 'infect' and change her. This is part of the child's agenda to please her father in the hope of effecting a reconciliation, reunion and return to the paternal home space – which Jane sees herself as exiled from due to her mother's desires.

While Jane is happy to show her father their new home space, her yearning for her father surfaces alongside her own rejection of this same city space, which sets her apart from Eugenie. This fleeting moment of familial harmony reconstructs the family as an intact unit, when David attempts to reconnect with his wife ("I think we got ourselves couple of city girls here, Luce.") His pleasure (it is not clear if this is genuine) moves Jane to think, rather than verbally articulate her secret desire to return home to Deep River, demonstrating the child's own struggle to show loyalty to both parents who are at odds with each other. At the same time, she wrangles with the differences that become apparent between herself and Eugenie; the reader is never clear about this twin's own reading of the urban space of Toronto or the suburb of Deep River, except through Jane's reported impressions of what her twin says or feels. One is tempted to think that Jane's observations and opinions could be shared by Eugenie by virtue of their twinship, but this remains an uncertainty

throughout the narrative and is left unresolved. Jane is unhomed by Eugenie's obvious enthusiasm for the urban space of Toronto and her sense of freedom from their father's abuse. Eugenie's ability to revel in the possibilities that the city offers ("I am careful not to touch, but Eugenie touches everything"), thus contributes to destabilizing the family in ways emulating their mother's rebellion against patriarchal authority. At the same time, Jane is unpleasantly surprised to note that her twin, who had been a stabilizing pivot in her life, is now 'unheimlich' in her enthusiasm – she finds the situation even more alarming since the security she had in their twinship as an identitarian space has been undermined due to her twin's obvious enjoyment of and engagement with cultural difference and urban life, marking her individuality.

The Morgan Twins in Vancouver and Montreal: *How the Blessed Live*

In contrast, domestic violence and parental estrangement do not constitute the push-pull factors for movements into city spaces for self-reinvention in *How the Blessed Live*; instead parental affection as well as forbidden sibling desire form the backdrop against which the fraternal twins in this narrative navigate their chosen urban homes.

The first two chapters in *How the Blessed Live* tell of the journeys of reinvention of Lucy and Levi Morgan, a pair of fraternal opposite-sex twins, who move to Vancouver and Montreal respectively. These sections are the longest in the novel and exclusively devoted to each twin's perspective, narrating their experiences in their respective chosen city spaces, to which they travel when they turn eighteen. Lucy's section entitled *Methods of Leaving the Body* addresses her preoccupation with reinventing herself in Vancouver while dealing with her pregnancy after her incestuous encounter with her twin. Levi's section entitled *The Sweet Smell of Embalmment* deals with his sense of loss and betrayal when Lucy leaves him and his father without explanation. His artwork, which becomes his chief occupation in Montreal, is his private homage to his twin. In both sections, the twins' childhood and adolescent experiences of home in the rural space of an unnamed island in Lake Ontario return as haunting flashbacks. There are five chapters in total – the third and fourth chapters are also devoted to each twin separately but are shorter, depicting moments of personal crisis and resolution, while the last and shortest chapter alternates between the twins' perspectives leaving the ending open to a possible reunion between them at the event of their father's death. The entire narrative is interspersed with their widowed father's letters to their dead mother, describing the twins' childhood in their island home. These letters provide the backstory of the Morgans' decision to set up home on the island as well as how Daniel later copes with raising his twins as a widower. The interplay of the memories from different perspectives of the twins and their father furnish a composite picture of the Morgan family, which despite its benevolence and affection, shows how private insular

spaces of longing, loss and sorrow are mapped out both in twin space as well as individually.

Lucy and Levi take separate trajectories to Vancouver and Montreal for different reasons – on the surface, they appear to be pursuing their own artistic ambitions of singing and sculpture. Lucy's plans to train as a professional singer at a music conservatory have been deferred because of her secret; this has driven a wedge between her and her twin, thus disrupting their twin space which had been home. Lucy also confronts her own impending motherhood through interrogating her motherless childhood marked by the lack of a feminine role model. Notably her methods of reinvention examine the possibilities of a lesbian relationship with an actress, remodeling her own body through dyeing her hair black and starving herself, engaging with 'freakish' performance artists in a so-called Holy Circus while working as a personal assistant to the manager of the artist troupe (he has lost his wife, who resembles Lucy in appearance). The very first mode of reinvention that Lucy envisions for herself, however, takes place in a Japanese restaurant in Vancouver:

> In Kitto on Granville Street it starts to get busy with early dinner customers. Japanese Pop music blares above the buzz of conversations. Steam fogs the windows, transforming the restaurant into a cosy bubble of happiness. Lucy orders her new favourite things: green tea, vegetable tempura, steamed rice, a salmon roll. The perfect meal to fill her up and keep her light. Just the right amount of food – […] She is letting herself be absorbed here, becoming Asian from the inside out. […] She imagines her new Japanese self: beautiful with a musical laugh and a sweet smile. Flawless skin. Straight black hair. No unnecessary body fat. […] She will travel all over the world taking pictures. Happy all the time.
> She walks to Chinatown, giving herself over to the exotic, […]. Salted turnip, […] Tea in tins […] Bags of fortune cookies […] Everything salted and shriveled. With a shelf life extending into eternity. She allows herself to be carried along, unnoticed in the warm press of bodies and the hubbub of voices. It's like she's in another country, among friends, but safely anonymous. Entirely at home in a sea of people. (25-26)

The Japanese restaurant on Granville Street serves as a stage for Lucy to imagine a complete rewriting of her body to perform a non-white cultural identity that is sublimated in terms of food as symbolic culture, to be ingested, to 'become Asian from the inside out' and thus re-home herself. Her desire to refashion herself as a Japanese woman is informed by stereotypes attached to Japanese femininity objectified through superficial characteristics like appearance, tourist consumption of the environment, and seeming happiness stamped on through the smile and laugh. The stereotypical portrayal of Japanese femininity here does not allow for any substan-

tial recognition of lived Japanese Canadian experience with multi-dimensional and multi-axial engagements in the dominant Canadian cultural context nor with other diasporic groups in the urban landscape (see Brah, 189). The Japanese feminine 'spectre' mobilized by Lucy here would allow her to drift anonymously, in an ephemeral insubstantial home, just as she imagines this Asian Canadian identity as drifting and unrooted. Lucy does not remain with this particular context – she switches into a Chinese 'exotic' frame, when she strolls into Chinatown, allowing herself to be taken over by the 'exotic' manifestations of difference contained in Chinese preserved foods, reminiscent of the Ingram twins' forays into Toronto's Chinatown. These fleeting[8] excursions into Asian Canadianness form backdrops for Lucy to reimagine herself, while "leaving her body" (as the chapter title states), which has become unhomed.

Here the Morgan twin space could be read as the body, which had been whole where Levi and Lucy constituted home to each other. The twin dyad has often been used to symbolize the binary of spirit/body in diverse cultural contexts.[9] In her estrangement and physical distance from her twin, Lucy thus searches for a space to rest, much like a restless ghost, while Levi symbolizes the body, who in turn feels halved, separated from his twin.

Levi, in the meantime, has relocated to Montreal to do a fine arts degree at McGill University after his twin's disappearance. His magnum opus involves producing hollow female body sculptures (122-124). These sculptures resonate with memories of his twin; thus Levi confronts his loss without necessarily engaging with the incestuous encounter which pushes Lucy to leave – indeed he remains ignorant of the consequences of that intimate moment for his twin. In his initial engagement with the Montreal cityspace, Levi requires a female model for the template of his art project. He meets the young Japanese Canadian woman Alex, to whom he feels attracted:

8 This attempt is short-lived – and Lucy turns to her desire for Cassie, a young actress, who serves as yet another possible 'homing' strategy, that could be read as more acceptable than incestuous love for her twin. One notes that Lucy's imagined intimacy with Cassie depicts a child-like need to find shelter – so could this lesbian love be a site to reimagine a relationship to a mother she had never known? Addressing this aspect of Lucy's self reinvention would exceed the scope of this piece at the present time and will be taken up in more in-depth analysis of the novel in the context of my larger project.

9 While Levi does not remodel his own body as Lucy does, his sculptures resemble Egyptian mummified bodies modeled on the young Japanese woman's body. These bodies are hollow, which Levi then works to fill with smaller sculptures. This is in contrast to Lucy who starves herself to get rid of her unborn child, the product of her and her twin's desire for each other. The entire narrative contains intertextual allusions to the Egyptian Isis and Osiris incestuous twin myth; excerpts from the Egyptian Book of the Dead are interspersed throughout the text. The Isis and Osiris myth addressed the forms of doubling inherent to the binaries of life (birth) and death, the spirit and body, the heterosexual couple, using the device of twin siblinghood.

> Levi needs a model, so he calls a number from a bulletin board at school. When she rings the doorbell and he sees her standing there, he recognizes her from drawing class. She looks Japanese. Her hair is long and straight, the blackest, shiniest black. […] 'I'm Alex.' She reaches out her hand.
> 'Levi. Hallo.' Her hand is fine and smooth […]
> They go to a hole-in-the-wall restaurant that she knows, […] As they talk, Levi begins to feel electric, like all the places where his body meets the air are sparking. […]
> They take a rough path up the mountain, […] At the top, they stand looking at the St. Lawrence River and the green copper rooftops of the city. […] Levi […] asks Alex where she's from.
> 'I was adopted, but I lived here since I was a baby. You?'
> 'Dad lives on an island in Lake Ontario. I didn't know my mother. She died giving birth to my sister and me.'
> 'You're twins?'
> 'Yeah'.
> 'Do you miss her?'
> 'Who?'
> 'Your mom.'
> 'I don't know. Can you miss something you've never had?'
> Alex glances at him sideways, her eyes narrowing.
> 'Yes, I think you can.' (98, 99, 100-101)

The description of Alex from Levi's perspective echoes Lucy's (brief!) reimagining of herself as a young Japanese woman ("her new Japanese self: beautiful with a musical laugh and a sweet smile. Flawless skin. Straight black hair. No unnecessary body fat. […] Happy all the time."). While Lucy's ghost self as the Japanese woman fades almost as immediately as she is produced, Alex takes on more solid contours in Levi's urban space, whereby she helps him to explore the city itself and become acquainted with it.

Levi interrogates Alex about her origins – which he cannot seem to align with his perception of Vancouver as a white Canadian space, despite Alex's familiarity with Montreal. Levi's enquiry is typical of entrenched white perspectives that cannot imagine spaces like Canada being home to non-white peoples despite Canada's multicultural policy which ostensibly embraces cultural difference. Ironically, this also allows for the romantic definition of Canada as a nation of immigrants, a notion which however, "collapses diversity with immigration" (Cho, 2007: 99); this problematic stance notably edits out Aboriginal Canadian knowledges, histories and politics. Evidently in Levi's world, diversity – immigrant or aboriginal – had not made itself known – the text itself seems to underscore this perspective of normative Canadian citizenship and belonging. Alex satisfies his curiosity by revealing that she is adopt-

ed, "but that she had lived here as a baby" (100). The literary trope of adoption addresses the (un)belonging of adopted children in family home and cultural spaces, especially in transracial adoptive situations – which seems to be the case with Alex.[10] The question of adoption is not explored further in the narrative, thus preempting any form of depth for Alex's character – except at one point, where the young woman reveals that she is planning to go on a trip in Asia (where exactly in Asia is not specified) to find her birth parents (112). Alex's dismissal from the story is thus foreshadowed; since she does not really belong, she is conceptualised as the itinerant traveler, the diasporic drifter, the sojourner, who 'travels all over the world' (25).

When Alex asks Levi where he comes from, he replies with information about his parents: the hermit father on a deserted island and the mother who dies at childbirth, thus revealing his own emotional detachment from his birth place and family – while simultaneously marking him as matter-of-factly Canadian. Alex's question draws Levi out of his isolation to engage with the urban space of Montreal, thus helping him to produce home. Here Alex takes on a caregiving role for Levi, which allows him to access his own emotional resources to deal with the trauma of losing his twin. While Levi appears committed to a relationship with Alex, he inadvertently reveals his feelings for his sister during a sexual encounter between himself and Alex – after which she leaves him (154). The Japanese Canadian woman has thus fulfilled her role in the narrative and is cleanly edited out – without any follow-up to her story, while Levi gathers his emotional resources to return home on the occasion of his father's sudden death. Alex has brought Levi to a conceptual space that allows him to return home to possibly reunite with Lucy, to mourn yet another loss.

Concluding Remarks

As I have shown here, the protagonists' initial intimate engagements with the cities Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal implement Asian Canadian frameworks to articulate a sense of 'unhomeliness' as well as the 'unheimlich' in the twins' navigations and productions of these urban spaces in their attempts to make homes for themselves. Thus the strategies of 'homing' undertaken by the twins involve a means of 'unhoming' Asian Canadian contexts as 'unbelonging' to the Canadian national and cultural imaginary. The narratives demonstrate laudable attempts to foreground particularly female stories of negotiating domestic violence, death and desire in these narratives, in interrogating ideas of stability and security associated with normative understandings of home. At the same time, I consider the twins' home-making practices in both novels as 'unhoming' vulnerable positions in the

10 See David Eng (2010) *The Feeling of Kinship*, Marianne Novy (2004) *Imagining Adoption* and (2010) *Reading Adoption*, Helen Grice (2005) "Transracial Adoption Narratives", Mark Jerng (2010) *Claiming Others*.

greater cultural narrative of Canadian citizenship, in accordance with Biddy Martin's and Chandra Talpade Mohanty's reflections:

> "Being home" refers to the place where one lives within familiar, safe, protected boundaries; "not being home" is a matter of realizing that home was an illusion of coherence and safety based on the exclusion of specific histories of oppression and resistance, the repression of differences even within one's self. (2003: 90)

Martin's and Mohanty's observation rightly alludes to such precarity in these home spaces is a driving force in both narratives for the twins to reinvent themselves as individuals, creating their own singular stories, apart from their twin narratives. Since their twinships are tainted by their traumatic losses, the twins have to rework their original ideas of home as spaces of safety shaped by their twinship in their endeavours to 'home' themselves in their chosen urban spaces. Den Hartog's and Smith's novels can be read as counternarratives to heteropatriarchal discourses shaping the home space – in rural, suburban and urban contexts, where gender issues pertaining to women and children and their rights to security and community are foregrounded (see Howells, 2003: 2).

However, read against this same assertion, the Chinese Canadian and Japanese Canadian presences evoked in den Hartog's and Smith's novels underscore how essentialised flat perceptions of these diasporic positions contribute to illusions of white coherence and safety in order to reinforce white ideas of citizenship. This is done by rendering Asian Canadian contexts as 'harmless' and ready signifiers of 'care-giving' that are easily consumed, unable to resist exploitation, insubstantial. The binary of ghost / material body is remobilized in my readings of how both novels demonstrate the spectralization of Asian Canadian positions against a more solidified understanding of white Canadian belonging. Thus while white Canadians are depicted as more embodied forms of citizenship in both novels, Asian Canadian perspectives are portrayed as shadowy ghostly twin specters of not-quite citizens.

The reinforcement of the primacy of whiteness as the dominant script of Canadian cultural identity, using Asian Canadian contexts in both novels, is an example of what Smaro Kamboureli refers to as 'sedative politics' in Canadian multicultural policies. Here ethnic difference is managed without making much effort to reflect on white privilege and the power structures aligned with this particular identity, which serves as a default position:

> […] sedative politics, a politics that attempts to recognize ethnic differences, but only in a contained fashion, in order to manage them. It pays tribute to diversity and suggests ways of celebrating it, thus responding to the clarion call of ethnic communities for recognition. Yet it does so

> without disturbing the conventional articulation of the Canadian dominant society. (2009: 82)

This sedative politics is more than apparent in the ways both these Canadian narratives ostensibly practice inclusivity in their attempts to 'pay tribute to diversity' by evoking Asian Canadian contexts (while conveniently eradicating all other non-white Canadian positions), to avoid disrupting white Canadianness. However, the rehomed white Canadian twins have exercised their own ghostly 'unheimlich' power in unhoming the Japanese and Chinese Canadian contexts. At the same time, the Asian Canadian positions function as 'ghostly twins' of white Canadianness, struggling to take up their spaces in Canadian cultural and national imaginaries. Thus postcolonial textual hauntings of exclusionary white Canadian politics against 'not quite white' and non-white presences require equal attention besides tracing the ways in which subjugated and marginalized positions take on the role of revenant to teach whiteness to reflect on its own exclusivity. Hence these novels do not just add maps of social interaction and desire to the literary production of these urban, rural and suburban spaces, but also invite a sustained critique and awareness of how non-white positions are subordinated and instrumentalised in reinforcing white privilege.

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Robert Dion

L'émergence des formes de la « vie de banlieue » en région dans *La Sœur de Judith* de Lise Tremblay

Abstract

Suburbs, and the subculture that arises from them, are usually associated with the periphery of large cities. However, the reality of Quebec's "regions" is more a case of suburbs without a city core. Chicoutimi or Rimouski are examples of such cities whose centre has little weight in relation to a suburban type of town planning, one that is indifferent to local and regional specificities.

These communities unstructured by the opposition between a historic core functioning as a cultural and social marker and a bedroom periphery seem to have been especially permeable to a form of mass popular culture. This phenomenon of acculturation is analyzed in La Sœur de Judith *(2007) by Lise Tremblay, who depicts the changes brought by the Quiet Revolution to a quasi-rural environment that structured itself as a suburb in which, to quote the words used by Gertrude Stein, "there is no there there". Under the gaze of the narrator, a cultural syncretism emerges in which the world of Catholic schools and farm country roads comes into collision with the world of pop singers and gogo dancing. Behind this narrator, one senses the author keenly observing a childhood and youth similar to hers. This is the immanent sociology of regional suburbs that I brought out in Tremblay's novel, disclosing a suburban subculture that continues to appear in various successful contemporary works.*

Résumé

On associe d'habitude la banlieue et la sous-culture qui en émane à la périphérie des grandes villes. Or, la réalité du Québec des « régions » montre plutôt des banlieues sans ville centre. Des villes comme Chicoutimi ou Rimouski constituent de bons exemples de ces villes dont le centre est de peu de poids par rapport à un urbanisme de banlieue indifférent aux spécificités locales et régionales.

Ces communautés non structurées par l'opposition entre un cœur historique et une périphérie dortoir semblent avoir été particulièrement perméables à la culture populaire de masse. C'est ce phénomène d'acculturation que j'observe ici dans La Sœur de Judith *(2007) de Lise Tremblay, qui y retrace les transformations apportées par la Révolution tranquille à un milieu quasi rural qui sera conduit à se structurer en une banlieue où, pour reprendre les mots utilisés par Gertrude Stein, « there is no there there ». Sous le regard de la narratrice émerge un syncrétisme culturel où le monde de l'enseignement*

religieux et des rangs de campagne percute de plein fouet celui des chanteurs populaires de la danse à gogo. Derrière cette narratrice se profile la figure de l'auteure en fine observatrice d'une enfance et d'une jeunesse semblables à la sienne. C'est cette sociologie immanente de la banlieue en région que j'ai dégagée dans le roman de Tremblay, faisant apparaître une sous-culture banlieusarde qui continue de se manifester dans plusieurs œuvres contemporaines à succès.

Le voyageur qui, pour la première fois, découvre l'hinterland québécois sera peut-être frappé par l'indifférenciation architecturale et plus largement urbanistique qui prévaut dans les villages et les petites et moyennes villes des « régions »[1]. Presque partout à l'extérieur des cœurs villageois et urbains, des rues ou des quartiers de bungalows vaguement américains, vaguement québécisés (Morisset/Noppen, 2004 et 2004a), constituent un paysage à peine distinct de celui des quartiers qui ceinturent les métropoles. Le bungalow semble ainsi coloniser jusqu'aux campagnes les plus reculées, ayant supplanté la maison de ferme plus traditionnelle et imposé l'image d'une sorte de banlieue pavillonnaire universelle et indistincte.

On associe d'habitude la banlieue à la périphérie des grandes villes. Or, la réalité du Québec des régions montre plutôt des banlieues sans véritable ville-centre, issues d'espaces jusque-là faiblement urbanisés qui, à partir des années 1950 et 1960, se sont développés sur le modèle des grands quartiers résidentiels ceinturant les métropoles nord-américaines. Des villes comme Chicoutimi (aujourd'hui Saguenay) ou Rimouski constituent de bons exemples de ces villes dont le cœur – traditionnel, historique – est de peu de poids par rapport à un urbanisme de banlieue indifférent aux spécificités locales et régionales : uniformité architecturale fondée sur la maison unifamiliale de plain-pied, prédominance de la voiture individuelle, absence de mixité des fonctions et des populations. Or, de ce phénomène massif de transformation des conditions de vie et des imaginaires, la littérature québécoise, force est de le constater, a fait peu de cas jusqu'ici. Est-ce dû à ce « complexe de Kalamazoo » dont parlait Pierre Nepveu dans *Intérieurs du Nouveau Monde* (1998), à cette impossibilité de figurer la petite ville américaine banale et étriquée « à un degré supérieur de poésie et d'intensité dramatique » (1998 : 272)[2] ? Est-ce, comme

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1 Le Québec étant officiellement une « province » canadienne, ce substantif n'y est pas utilisé, à la différence de la France, pour désigner les portions de son territoire à l'extérieur des grandes villes de Montréal et de Québec. Le terme reconnu est « région ».

2 Nepveu soutient que « la précarité générale de la culture et de l'habitation de l'espace » constitue une « donnée fondamentale qui fait des petites villes d'Amérique des lieux amochés, assez informes et le plus souvent mal aimés, en même temps que des objets littéraires hautement improbables » (1998 : 266). Au Québec, la « mémoire des villages » occuperait ainsi plus de place « que le présent des petites villes » (270). Il faudrait toutefois faire exception, note Nepveu, pour les petites villes périphériques, situées hors de l'axe de la vallée du Saint-Laurent, et dominées par la monoindustrie – les villes d'« extrême frontière » (271), dit Nepveu à la suite du

l'avance Daniel Laforest dans un essai vibrant et polémique intitulé *L'Âge de plastique*, que le Québec, unanimement,

> a entretenu face aux espaces périurbains une injonction : s'en détourner, ne pas essayer de les connaître, éviter surtout d'y faire correspondre une idée de ce que deviennent la vie et le temps quand ils sont pris ensemble. Éviter, en d'autres mots, d'y voir de l'histoire, du biographique, et le sens d'un monde doté en tout lieu de profondeur [?] (Laforest, 2016 : 15).

Constatant la pauvreté, jusqu'à récemment tout au moins, d'un corpus québécois marqué au coin de la périurbanité[3], Laforest cite et analyse quelques œuvres qui représentent les principaux jalons d'une prise en charge progressive de la banlieue par la littérature : les textes de Jacques Ferron, *Nègre blanc d'Amérique* de Pierre Vallières (1968), l'œuvre entier de Michael Delisle, *Le Ciel de Bay City* de Catherine Mavrikakis ([2008] 2011) et *La Sœur de Judith* de Lise Tremblay (2007), roman qui me retiendra ici[4]. À propos de ce dernier, l'auteur de *L'Âge de plastique* insiste essentiellement sur son réalisme, c'est-à-dire sur sa capacité à faire en sorte que « le tumulte de la vie intérieure [soit] enchâssé au social grâce à un effort appuyé de vraisemblance dans l'élaboration des lieux, des objets matériels et de la circulation de sens que ces configurations permettent dans la pensée » (Laforest, 2016 : 123). « Enchâssé » est ici le mot clé : chez Tremblay, la banlieue n'est pas un décor, mais un élément qu'emportent, charrient et malaxent le regard et la voix de l'écrivaine et de la narratrice, en-dehors de tout cliché condescendant, de toute caricature ou de toute ironie à l'égard de ces espaces mal aimés, ici puissamment vécus *de l'intérieur*[5].

Paradoxalement, dans *La Sœur de Judith*, le mot « banlieue » – et *a fortiori* « périurbain » – n'apparaît jamais. Le lieu de l'action, Chicoutimi-Nord, est en fait indécis, tant il est ductile, en transition. Loin de l'espace figé de la banlieue pavillonnaire sortie tout achevée d'un terroir qu'on aurait cru vierge, sans réalité physique, sans antécédent ni destin, à la manière du Lewittown new-yorkais[6], le cadre spatial du

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poète acadien Gérald Leblanc. Reste à voir si le Chicoutimi-Nord de Tremblay appartient à cette configuration.

3 Dans son ouvrage, Laforest préfère le terme « périurbain » à « banlieue », celui-ci paraissant trop figé, contrairement à celui-là, pour désigner l'étalement urbain, le zonage, les friches, les banlieues, les chantiers, etc. (2016 : 15).

4 Dorénavant, les références à cet ouvrage seront notées par le sigle *SJ* et le folio, entre parenthèses dans le corps du texte.

5 Sur *La Sœur de Judith*, on lira aussi, de Daniel Laforest, « Dire la banlieue en littérature québécoise. *La Sœur de Judith* de Lise Tremblay et *Le Ciel de Bay City* de Catherine Mavrikakis » (2010). Plusieurs éléments de cet article sont repris dans l'ouvrage de 2016.

6 Lewittown (NY) constitue le prototype, et l'archétype aussi bien, de la banlieue planifiée telle qu'elle apparaît dans les années 1950. Cette banlieue pavillonnaire fut en effet érigée en quelques années (entre 1947 et 1951) par la firme Lewitt & Sons. Premier exemple de lotisse-

roman est au contraire porteur d'une histoire, d'une culture et d'une mémoire en plein bouleversement dont Tremblay rend compte dans sa réalité la plus concrète. Née à Chicoutimi en 1957, celle-ci retrace à partir de son expérience personnelle, mais avec tout le recul nécessaire, les transformations apportées par la Révolution tranquille à un milieu quasi rural qui sera conduit à se structurer en une banlieue où, pour reprendre les mots utilisés par Gertrude Stein dans son évocation de la ville d'Oakland, « there is no there there ». Sous le regard de la narratrice, une pré-adolescente qui peu à peu aiguise son jugement critique, émerge un syncrétisme culturel où le monde de l'enseignement religieux et des rangs de campagne percute de plein fouet celui des chanteurs populaires, du mini-putt et de la danse à gogo. Derrière cette narratrice un peu dépassée par ce qu'elle perçoit se profile la figure de l'auteure en fine observatrice d'une enfance et d'une jeunesse semblables à la sienne. C'est cette sociologie immanente, en cela pleinement romanesque, de la banlieue en région que je voudrais dégager dans le roman de Tremblay, faisant ainsi apparaître une sous-culture banlieusarde qui se manifeste dans plusieurs œuvres contemporaines à succès (par exemple, *Arvida* [2011] de Samuel Archibald).

On sait que la définition même de la banlieue pose problème, et l'on pourra trouver que le cadre de *La Sœur de Judith* ne correspond pas à certaines des caractéristiques généralement associées à ce milieu de vie[7]. Le fait que le mot ne figure pas dans le récit ajoute, du reste, aux doutes légitimes que l'on pourrait entretenir quant à la légitimité de l'étiquette – doutes qui toutefois, et d'étonnante façon, n'effleurent pas un spécialiste aussi chevronné que Laforest. Pour ma part, je choisis de considérer ici que le Chicoutimi-Nord décrit par Tremblay, malgré les ambiguïtés de sa caractérisation – dont il sera question dans les pages qui suivent –, ressortit suffisamment au type de banlieue paysagère et culturelle typique du Québec pour qu'on puisse, fût-ce par commodité, l'y renvoyer.

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ment et de construction de masse au États-Unis (2 000 maisons à prix modique furent mises en vente dans un premier temps, bientôt suivies par 4 000 autres), elle permit à la classe moyenne de l'après-guerre d'accéder facilement à la propriété. La clientèle visée était exclusivement blanche et anglo-saxonne (les Juifs étaient exclus). Lewittown a contribué à répandre l'image de la banlieue américaine : uniforme, monotone et stérile, uniment résidentielle, racialement et sociologiquement homogène.

7 Suivant Ann Forsyth, les dimensions clés pour cerner la banlieue – qu'aucune définition existante ne prend intégralement en considération – sont la *localisation* (au sein de l'agglomération métropolitaine), les *caractéristiques physiques* (les types de construction), les *modes de transport* (qui déterminent la possibilité de faire la navette entre le lieu de résidence et le travail), les *activités* (par exemple : résidentielle, industrielle, mixte, etc.), le *statut juridique* (les frontières, le zonage, etc.), la *composition socioculturelle* (l'uniformité ou la mixité sociale ou ethnique, la « culture » banlieusarde), les *modes de développement* (planification urbaine ou expansion suscitée par les promoteurs), le *caractère récent ou ancien* (les banlieues d'après-guerre, les villes nouvelles, etc.), *l'évaluation critique* (entre autres : la critique de l'étalement urbain, de la médiocrité architecturale, de la relégation) (2012 : 273).

Les signes de la banlieue

La Sœur de Judith met en scène le petit monde de la rue Mésy[8], rue située dans un quartier récent d'une ville qui n'est pas nommée, contrairement à sa voisine d'en face, Chicoutimi, qui est à la fois sa jumelle et un monde quasi étranger. En fait, Chicoutimi-Nord – qui fut d'abord le Canton Tremblay entre 1848 et 1893, puis le village de Sainte-Anne de Chicoutimi à partir de 1893, avant d'être érigé en municipalité en 1954 et ensuite fusionné à Chicoutimi en 1975[9] –, s'il commence à prendre le caractère d'une banlieue à partir des années 1950, dans la foulée de la construction du pont de Sainte-Anne sur la rivière Saguenay en 1933 et du boulevard Sainte-Geneviève quelques années plus tard, apparaît plutôt, dans le regard de la narratrice de onze ans, sous le double visage d'un univers paroissial et paradoxalement ouvert sur le monde sauvage du Nord. D'une part, ce sont les paroisses de Sainte-Anne, où habite la jeune fille, et de Saint-Luc, bas quartier vaguement menaçant où vit et travaille le beau Marius, objet de son attention amoureuse, qui structurent l'espace de l'action – Chicoutimi, on le verra, ne représentant qu'un arrière-plan qui sert de cadre à la vie des autres. D'autre part, ce Chicoutimi-Nord conserve une composante pionnière dans la mesure où, se situant outre-Saguenay, il se trouve aux portes d'un immense territoire forestier, qui fut à l'origine de sa fondation et où continuent de s'enfoncer, chaque semaine, le père de la narratrice, bûcheron de son état, et de nombreux hommes du quartier dont les emplois dépendent de la forêt.

Il y a donc ici, comme en maints romans québécois, l'enclos paroissial d'un côté et le territoire ensauvagé du Nord de l'autre, avers et revers d'un même rapport ambigu au territoire, et un partage sexué de l'espace, la mère de la narratrice régnant tant bien que mal – plutôt mal – sur la sphère domestique, tandis que le père, faute d'instruction, nous dit le roman, a pour partage la grande nature, c'est-à-dire les confins de la culture. Mais tout n'est pas si simple, on le devine, et la Révolution tranquille est passée par là. L'action se situe en effet, si l'on se fie au principal repère temporel du récit – la tournée d'adieu de Bruce et les Sultans à laquelle doit participer Claire, la sœur de Judith, à titre de danseuse à gogo –, en 1968, c'est-à-dire au moment où les principales réformes de la Révolution tranquille, dont celle de l'éducation, sont mises en œuvre ou en voie de l'être. Entre-temps, entre le village originel et la forêt, s'est déployé un nouvel espace dont la place n'était pas prévue dans la mythologie littéraire québécoise des « grands espaces » et de l'« arrivée en ville », celui de la banlieue et de la culture de masse.

Les signes de la banlieue, on l'a dit, ne sont pas thématisés dans le roman. Jamais la narratrice ni son entourage, famille immédiate ou élargie, voisins, professeurs, ne

8 La rue Mézy existe bel et bien à Chicoutimi-Nord, mais le nom s'écrit avec un « z » plutôt qu'avec un « s » comme dans le roman : c'est que l'orthographe du nom a changé entre maintenant et l'époque où Tremblay y résidait (indice, peut-être, de la fragilité des repères spatiaux dans ce contexte particulier).

9 Pour une histoire détaillée de Chicoutimi-Nord, voir Bouchard (1985 et 1986).

trahissent la conscience de vivre « en banlieue », en périphérie, ni d'adopter les codes culturels qui semblent accompagner ce mode de vie. Mais ces signes sont là, minutieusement déposés par l'auteure, même s'ils ne sont pas interprétés comme tels par les personnages. Ainsi le mini-putt construit par le père de Judith, où Martine-Emmanuelle Lapointe voit un signe annonciateur du dénouement tragique du récit[10], est un emblème à la fois du *kitsch* banlieusard – le jeu se joue sur de la moquette verte imitant le gazon, il a été inventé pour ceux qui ne pouvaient avoir accès, pour des raisons de statut social ou de genre, aux clubs de golf traditionnels – et de sa topographie – les grandes cours arrière aménagées strictement pour le loisir[11]. Le centre commercial où Claire emmène sa jeune sœur boire un café filtre (*SJ*, 142) appartient aussi à cet univers des banlieues récentes. L'évocation du « nouveau quartier chic de la ville », le « quartier des oiseaux [situé] juste derrière la nouvelle polyclinique » (*SJ*, 108), du côté de Chicoutimi cette fois, renvoie pour sa part au phénomène de l'étalement urbain. Le *split level* de l'une des familles de la rue Mésy est également typique de l'architecture des banlieues québécoises de l'époque, de même que l'utilisation du sous-sol pour y construire des chambres d'adolescents, des salles familiales, etc.[12] L'aménagement intérieur de la plupart des résidences du quartier, en outre, s'apparente à celui des propriétés américaines de banlieue ; d'une maison voisine, la narratrice dira ainsi que le « salon est pareil à celui du catalogue de Simpsons Sears » (*SJ*, 51), pour ensuite déplorer que ce ne soit pas le cas chez elle :

10 « La famille Lavallée [celle de Judith et de sa sœur Claire] connaîtra en effet une tragédie – qui ne sera pas dévoilée ici, question de ne pas trahir le dénouement – annoncée subtilement à la première page du roman : "Ils avaient un grand terrain et leur père avait décidé de construire son propre mini-putt. Judith et moi, nous l'aidions à étendre le tapis vert sur les formes de ciment pour que la surface soit bien lisse. Le tapis avait gardé un pli entre les deux bosses et même si on avait forcé le plus qu'on pouvait, il n'y avait rien eu à faire. Son père s'était résigné. Il avait dit qu'au mini-golf de Jonquière ils avaient une machine spéciale qui coûtait très cher et lui ne pouvait pas se l'acheter. Le chameau allait rester plissé, il n'y pouvait rien." Signe d'une fatalité ordinaire, le pli du mini-putt désigne ce qui échappe et échappera toujours aux Lavallée, ce contre quoi ils ne peuvent absolument rien. Car dans leur monde – celui de la petite entreprise, du mini – la résignation est de mise » (Lapointe, 2008 : 115).

11 La mère de la narratrice, plus près de la culture traditionnelle sur ce plan, utilise la cour pour cultiver un potager et même pour élever des champignons. Sa voisine et rivale, Rose Lemay, possède un patio et une piscine hors terre (*SJ,* 142) – équipements encore chers et rares à l'époque du récit.

12 Selon Morisset et Noppen, l'usage du sous-sol est l'un des traits caractéristiques de l'adaptation québécoise du bungalow californien : « L'archétype de l'appropriation du bungalow québécois se logea néanmoins sous terre. Au Québec, l'habitude de construire sur de profondes fondations – enfouies à un minimum de trois pieds, ce qui correspond à la surface gelée du sol – et d'abriter fournaise et combustible favorisa en effet l'aménagement des "sous-sols finis" consacrés dans les années 1960 » (2004 : 141).

> chez nous la pelouse n'est pas toujours tondue, nous n'avons même pas de salon mais une salle, que ma mère appelle salle familiale, qui est meublée de fauteuils individuels. Il n'y a pas de vrai divan et chaque fois que j'amène quelqu'un chez nous, j'ai honte. (*SJ*, 51-52)

Une culture de transition

La rue Mésy n'est certes plus la rue Deschambault[13], ce microcosme encore rattaché par certains aspects à la vie villageoise du Canada français, mais elle n'en reste pas moins reliée, par certains aspects, à la culture traditionnelle. C'est la famille de la narratrice qui rend le mieux l'ambivalence de l'époque, ambivalence qui se joue également dans l'être même de la jeune fille écartelée entre conformisme et rébellion. Par exemple, la mère de la narratrice, Simone, maintient la coutume du grand potager, elle refuse de se plier au stéréotype banlieusard de la ménagère parfaite, laissant la maison en désordre et la pelouse en jachère, meublant à la manière des salles communes d'autrefois la pièce qui devrait être un salon d'apparat. Ce qu'elle refuse en somme, ce sont les marques du *loisir,* plus précisément de la « société du loisir » annoncée dans les années 1960 et allant de pair avec la société de consommation : chez elle, on ne trouve ni aménagement paysager improductif, ni usage récréatif des espaces intérieurs et extérieurs. Sous ce rapport, et en relation avec les transformations observables au cours de la décennie 1960, elle fait preuve d'un certain conservatisme social. Mais d'autres aspects du texte tirent complètement dans l'autre sens. Anticléricale, partisane de l'instruction laïque, opposée, par conviction autant que par nécessité, à la consommation ostentatoire – elle ne cesse de pester contre les penchants consuméristes des Lavallée, les parents de Judith et de Claire, qu'elle interprète comme un signe d'arriération, sinon d'aliénation[14] –, la mère de la narratrice est au surplus féministe – elle regarde notamment l'émission *Femme d'aujourd'hui* à la télévision de Radio-Canada[15] –, ne cessant de répéter à sa fille, non sans rudesse, qu'elle doit s'instruire afin d'être un jour à même de se débrouiller dans la vie sans devoir s'en remettre à un homme.

Chose encore plus étonnante dans le contexte des années 1960, la mère a des opinions politiques et elle entend les faire valoir. Elle admire le député du comté de Chicoutimi, homme instruit qui parle à la française et qui se voit pour cette raison

13 D'après le titre du recueil d'histoires de Gabrielle Roy (1955).

14 À la suite de l'accident d'automobile qui blesse sérieusement Claire, les parents fortunés et bien en vue du conducteur imprudent se soustraient aux poursuites judiciaires en achetant des meubles aux Lavallée. La mère de la narratrice commente ainsi la situation : « Qu'est-ce que je t'avais dit, ils les ont acheté pour des meubles. Faut-tu être arriérés! C'est pas le divan fleuri qui va y ramener la santé. Elle pourra peut-être plus travailler » (*SJ*, 95).

15 Diffusé sans interruption de 1965 à 1982, ce magazine quotidien a été, sous la gouverne de l'animatrice Aline Desjardins, un important facteur d'éveil des femmes aux causes sociales et féministes.

moqué par tous les habitants du quartier[16], et surtout elle mène activement campagne pour un candidat progressiste aux élections municipales. Ce faisant, elle inscrit son action dans un monde d'hommes – monde qu'elle préfère manifestement à celui des femmes, bien qu'il ne lui soit pas totalement accessible. Cela dit, Tremblay a l'habileté, sans doute par souci de vraisemblance, de ne pas trop faire saillir ce personnage par rapport à son environnement. Cette mère résolument non conformiste[17] sert ainsi à sa famille, comme ses voisines de la rue Mésy, des mets industriels de mauvaise qualité, soupe Lipton, haricots en conserve, chocolats « à pitons » ou garniture Shirriff ; elle reconduit les préjugés de la classe moyenne banlieusarde envers ceux qui habitent les quartiers moins bien famés (la paroisse Saint-Luc, en l'occurrence) ; elle est sensible aux différences sociales et croit qu'elles ne peuvent être niées ni surmontées[18] ; enfin, tout athée qu'elle soit, elle accepte de participer à la fête traditionnelle de la bonne sainte Anne, pèlerinage auquel s'associe l'ensemble de la communauté.

Mais celle qui, dans le roman, incarne le mieux le basculement culturel en train de se produire, c'est la jeune narratrice, constamment postée aux limites de la propriété familiale comme au bord d'une nouvelle vie moins tracée d'avance, attirante et effrayante à la fois[19]. Quoique terrorisée par cette mère qui « explose » à propos de tout et de rien et qui dispense sans retenue jugements péremptoires et sermons répétitifs, la jeune fille n'en adhère pas moins à certaines de ses valeurs, et la fin du roman la montre à l'orée d'un cursus scolaire prometteur. Mais en même temps elle est, comme son amie Judith, fascinée par Claire, par la vie de cette jeune adulte qu'un concours de danse à gogo pourrait mener jusqu'à Montréal. Le monde de la culture populaire des jeunes, qui se répand au cours des années 1960, est ainsi pleinement le sien. Le roman énumère avec un plaisir évident les référents d'époque : le mini-putt, bien sûr, mais également Pierre Lalonde et les vedettes de l'émission *Jeunesse d'aujourd'hui*, les films avec Doris Day, le *Lawrence Welk Show*,

16 On peut reconnaître dans le portrait qui en est fait Jean-Noël Tremblay, député de l'Union nationale entre 1966 et 1973.

17 Ce non-conformisme de la femme de banlieue renvoie à une figure exploitée dans un certain nombre de romans, celui de la « mad housewife ». Étudié par Gayle Greene, « [c]e personnage de *mad housewife* ou de "ménagère furieuse" (inquiète, en colère, folle, profondément insatisfaite), écrit Marie Parent, se retrouve le plus souvent dans une de ces banlieues proprettes et homogènes, isolé par son insatisfaction même » (2015 : 201). Parent se réfère à Greene (1991).

18 À propos de Claire, elle affirme qu'il fallait que celle-ci « soit complètement folle pour croire qu'un fils de docteur du quartier Murdock allait se marier avec une fille de réparateur de tondeuses » (*SJ*, 12).

19 Les scènes où l'on voit la fillette de onze ans assise « sur le bord de notre pelouse » (*SJ*, 45) à observer ou à attendre reviennent comme un *leitmotiv*. Pour ce qui est des vies tracées d'avance, voir ce jugement de Simone : « D'ailleurs, la grande insignifiante de Claire était sur la galerie. Elle venait de la voir sortir avec Judith qui, elle en était certaine, ne ferait pas mieux que ses sœurs et allait se retrouver mariée avec un gars de l'usine à papier à tirer le diable par la queue pour le reste de sa vie » (*SJ*, 107).

l'*Échos Vedettes*, la mode psychédélique, la danse sociale, les marques, la vente par catalogue, et ainsi de suite.

La littérature n'est pas en reste. La narratrice consomme avec avidité les romans d'amour de Delly et la série édifiante des *Brigitte* : on peut parler à ce sujet de véritable boulimie littéraire[20]. Mais au cours de ce « drôle d'été » (*SJ*, 128) où, après l'accident de Claire, tout semble aller de travers, un fossé culturel va peu à peu s'ouvrir entre la narratrice et Judith et une échappée hors de la culture ambiante va se dessiner. La narratrice commence alors à garder les enfants des Leclerc, un « ménage moderne » où la femme, quoique mère, continue de travailler à l'extérieur et où, surtout, il y a des livres. C'est là que la jeune fille va découvrir *Un certain sourire,* de Françoise Sagan, « le meilleur livre de toute [s]a vie » (*SJ,* 93), une histoire d'adultère douce-amère qu'elle s'imaginera ensuite pouvoir vivre elle-même (*SJ*, 97). Elle va aussi trouver dans la bibliothèque des Leclerc un roman, québécois celui-là, où une femme trompée par son mari finit par s'émanciper et par rejeter cet homme qui veut revenir vers elle (*SJ*, 109-110)[21]. La narratrice se fait alors la réflexion suivante : « Ça m'a surprise parce que le livre se passait à Montréal. C'était la première fois que je lisais un livre qui se passait au Canada, d'habitude c'était toujours en France » (*SJ*, 109)[22]. Cette réflexion n'est certes pas gratuite, elle signale une prise de conscience, par la jeune fille, de la possibilité d'adopter des comportements que la morale condamne au sein même de sa société et non uniquement dans cette France lointaine de toute façon impie et débauchée.

Judith, à qui son amie a raconté l'intrigue du roman de Sagan, jugera pourtant l'histoire « plate » (*SJ*, 94). C'est que déjà la jeune narratrice a d'autres goûts, déjà elle a entamé son *émigration*, pour reprendre le terme de Fernand Dumont (1997), entre une *culture comme milieu* (ou « culture première »), mélange de culture traditionnelle (par exemple, la piété populaire, les rituels saisonniers de la cueillette) et de culture populaire de masse, et une *culture comme horizon*, comme patrimoine à acquérir, qui correspond ici à la culture savante. Dumont a bien parlé de l'arrachement qu'a constitué pour lui, comme pour d'autres intellectuels et écrivains placés dans la même situation, ce passage de la culture de son milieu de vie ouvrier à la culture savante. Dans l'avant-propos à ses mémoires, il écrit :

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20 D'ailleurs, la boulimie – alimentaire – est thématisée dans le roman et elle constitue un thème récurrent dans l'œuvre de Tremblay.

21 Ce roman, dont le titre n'est pas donné, est *Les Oranges d'Israël* de Michelle Guérin (je tiens à remercier Lise Tremblay qui m'a donné la référence). Publié pour la première fois en 1972, sa présence dans *La Sœur de Judith* constitue un anachronisme. Si l'auteure a néanmoins choisi d'évoquer cet ouvrage, c'est pour montrer qu'il existait alors des livres québécois progressistes sur le plan des mœurs et qu'une jeune fille des « régions » pouvait les lire.

22 Une autre histoire d'adultère, cette fois dans un film avec Elizabeth Taylor et Richard Burton, *Le Chevalier des sables* (*The Sandpiper*, Vincente Minnelli, 1965), marque aussi la jeune fille. « C'est le plus beau film que j'ai jamais vu » (*SJ*, 140), note-t-elle avant d'en résumer l'intrigue.

> Ceux qui ont abandonné leur pays pour s'intégrer dans une autre contrée n'oublient jamais le déchirement de l'identité qui s'ensuivit ; quitter la culture du peuple pour une autre entraîne une tragédie analogue. Elle brouille les conventions les plus répandues quant aux productions de l'esprit. Dans mon enfance et mon adolescence, j'ai connu ce que l'on dénomme la *culture populaire.* Le passage à l'école, à la science, m'aura laissé une persistante inquiétude dont j'ai fait problème d'étude et de science. J'ai eu beau m'enfoncer plus avant dans les sentiers de l'abstraction, toujours il m'a semblé que j'abandonnais en route quelque question essentielle […]. (Dumont, 1997 : 11-12)

Dans un autoportrait où Tremblay raconte son accès à l'écriture littéraire, concomitant au développement de sa conscience de classe (la mère de *La Sœur de Judith* aurait parlé, elle, de sa « condition »), elle se situe d'emblée dans le sillage de Dumont :

> L'exergue de cet autoportrait est tiré du *Récit d'une émigration* de Fernand Dumont. Je ne peux concevoir ma trajectoire d'écrivaine que de cette façon. J'ai émigré. Ce livre de Dumont a été, pour moi, de l'ordre de la révélation et je peux dire que c'est à partir de cette lecture que j'ai vraiment amorcé une réflexion sur ma condition d'écrivaine. (Tremblay, 2009 : 5)

Émigrer, c'est trahir : sa famille, son milieu et ce qui semble, de toute éternité, s'être choisi pour nous. *La Sœur de Judith* raconte ces premières velléités de trahison, les imperceptibles mouvements vers l'autre culture. Au terme du roman, par exemple, la narratrice se fait une nouvelle amie plus délurée, plus « urbaine », Gyslaine, qui va entreprendre avec elle le cursus enrichi à la polyvalente – « presque un cours classique » (*SJ*, 151), selon la mère. Elle commence même à songer qu'un jour elle ira en France sur les traces des personnages de Sagan (*SJ*, 152). Pour l'heure, toutefois, elle se contente d'envisager de traverser seule le pont de Sainte-Anne vers Chicoutimi pour assister à un spectacle de Pierre Lalonde (*SJ*, 154). Ce qui nous ramène à la question de la banlieue.

Chicoutimi, entre ville et banlieue

Si, on l'a vu, le très paroissial Chicoutimi-Nord, malgré son caractère de *boomtown*[23] et sa métamorphose en une banlieue pour la classe moyenne inférieure,

23 Dans le deuxième tome de son *Histoire de Chicoutimi-Nord*, Bouchard insiste sur la croissance rapide de la population, qui passe le cap des 10 000 âmes en 1959 (1986 : 31-32) pour atteindre 13 364 habitants en 1968, l'année où se déroule l'action du roman. C'est la croissance la plus spectaculaire de la région, plus importante encore que celle, non négligeable, de Chicoutimi

reste adossé à l'univers mythique de la forêt et au monde rural[24], c'est moins le cas pour sa voisine Chicoutimi, petite capitale où sont concentrées les institutions régionales. Dans le roman, cette ville n'existe que de manière un peu lointaine, dans un au-delà de la rivière barré aux enfants. Et elle se réduit à quelques repères récurrents : le quartier Murdock, celui des riches et des notables qu'avant son accident Claire aspire à rejoindre par le mariage avec un fils de médecin, et le nouveau « quartier des oiseaux » ; l'Institut Saint-Georges, « école de réforme » où risquent d'aboutir les mauvais garçons de Chicoutimi-Nord ; le bar de danseuses nues de la rue Jacques-Cartier ; et, en dernier lieu, le petit centre-ville où habite la grand-mère paternelle et où se situent le magasin de la cousine Gabrielle, la discothèque La Pilule que fréquente Claire et le Georges Steak House qui fait rêver la narratrice.

Malgré son cœur institutionnel et commercial remontant à la fin du XIXe siècle et sa stratification sociale plus complexe, Chicoutimi n'en ressemble pas moins par certains côtés à son excroissance d'outre-Saguenay. Le roman laisse en effet deviner une société de format somme toute très réduit : dans ce monde à la singularité raréfiée, Claire, par exemple, peut apparaître comme la « plus belle fille » de toute la ville. De plus, comme à Chicoutimi-Nord, les commérages s'y répandent instantanément, les « toute la ville le savait » répondant aux « toute la rue Mésy pensait ceci ou cela », etc. En fait, la représentation de Chicoutimi repose sur la tension entre son statut de ville relativement ancienne[25] dotée d'institutions civiles et religieuses bien implantées, où chacun trouve une place assignée suivant son *habitus* social, et un statut de banlieue intégrale en devenir, où le centre se voit dissous par l'étalement urbain, où les positions et les postures sociales sont moins marquées, où l'anonymat des nouveaux quartiers permet un certain relâchement de la morale[26], où enfin de nouveaux modes de vie formés par et pour la consommation s'implantent en périphérie.

Pour ce qui est de Montréal, qui n'apparaît qu'à travers le regard de Claire, le portrait qu'en donne le roman évolue au fil du livre. La métropole est d'abord présentée sous un jour déceptif : Claire, qui est « exactement comme les filles qu'on voyait à la télévision » (*SJ*, 45) – jeans Lois, bottes de cuir rose à talons, cheveux droits – n'aime

elle-même. D'abord due à des annexions, cette croissance provient ensuite de l'accélération de la construction domiciliaire.

24 Le père de la narratrice est bûcheron ; la vie des chantiers de coupe règle celle de la communauté ; les Lavallée arrondissent encore leurs fins de mois en pratiquant la cueillette des bleuets et des noisettes, etc. Par ailleurs, la campagne n'est jamais loin : le père de la meilleure amie de Simone, une « desperate housewife » de Chicoutimi-Nord, s'est pendu dans une grange (*SJ*, 73), les vaches du bonhomme Petit gênent les habitants du nouveau quartier (*SJ*, 117), etc.

25 Si la fondation de la ville ne remonte qu'à 1842, la présence des Blancs sur le territoire est attestée dès les débuts de la Nouvelle-France. Un poste de traite est ainsi établi en 1671.

26 Le roman met concrètement en scène ce phénomène : après le suicide du père, la famille de Pat Soucy quitte la rue Mésy pour aller s'établir dans le « nouveau quartier des oiseaux », espérant ainsi échapper au « monde de la rue Mésy [qui] étaient tous des écœurants d'avoir raconté n'importe quoi sur leur dos » (*SJ*, 108).

pas Montréal car « rien n'[y est] comme à la télévision » (*SJ,* 58) : on y parle anglais, il fait trop chaud, la plage est loin, la ville est « vraiment plate » (*SJ*, 78). Ces récriminations, on le constate, ne sont guère différentes de celles par lesquelles, encore aujourd'hui, les banlieusards justifient leur choix de la banlieue. Puis, après l'accident qui pousse la jeune femme dans les bras de son thérapeute déjà marié, le regard change : par rapport à Chicoutimi où, malgré le desserrement relatif du carcan social, continue de régner une certaine unanimité des valeurs, Montréal fait figure de lieu « évolué » où « il y a plein de couples qui viv[ent] en union libre » (*SJ*, 160). Cette fois, c'est Chicoutimi qui est dévalorisé en tant que lieu d'uniformité et d'arriération où tout serait resté, dit Claire, « comme dans le temps de Maurice Duplessis » (*SJ*, 156) ; c'est Chicoutimi qui apparaît comme une vaste banlieue idéologique, à la périphérie de l'évolution des idées, à la remorque du temps.

Lieu en expansion, aux contours flous, où rien ne semble encore complètement figé, la banlieue (ou ce qui en tient lieu) apparaît, dans *La Sœur de Judith,* comme éminemment propice à l'évocation de la transformation de la narratrice, dans un contexte où un centre faible, la ville de Chicoutimi, n'arrive pas, ou plus, à imposer une culture urbaine légitime. Ce que le roman met en scène, en somme, c'est le choc de deux modernités à l'époque de la Révolution tranquille, dont l'une, valorisée, a trouvé à s'incarner dans le cadre de la ville, espace où expérimenter la laïcité, le devenir civique, la désaliénation, la réappropriation des leviers économiques, et l'autre, largement décriée, a correspondu à la propagation de la société de consommation. Cette seconde modernité, qui a largement profité à la classe moyenne, est celle qui a permis le développement de la banlieue jusque dans les recoins les moins urbanisés du territoire. Elle correspond à une période d'accession massive à la propriété, certes, mais à une propriété qui n'assure qu'une relative intimité, une relative possession de soi, et où le fait d'être « chez soi » ne confère ni liberté ni marge de manœuvre supplémentaires, mais semble favoriser au contraire la comparaison et la surveillance.

À une modernité émancipatrice, la banlieue en aurait donc opposé une autre qui l'est beaucoup moins et qui allait même à l'encontre de l'idéal social-démocrate de la première. Parce qu'elle a permis une certaine autonomisation de la banlieue, autant du point de vue urbanistique que de celui des valeurs, cette autre modernité a évidemment suscité la méfiance des élites. C'est la raison pour laquelle, selon Laforest (2016), la littérature québécoise, pour ne parler ici que d'elle, aurait fait l'impasse sur le périurbain. Et c'est peut-être ce qui explique qu'on ne puisse, encore de nos jours, écrire la banlieue que dans l'*après coup*, suivant la perspective de celui ou de celle qui l'a quittée. Dans *La Sœur de Judith,* toute l'attitude de la mère hurle son désir de quitter non pas tant Chicoutimi-Nord que la condition ouvrière et la culture de consommation de masse qui y sont rattachés : il s'agit de s'en extraire par le haut, par l'instruction et la culture légitime. Soumise à cette injonction de fuir, la jeune narratrice est néanmoins pleinement saisie dans ce qu'on pourrait appeler sa

« vie de banlieue » (c'est l'une des qualités du livre) ; elle n'est pas en décalage par rapport à elle, de telle sorte que la distance effective de sa famille à l'endroit des valeurs ambiantes suscite surtout la honte – un mot qui revient sans cesse – et le malaise. Mais elle a déjà, *nolens volens*, commencé son émigration ; et c'est depuis cette culture où elle a abordé que la banlieue peut être envisagée non plus uniquement comme milieu mais aussi, ainsi que l'aurait sans doute formulé Dumont, comme une énigme essentielle abandonnée en cours de route.

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Social Issues in Three 21st Century Texts About Growing up Canadian

Abstract

Stories about growing up traditionally focus on the development of the protagonist's mind and character, in the passage from childhood through varied experiences – and often through a spiritual crisis – into maturity and the recognition of his or her identity and role in the world. More recently, as Tobias Boes notes, feminist, postcolonial, and minority writers have reworked the genre to not only represent the formation of the protagonist, but also the "transformation" of the society or nation. In this paper, I look at the way three authors of the 21st century reconfigure the form of the novel of formation to engage with current social, historical and political issues in Canada. In the works of Alissa York, Mariko and Jillian Tamaki, and Richard Wagamese, the novel of formation merges with the social novel to critique and make explicit concerns about animal rights, environmental degradation, homelessness, gender, race, Indian residential schools, and sexual abuse. By telling stories of those who need our assistance, creatures, places, and people who have been injured and unjustly treated, these three works educate, inform, and elicit affect in readers. They enable us to understand the difficulties of growing up in less than ideal conditions and transform the way we see every day struggles.

Résumé

Histoires de grandir concentrer traditionnellement sur le développement de l'esprit et le caractère du protagoniste, dans le passage de l'enfance à travers des expériences variées - et souvent à travers une crise spirituelle - dans la maturité et la reconnaissance de son identité et son rôle dans le monde. Plus récemment, comme le note Tobias Boes, féministes, postcoloniales, et des écrivains minoritaires ont retravaillé le genre de représenter non seulement la formation de la protagoniste, mais aussi la « transformation » de la société ou d'une nation. Dans cet article, je regarde la façon dont trois auteurs du 21ème siècle reconfigurer la forme du roman de formation à coopérer avec les problèmes sociaux, historiques et politiques en vigueur au Canada. Dans les œuvres d'Alissa York, Mariko et Jillian Tamaki, et Richard Wagamese, le roman de formation se confond avec le roman social de critiquer et faire des préoccupations explicites sur les droits des animaux, la dégradation environnementale, l'itinérance, le sexe, la race, les pensionnats indiens, et l'abus sexuel. En racontant des histoires de ceux qui ont besoin de notre aide, les créatures, les lieux et les personnes qui ont été blessées et injustement traitées, ces

trois œuvres éduquent, informent et suscitent des répercussions sur les lecteurs. Ils nous permettent de comprendre les difficultés de grandir dans des conditions moins idéales et de transformer la façon dont nous voyons les luttes quotidiennes.

Stories about growing up traditionally focus on the development of the protagonist's mind and character, in the passage from childhood through varied experiences – and often through a spiritual crisis – into maturity and the recognition of his or her identity and role in the world (Abrams 132). In his study of the *Bildungsroman* in European culture, Franco Moretti argues that the *Bildungsroman* was the great cultural mediator of 19th century Europe, restoring harmony between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, usually through marriage (Moretti 1987, viii, 64). Heroes of *Bildungsroman* are depicted as having the "right to choose one's ethics and the idea of happiness, to imagine freely and construct one's personal destiny" (Moretti 1987, 15). More recently, as Tobias Boes notes, feminist, postcolonial, and minority writers have reworked the genre to not only represent the formation of the protagonist, but also the "transformation" of the society or nation (240). In this paper, I look at the way three authors of the 21st century reconfigure the form of the novel of formation to engage with current social, historical and political issues in Canada. My approach borrows from feminist, affect, ecocritical, race and postcolonial theories, as well as from genre theories on the *Bildungsroman*. In the works of Alissa York, Mariko and Jillian Tamaki, and Richard Wagamese, the novel of formation merges with the social novel to critique and make explicit concerns about animal rights, environmental degradation, homelessness, gender, race, Indian residential schools, and sexual abuse. These three texts provide excellent examples of the ways contemporary Canadian authors have expanded the form of the *Bildung* by using different sub-genres of the novel, such as the graphic novel, or by reworking the novel of education for their purposes. No longer are the stories about a "European, white, middle-class male," the typical hero from well-known examples such as Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* or Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Redfield ix). The three works reveal dissimilar conditions of growing up in Canada in the late 20th and early 21st century, showing the heterogeneity of contemporary youth's developmental experiences.

Alissa York's *Fauna* and Sanctuaries

Alissa York's *Fauna* changes the individualistic *telos* of the *Bildungsroman* by depicting the lives of a group of young people and animals who find themselves living at the edge of the city of Toronto. If one were to strictly follow Karl Morgenstern's definition of the genre from the 1820s, as a portrayal of "the hero in its beginnings and growth to a certain stage of completeness" (as qtd by Swales, 12), York's novel would not be classified as a *Bildungsroman*. Implied in Morgenstern's definition is

the focus on one individual, but Alissa York's novel depicts the development of at least two, possibly three individuals from childhood to a "certain stage of completeness" through flashback narratives and long sections devoted to them. Waifs and strays, both human and animal find an unconventional sanctuary together in an auto-wrecker's yard, enabling the novel to critique the human tendency to destroy what we do not understand. With her use of flashbacks and intertextuality, York transforms our fear and hatred of abject bodies – the depressed, the homeless, the stray – into feelings of sympathy and understanding. In doing so, the book does "further the reader's *Bildung*" as Morgenstern noted (qtd by Swales, 12). York also raises our awareness of the ways the constructions of cities, roads, buildings and the diversion of rivers have facilitated progress but also greatly reduced paths for bird migration, damaged animal habitats, and blocked animal corridors.

York gathers a group of orphaned and lost characters together at Guy Howell's untraditional shelter near the Don Valley River to highlight the ways our environment, human lives, fauna have been destroyed in our efforts to urbanize and modernize. The novel is about people who have temporarily lost their way: Edal Jones, a federal wildlife officer, is on a stress leave after discovering a woman trying to smuggle in 400 tortoise eggs into the country, most of which died in transit. Stephen is suffering from post-traumatic stress syndrome after serving in the army in Kandahar; while Lily, a sixteen- year old, is running away from an abusive home and lives in a tent with her dog. These characters are all relatively young, which is in keeping with novels of formation according to Moretti (5). Their stories fit the "coming-of-age narratives" that are characteristic of recent models of the *Bildungsroman* which Tobias Boes argues are "fragmentary narratives of transformation and rebellion" (Boes 231). The marginalized people form a community and care for various hurt and stray animals, suggesting parallels between humans and animals who have been injured. The novel thus introduces problems of homelessness in big cities, issues from animal, memory, and environmental studies.

The issue of homelessness in Canada is raised through the character of Lily who is a teen runaway. She has been sleeping in a tent with her dog Billy for about two months and is troubled, counting her nights "of freedom" by cutting herself on her forearm (102). Stephen Gaetz, Tanya Gulliver and Tim Richter estimate that in Canada, because of the decrease in funding for social housing over the last twenty years, over 235,000 different Canadians will experience homelessness in a year (5). Most of these are temporarily homeless rather than chronically homeless, but many of these include young people, women fleeing violence, and aboriginal peoples. When Lily arrives in Toronto, she is directed to a shelter, but finds that "the regulars all had bugs" and that her dog was not allowed to stay (67). Even though her sleeping bag which she took from home has an odour of the previous owner "strong enough to give her nightmares" (101), she finds sleeping with her dog, with a knife in a tent a better alternative to the shelters. Lily is attacked by intruders several times, and lives a precarious existence. The instability of her position is lessened only when Chin, the

owner of a Chinese restaurant, offers her a dishwashing job, which gives her some financial support, and allows her to stop panhandling.

Significantly, Chin, the Asian-Canadian is not depicted as the stranger here but as the host offering hospitality to Lily, the stray. In Jacques Derrida's sense of the term, Chin offers Lily hospitality that is unconditional: "The master of the home, the host, must welcome in a foreigner, a stranger, a guest, without any qualifications, including having never been given an invitation" (Derrida, as qtd by Westmoreland 2008, 4). Chin finds Lily looking through the garbage behind his restaurant for morsels of food for Billy and offers her a job without her asking: "You know how wash dish, right?" (York, 129). When Lily hesitates, he offers to take in her dog and give him lunch, as well as lunch for her. "Come on, no-name girl. … Work to do" Chin says (York, 130). While his hospitality does require her to work, it is better than what a social welfare agency could give Lily because Chin offers her dignity, freedom, and a place for her dog. It is an example of how one person offering hospitality without question can help solve a social problem.

Although the novel does not focus on issues of multiculturalism and diversity, York depicts the city of Toronto as a cosmopolitan space where racial and gender differences are part and parcel of the community. When Lily walks along the streets of Toronto with her dog, Billy, they both observe the urban space with attention: "he has less interest in the supermarkets – Fu Yao and Trinity and Cai Yuan – but Lily likes the outdoor mounds of scaly nameless roots, the bags of sweating green beans long as licorice whips. Who knew there were so many kinds of oranges? … Around the Corner on Broadview, Billy grows hopeful again. The Sing Sing BBQ House makes him cow-eyed. Pork quarters hang like fatty, gathered curtains alongside orange mini-monsters with tentacle legs. Lacquered ducks dangle from hooks wound through their necks, eyes like seed pods, beaks and legs nubs charred" (York 125). York's detailed description of the couple of blocks near Gerrard Street and Broadview Avenue presents east Chinatown as an exotic yet enticingly familiar space for those residing in Toronto. Dog and dog owner are attracted to the shops and restaurants for different reasons.

York is similarly even-handed in her depiction of characters who are racial minorities. In her groundbreaking study *White Women, Race Matters*, Ruth Frankenberg reminded us that though "white people have too often viewed themselves as non-racial or racially neutral, … white people are 'raced,' just as men are 'gendered'" (Frankenberg 1993, 1). In contemporary fiction, we tend to assume that characters called Susan, Tom, etc. are white, while racialized characters are marked by foreign-sounding names, like Chin, or else are described by racially-specific tags, such as having dark skin. In *Fauna,* we are introduced to a character called Kate who works in an animal rehab centre, and who befriends Lily and her dog. She is shown to be a competent worker, struggling a bit with her unrequited feelings for straight girls she meets. It is only much later in the novel that we find out in a flashback that her father's name is Vikram and that he came from India. The father disapproves of her

choice of occupation as well as her lesbian lover (York 151). The reason the placement of this information is important is because we see Kate as an individual before we are made aware of her ethnic background. When Lily meets her, Lily sees her as an attractive "runner" (175), again with no reference to her South Asian background. Only in the last third of the novel do we hear that Kate's skin is "the colour of caramel sauce" and that she has "long, dark hair" (232). These oblique and discreet references to racial difference suggest that for this group of Torontonians, issues of race and gender are subsumed into other contemporary problems, such as homelessness, unemployment, etc. York's novel suggests an awareness of intersectionality, acknowledging the multiple intersecting issues and kinds of identities in urban cities.

Another issue York raises in the novel is the treatment of animals. Through her use of the animal perspective in sections of the novel, she encourages us to think of animals as sentient beings, as creatures with the ability to suffer, as Jeremy Bentham had suggested in the 18th century (Dardenne). In one scene, an old raccoon watches a woman throwing out garbage in order to learn how to open them: "He has a clear view of the containers now … For several nights in a row they've resisted him, thwarting his hands while they wafted a maddening scent. The treasure they guard is ripe: chicken bones and pig fat, softening apples and half-eaten ears of corn …. He can wait, though. He can watch and he can learn" (34-35). In another scene, the mating of a pair of squirrels is tenderly described: "He wasn't the first to answer her silent, scented call, though he's played that part with others in the past: the days-long, tentative dance; the first hard-won sniff; the wild morning when she emerges with her perfume fully blown. Her *quack* is a soft question, his *whick* the only possible response. … No female wants the nearest male, a dull neighbor who might well be her own close blood. She wants the fleet-footed outlier, the squirrel she barely knows. She wants him" (169). York ascribes desire to the squirrels, inspiring us to see animals as feeling and sensitive beings.

Significantly, the characters who gather together at Guy's auto-wrecker share not only meals but books. Individually and together they read books about animals, such as Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*, Gavin Maxwell's *Ring of Bright Water*, and Richard Adams' *Watership Down*. Edal is named after the otter in *Ring of Bright Water*, and the reference to a book about a man who loves an otter more than humans captures the character Edal's imagination when she was growing up. Edal looks at photographs of the otter and Jimmy and describes them in sexualized terms: "She lay beside him on a hillside, her tail draped over his thigh, her forepaw folded in his loving grip …. Her gaze was soft and somehow private in the one where they lay together on the flowering hill" (45). If we acknowledge that animals are capable of feeling strong love and fidelity, then the issue becomes how we justify our continued "speciesism," or the "sacrifice of the animal and the animalistic to maintain that fantasy figure called the human" (Cary Wolfe, as qtd by Castricano 186). Cultural critic Jodey Castricano argues that "empathy and compassion have a role to play in

the epistemological and ontological shift with regard to animals" (189). In *Fauna,* York fosters our empathetic responses to the raccoons, foxes, skunks, squirrels, birds, and even coyotes that live in and around the city of Toronto.

Aside from abused youth, animals, York also writes about soldiers who return from war with post-traumatic stress disorder and who also need rescuing and care. According to an article in the *Globe and Mail*, "nearly one in 10 of the Canadian military personnel who took part in the mission in Afghanistan are now suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder" (Galloway 22 Jan 2016). In the novel, Stephen suffers from the symptoms usually associated with PTSD, including "uncontrollable flashbacks, avoidance of places or people that trigger bad memories, depression and emotional outbursts" (Galloway 22 January 2016). While serving in Kandahar, Stephen had caught a virus, and the infection had damaged his heart. He is transferred back to Canada not in glory but in illness, so he is no longer fit for service: "No matter how many counseling sessions and job placement workshops he attended, no matter how his physical condition improved, he remained quietly sick at heart" (193). He has traumatic memories of the war, including coming upon a young turbaned man dying from gunfire holding the "red mass of his guts" in his hands (282). Stephen is one of the characters saved not by government-run services, but by the community of friends that gather together at Guy's sanctuary.

In her depiction of Toronto, Alissa York reconfigures the city from one of concrete, shops, streets, fences, parking lots, and buildings to one that contains hidden green spaces, forests, footpaths, creeks, rivers, wetland, wildlife, and ravines. The novel asks us to imagine the city as a natural environment under threat, bringing up questions of sustainability and environmental degradation. But, in spite of humans, the beauty remains: "there was something about that remnant of river stretched in its scrubby bed that caused the blood to thrill in his veins. When it was light out, the trees showed him their crowns, still black and bare; winter worked like an X-ray, the space between branches revealing riverbank and brush, trash-strewn campsites, snow and broken grass. When it was dark, the sunken forest grew. The river glinted" (52). This passage is told from the perspective of Darius, the one young man whose formation or *Bildung* fails to develop happily. Though he seems initially to appreciate certain kinds of beauty, he remains antagonistic and angry towards the city's wild animals and is intent on killing the coyotes off.

Tamakis' *Skim* and Ugly Feelings

Though there are no organized social justice movements in Alissa York's *Fauna,* the novel raises many issues, such as homelessness, animal rights, the rehabilitation of outcasts, and environmental degradation. York presents a mostly positive solution of rehabilitation and rescue, albeit through the group effort of individuals, rather than a government agency. In contrast, in Mariko Tamaki and Jillian Tamaki's graphic novel, *Skim,* the use of the first-person narrator and the visual representation of Skim's diary allow insights into the mind of one Japanese Canadian teen who

struggles with self-esteem, body image, and heteronormative expectations of gender identity. Skim cannot participate in what Sara Ahmed calls the "happiness commandment," which for many girls "means taking up the cause of parental happiness as her own" (Ahmed 58). Instead, the use of black backgrounds and gutters of the graphic narrative highlight the Gothic-like atmosphere of Skim's closeted high school life and the difficulty of growing up lesbian in contemporary Canada.

Like many *Bildungsromane* which are partly autobiographical and "highlight the intimate connection between personal and historical change" (Boes, 242), Skim's story is partly based on the author, Mariko Tamaki's own life. In an interview with Suzette Chan, Mariko Tamaki says, "I always thought I was an ugly Canadian … I thought I had these ugly eyebrows, until later, when I thought of myself as Japanese … Other people make me Japanese: some people really badly want you to come from outside" (Chan). In *Skim*, Kimberly Cameron, the mixed-raced protagonist, keeps a diary, which reveals her social awkwardness, her parents' divorce, and her crush on her English teacher, all of which cause her to feel alienated and unhappy. Through black and white illustrations that shift radically in perspective, *Skim* reveals the often wildly excessive and fluctuating emotions in teens' lives that are often ignored or not taken seriously. In the graphic narrative, the Tamakis show the effects of loneliness, of bullying, for one's racial or sexual orientation can lead to depression, overeating, even suicide.

In the graphic novel, Skim is full of what Sianne Ngai calls "ugly feelings" (Ngai). She is self-conscious about her appearance, believing that she is overweight, unattractive, has chunky legs, and is not liked by the popular girls in school. Mirroring her feelings, the illustrations often exaggerate the size of her legs with close-up shots. The popular girls at school do not include her in their circle. She recalls the last costume party she attended when she was thirteen, and how everyone but she and Hien, a Vietnamese adoptee, were the only ones not dressed as feminine ballerinas. Halfway through the night, the ballerinas chase Skim and Hien out of the house. Skim is too ashamed to share the racist incident with anyone, even her mother. The only person in her life who seems to pay attention to her is her English teacher, who tells Skim that she has "serious" eyes (31). The forbidden relationship arouses intense but ambivalent feelings in Skim, which she cannot share with her friends. But when the teacher suddenly leaves the school, she spends her time moping around, eating, unable to concentrate on her schoolwork.

In her study of *Ugly Feelings*, Sianne Ngai argues that it is important to examine feelings like envy, anxiety, paranoia, irritation, what she calls "ugly feelings" because, even though they are "less dramatic" than Aristotle's cathartic "pity and fear" (6, 7), they are more suited for diagnosing the character of late modernity. These "mean and ignoble affects are indexes of social conditions of powerlessness and frustration" (Chua). The kinds of weak and ugly feelings expressed in Tamaki's *Skim* reveal a "general state of obstructed agency with respect to other human actors or to the social" (Ngai 2). Ngai argues that "these situations of passivity … can also be

thought of as allegories for an autonomous or bourgeois art's increasingly resigned and pessimistic understanding of its *own* relationship to political action" (Ngai 2). Skim's feelings of irritation, anxiety, sadness reveal what Eu Jin Chua calls "the unlocalizability and diffuseness of such emotions" which "correspond to structures and institutions and practices that operate diffusely and without discernible manifestation" (Chua). While Skim's disaffection and negativity do not lead to any kind of collective action, by highlighting scenes of negativity, sour emotions, and ambivalence, Mariko Tamaki and Jillian Tamaki reveal some of the ways young people feel disempowered and pressured to conform to cultural norms.

Skim's focus on a single protagonist makes it conform to the genre of the *Bildungsroman* better than *Fauna,* with its multiple protagonists and narrators. Yet the Tamakis also show that Skim's story of marginalization is not unique to her. During the course of the year, Skim and her high school friends hear rumours about the ex-boyfriend of the most popular girl in school, Katie Matthews. John Reddear is not shown in the novel, but his absent presence haunts the work. He is associated with mystery and awe, firstly because he breaks Katie Matthews' heart (Tamaki, 11), and he is supposed to have "shot himself" (21). At his memorial service, the students and teachers do not talk about his death as a suicide, but Skim surmises that although he seemed like a happy, outgoing athlete, he was "secretly suffering from depression" and that he was maybe "also in love with a boy who was on the St. Michael's second-string volleyball team" (94). The teachers tell them to celebrate the "living spirit" rather than dwelling on "past tragedy" (93). No one dares to talk about the possibility that John might have been gay. His story provides a darker echo of Skim's troubles, and highlights the secrecy, shame, and guilt that LGBTQ (Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer) youths experience.

In *Skim* although the protagonist herself is able to find a new friend, suggesting a successful integration with her community, not all protagonists of novels of formation are able to do so. Following Wilhelm Dilthey, Franco Moretti believes that in the classical *Bildungsroman,* the individual eventually finds a connection with the "*outside*, an ever wider and thicker network of external relationships with human things" (18). He argues, "self-development and integration are complementary and convergent trajectories, and at their point of encounter and equilibrium lies that full and double epiphany of meaning that is 'maturity'" (19). However, when outside conditions are unbearable, when your family and your heritage are being attacked, what Moretti calls integration and maturity are more difficult to achieve.

Wagamese's *Indian Horse* and Reparation

Ojibway author Richard Wagamese's *Indian Horse* represents the horrific prison-like atmosphere of Indian residential schools, and chronicles the young protagonist's escape through playing hockey. While the novel focuses on one character, the testimonial style of the protagonist about his experiences at the residential schools make the work similar to a documentary. The novel begins with a first person singu-

lar account: "They took me to St. Jerome's Indian Residential School…. St. Jerome's took all the light from my world" (43). Saul, an Ojibway boy from Northwestern Ontario, uses light and dark imagery to reveal the terrors of residential schools. But the narrative switches to first person plural shortly after when the protagonist sees how all the Indian boys are similarly mistreated: "the priest made us stand and threw handfuls of delousing powder over us…. A pair of nuns scrubbed us with stiff-bristled brushes. The soap was harsh. They rubbed us nearly raw. It felt as though they were trying to remove … our skin" (44). The use of "we" and "us" depict a collective and common experience in the institution. The tone echoes that of a witness testifying: "I saw kids die of tuberculosis … I saw young boys and girls die standing on their own two feet. I saw runaways carried back, frozen solid as boards" (55). Gerald Vizenor has observed that texts written by residential school survivors express a sense of "survivance" (as qtd by Eigenbrod 277), and Renate Eigenbrod has argued that literature about childhood in residential schools "reclaims the power of the imagination" in order to evoke "survival, resistance, and continuance of cultures against colonial policies aimed at the annihilation of Indigenous presence most aggressively in the residential schools" (Eigenbrod 280). The catalogue of ills and exploitations, and the resulting psychic damage on the protagonist and his other aboriginal friends serve as an indictment of the history of trauma and abuse in residential schools.

More importantly, *Indian Horse* reveals the need for psychic and intersubjective reparation in order for First Nations peoples to heal. Social justice in terms of the redistribution of goods and resources, is undoubtedly necessary and urgent, but it is not enough.

The protagonist Saul reflects on what happened in residential schools: "When your innocence is stripped from you, when your people are denigrated, when the family you came from is denounced and your tribal ways and rituals are pronounced backward, primitive, savage, you come to see yourself as less than human" (Wagamese 81). When Saul and his hockey team, the Moose go to play in small towns in northern Ontario in the 1960s, he recalls that other teams did not see them as hockey players: "they only ever saw us as Indians. They only ever saw brown faces where white ones should have been" (132). During the games, the spectators taunt Saul by calling him names and denigrating his aboriginal identity because he initially refused to fight back on the rink: "Hey, it's Chief Chicken," and "Injuns are s'posed to wear war paint, not make-up" (141).

When he played as a rookie, the name calling worsened "When I made a dash down the ice and brought the crowd to their feet, I was on a raid. If I inadvertently high-sticked someone during a tussle in the corner, I was taking scalps. When I did not react to getting a penalty, I was the stoic Indian" (163). One reporter described him as "bright-eyed as a painted warrior bearing down on a wagon train" (163). Thomas King notes that in the North American imaginary, "[f]ilm dispensed with any errant subtleties and colourings, and crafted three basic Indian types. … the blood-

thirsty savage, the noble savage, and the dying savage" (King 34). The names the spectators and commentators of the games used for Saul are all influenced by such Hollywood representations. Similarly, Brian Klopotek has talked about the way the colonizing culture has attributed the hypermasculine images of "noble or ignoble savages, wise old chiefs, and cunning warriors" (as qtd by Robinson, 95) which is why Cree-Metis scholar Kim Anderson suggests that "it is more difficult for men than it is for women to define their responsibilities in the contemporary setting and reclaim their dignity and sense of purpose" (as qtd by Robinson, 97).

In order for a young individual to integrate and become part of the community, as successful heroes of *Bildungsroman* do, he or she needs to feel welcome, which Saul does not. In an essay called, "Rethinking Recognition," feminist philosopher Nancy Fraser talks about the limitations of the "politics of recognition" because it "may actually promote economic inequality; insofar as it reifies group identities, it risks sanctioning violation of human rights and freezing the very antagonisms it purports to mediate" (Fraser). Instead, she proposes the term "misrecognition": "to be misrecognized, … is not simply to be thought ill of, looked down upon or devalued in others' attitudes, beliefs or representations. It is rather to be denied the status of a full partner in social interaction, as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of cultural value that constitute one as comparatively unworthy of respect or esteem" (Fraser). The name calling and stereotypes constitute forms of misrecognition, and to redress misrecognition means "changing social institutions, or … changing the interaction-regulating values that impede parity of participation at all relevant institutional sites" (Fraser).

By telling stories of those who need our assistance, creatures, places, and people who have been injured and unjustly treated, these three works educate, inform, and elicit affect in readers. They enable us to understand the difficulties of growing up in less than ideal conditions and transform the way we see every day struggles. Unlike the *Bildungsromane* studied by Moretti, such as Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, which end in marriage, none of these novels end with such a conventional scene of acceptance and socialization. They reframe the *Bildung* to reveal structural inequities and forms of misrecognition. Instead of integration into a community, these narratives end with minor and temporary resolutions, reminding us of the need for social and institutional change.

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FORUM

MARTIN THUNERT

Kanada 150 – Nationale Erfolgsgeschichte und/oder postnationale Identitäten?

Im zu Ende gegangenen Jahr 2017 feierte Kanada den 150. Geburtstag – im Englischen lautet der schwer auszusprechende Begriff *sesquicentennial* – seiner Staatsgründung. Erwartungsgemäß zog das ‚offizielle' Kanada eine positive Bilanz der Feierlichkeiten im Jubiläumsjahr, deren Höhepunkt die Geburtstagsparty am 1. Juli 2017 vor dem Parlamentsgebäude in Ottawa darstellte. Wie andere Bundesregierungen zuvor hatte sich auch die von den Liberalen getragene Regierung Justin Trudeaus zum Ziel gesetzt, auch im Jubiläumsjahr den *Canada Day* zu nutzen, um die nationale Geschichte Kanadas von ihren französisch- und britisch-zentrierten Wurzeln zu einer multikulturellen und inklusiven Angelegenheit weiterzuentwickeln. Nach Auffassung des jungen Premierministers waren die Feierlichkeiten auf dem Parlamentshügel gerade deshalb ein Erfolg, da Ottawa sich ernsthaft bemüht hatte, zum Beispiel indigene Gruppen in Gedenken und Feiern einzubeziehen.

In der kanadischen Publizistik, in Teilen von Gesellschaft und Wissenschaft waren die Einstellungen zum Jubiläum dagegen gemischter Natur. Publizistische Beobachter unterschiedlicher politischer Richtung sind der Auffassung, dass die Begeisterung der kanadischen Bevölkerung für *Canada 150* hinter den Erwartungen zurückgeblieben sei und sich nicht mit dem Enthusiasmus vergleichen ließe, mit dem Kanada vor 50 Jahren seinen einhundertsten Geburtstag gefeiert hatte. Die über die Gründe für die eher verhaltene Begeisterung von Teilen der kanadischen Gesellschaft über das Staatsjubiläum entbrannte publizistische Kontroverse sagt nach Auffassung des Verfassers nicht nur sehr viel über das Land und sein Selbstverständnis aus, sondern dürfte auch eine gewisse Bedeutung für diejenigen haben, die sich das Studium Kanadas zur beruflichen Aufgabe und zur persönlichen Leidenschaft gemacht haben.

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Kanadas 100. Geburtstag im Jahr 1967, dessen Feierlichkeiten in der Weltausstellung Expo 1967 in Montreal gipfelten, fand im Kontext einer enormen nationalen Aufbruchsstimmung statt, die das gesamte Land erfasst hatte. Wichtige, für das heutige Kanada charakteristische Merkmale und Entwicklungen wurden damals, kurz vor und kurz nach 1967, auf den Weg gebracht. Zu nennen sind u. a. die Ahornflagge, die Nationalhymne, die offizielle Zweisprachigkeit auf Bundesebene oder die Einführung des metrischen Systems. Der 100. Geburtstag stand für die Emanzipation der noch unfertigen Nation in einem mehrfachen Sinne: Der Bundesstaat Kanada emanzipierte sich zunächst symbolisch von der einstmaligen Kolonialmacht Großbritannien, ein Prozess, der 1982 mit der Heimholung der kanadischen Verfassung und ihrer Erweiterung um die *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* auch seine staatsrechtliche Vollendung fand. Doch der Präsident der anderen einstigen Kolonialmacht, Frankreichs Präsident Charles de Gaulle, unterstützte im Jubiläumsjahr 1967 bei seinem Staatsbesuch in Kanada öffentlich und lautstark nicht nur die Emanzipationsbestrebungen des von der Stillen Revolution verwandelten Quebec, sondern forderte die Loslösung der überwiegend frankophonen Provinz von Kanada. ‚Es lebe das freie Quebec', rief de Gaulle damals vom Balkon des Rathauses von Montreal, ein Affront, der heute vergleichbar damit wäre, dass sich Präsident Macron in Barcelona öffentlich für ein von Spanien unabhängiges Katalonien einsetzen würde. Für den Rest des 20. Jahrhunderts blieben die Emanzipationsbestrebungen Quebecs, die für einen Teil der dortigen Gesellschaft ihre Vollendung nur in der staatlichen Unabhängigkeit der überwiegend frankophonen Provinz finden konnten, sowie die Emanzipation Kanadas von britischem Erbe, aber auch von amerikanischer Dominanz, und die Emanzipation unterschiedlicher gesellschaftlicher Gruppen die dominanten Themen der Entwicklung des Landes. Die zwei gescheiterten Unabhängigkeitsreferenden von 1980 und 1995 sowie die ebenfalls missglückten Verfassungsreformversuche von *Meech Lake* (1987-1990) und *Charlottetown* (1992) legen davon Zeugnis ab.

Das *Centenary* Kanadas 1967 war auch der Startschuss für die erste Welle der *Canadian Studies*-Bewegung – zunächst nur an Kanadas Universitäten und später international. Das Projekt der Kanada-Studien wurde damals von der Überzeugung gespeist, dass die Idee und das Versprechen Kanadas bedroht waren – insbesondere von der destruktiven Dynamik der *Two Solitudes* der Gründungsnationen und noch mehr vom hegemonialen Einfluss der USA auf Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur des nördlichen Nachbarn. Die damalige liberale Regierung Kanadas, seit 1968 von Pierre Elliott Trudeau geführt, war davon überzeugt, dass die inneren und äußeren Gefahren für Kanada nur durch die Stärkung der nationalen Identität des Landes bewältigt werden konnten. Hinter den Kanada-Studien stand die Absicht, dass sich das Land in all seiner Komplexität „kennen lernen" konnte (*to know ourselves)* und dass es international wahrgenommen wird. Für die meisten Gründungsmitglieder der GKS und für viele ältere Mitglieder, die im 20. Jahrhundert ihren Weg in die Kanada-Studien fanden, waren die um das *nation-building* angesiedelten Themen und Kont-

roversen – und insbesondere ihre literarische, kulturelle und künstlerische Verarbeitung – ein wichtiger Grund, sich mit dem Land zu beschäftigen. Dies hat sich spätestens zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts geändert. Überspitzt gesagt, spielten viele der heute maßgeblichen Themen 1967 praktisch keine Rolle.

1967 fanden die Feierlichkeiten in einem Land mit einer Bevölkerung von etwas mehr als 20 Millionen statt. Die Frage der indigenen Völker wurde damals weitgehend ignoriert, auch die Problematiken von Gender und sexueller Orientierung erhielten damals praktisch keine Aufmerksamkeit. Kanada, heute ein Vorreiter bei der Legalisierung von Marihuana, galt noch bis in die 1960er Jahre als ein Land mit den international drastischsten Strafen für den Besitz und Gebrauch dieser Droge. Die meisten Bürger Kanadas waren in den 1960er Jahren britischen oder französischen Ursprungs, sprachen eine der beiden offiziellen Sprachen und waren überwiegend Kirchgänger. Für die wachsende Zahl der Kanadier mit Herkunft aus anderen europäischen Staaten wurde 1970 die zunächst eher symbolische Politik des Multikulturalismus in einem Rahmen der offiziellen Zweisprachigkeit auf den Weg gebracht, doch 1967 war der Begriff noch praktisch unbekannt. 50 Jahre später ist Kanada ein Land mit mehr als 36 Millionen Menschen unterschiedlicher Herkunft, Muttersprachen und Glaubensrichtungen. Das seit 1967 freigesetzte nationale Selbstbewusstsein ist noch immer – oder wieder – spürbar. Insofern liegt es nahe, Kanada im Jahre 150 seiner Existenz als uneingeschränkte Erfolgsgeschichte zu verstehen. In sehr vielen international vergleichenden Ranglisten, in denen Lebensqualität oder Regierungsleistungen gemessen werden, belegt Kanada seit Jahrzehnten Spitzenplätze unter den demokratisch regierten großen Flächenstaaten und ökonomischen Schwergewichten. Umfragen zufolge ist eine deutliche Mehrheit der Kanadierinnen und Kanadier stolz auf ihre nationale Identität und die bisherige Entwicklung des Landes. Doch längst nicht alle Kanadier sehen dies so.

Die kanadische Bundesregierung unter Führung von Premierminister Justin Trudeau wollte bei den Feierlichkeiten zum 150. Geburtstag zwischen unterschiedlichen Deutungen der Geschichte des Landes vermitteln. Es ging weniger darum, der Geschichte des kanadischen Staates und seiner politischen Führungspersonen zu gedenken, sondern vielmehr die Beiträge einzelner kanadischer Bürgerinnen und Bürger zur Geschichte Kanadas hervorheben und feiern. Aber die Regierung wollte keinesfalls auf ein nationales Narrativ verzichten. Der Premierminister förderte die Markenbildung eines kanadischen Selbstverständnisses, das in den Feierlichkeiten des *Canada Day* am 1. Juli 2017 zum Ausdruck kam und auf die Werte Vielfalt und Inklusion, Versöhnung mit indigenen Völkern, Jugend und Umwelt abhob. Für viele war das ehrliche Bemühen erkennbar, sich der dunkleren Seiten der kanadischen Geschichte bewusst zu sein. Auf dem Parlamentshügel in Ottawa saß Premierminister Justin Trudeau im Tipi mit den Ureinwohnern der *Bawating Water Protectors* und hörte deren Forderungen zu, das ‚Indianergesetz' (*Indian Act*) zu verschrotten und das für die Ureinwohner zuständige Bundesamt (*Indigenous and Northern Affairs*

Canada INAC) etwa in ‚Amt der ehrenwerten Vertragsbeziehungen' umzubenennen. Tatsächlich befindet sich das Amt seit August 2017 im Umbruch. Nach der Aufspaltung soll eine der beiden Nachfolgebehörden unter dem Namen *Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada* weitergeführt werden.

Und so ist es wenig überraschend, dass das offizielle Narrativ des *Sesquicentennials*, Kanada als Land von vielfältigen Talenten darzustellen, von wichtigen Teilen der kanadischen Gesellschaft bestritten wurde – insbesondere von Vertretern der indigenen Völker, die Kanada 150 nicht als Feier einer Nation, sondern als Erinnerung an eine Geschichte der Kolonisation darstellten. Die Geburt der Föderation 1867 war nur ein weiteres Datum, an dem die Existenz der Indigenen ignoriert und ihre Rechte mit Füßen getreten wurden. Der Einspruch der Indigenen fanden bei Teilen der kanadischen Gesellschaft Widerhall, nicht nur bei Neuankömmlingen von außerhalb Europas, sondern auch bei jenen, die regionale oder lokale Jahrestage und Erinnerungen für wichtiger halten als den Versuch einer nationalen Erzählung. So bestand der Beitrag Ontarios zu Kanada 150 u. a. in der Zurschaustellung einer aufblasbaren, überdimensionierten gelben Gummiente von der Größe eines mehrstöckigen Hauses (offiziell verlautbarte, dass die Ente lediglich für die Seepromenade in Toronto bestellt wurde und nicht für Kanada 150), Montreal bereitete sich auf sein 375-jähriges Stadtjubiläum vor. Bestimmte Formen der nationalen Erinnerungskultur gerieten in die Kritik. Sind Statuen von kanadischen Premierministern an sich beleidigend oder eine angemessene Art, einen halbwegs runden nationalen Geburtstag zu begehen? In Waterloo, Ontario, entzündete sich beispielsweise eine Debatte genau an dieser Frage. Es ging darum, ob auf dem Campus der Wilfrid-Laurier-Universität, die als einzige kanadische Hochschule nach einem früheren Premierminister benannt ist, Statuen der kanadischen Premierminister – von John A. Macdonald bis Justin Trudeau – aufgestellt werden sollten. Eine Gruppe von Bürgern der Stadt hatte diesen Vorschlag 2015 gemacht, die Universität den Plan zunächst genehmigt – bis sich eine Gruppe von Campus-Aktivisten (die aus Lehrenden und Studierenden gleichermaßen bestand) dafür einsetzte, den Plan fallen zu lassen. Für die Campus-Aktivisten stellten die Statuen von politischen Führern wie z. B. Kanadas erstem Premierminister John A. Macdonald eine emotionale Zumutung dar, da einige der Premierminister zu ihrer Zeit Positionen vertraten, die heute kaum zu rechtfertigen seien. Am Ende schloss sich die Universitätsleitung diesen Argumenten an und sagte die Errichtung der Statuen ab.

Doch auch Trudeaus Versuche der Versöhnung unterschiedlicher Erinnerungsnarrative ließen die Kritiker der Unternehmung *Canada 150* nicht verstummen. Dabei ging es durchaus um Grundfragen hinsichtlich des einstigen und heutigen Selbstverständnisses des Landes: Kann man den Geburtstag eines Konstruktes wie das einer Nation tatsächlich feiern? Was sollte man feiern, sollte man Personen feiern, Kollektividentitäten, sollte man jede Zurschaustellung von Freude über die eineinhalbjahrhundertlange Existenz Kanada unterbinden oder sollte man zusehen, dass die Menschen ihrer Freude darüber Ausdruck verleihen? Es war kaum zu übersehen,

dass sich die Einstellungen zum Selbstverständnis des Landes insbesondere bei kulturellen und medialen Eliten seit 1967 deutlich und nachhaltig verschoben hatten. Auch das akademische Interesse der Kanada-Studien der vergangenen 10–20 Jahre galt weniger den größeren Errungenschaften Kanadas von militärischen Siegen in den Weltkriegen, Sozialprogrammen, föderalen und rechtlichen Garantien und künstlerischen Leistungen, sondern wandte sich mehrdimensionalen Ungleichheiten (nur noch zum geringeren Teil regionalen Disparitäten), Mustern von Diskriminierung, Unterdrückung und Rassismus sowie den Narrativen und Episoden entsetzlicher Grausamkeit insbesondere gegenüber indigenen Minderheiten zu.

Die liberale Bundesregierung sah sich andererseits einer Kohorte von Kanadiern überwiegend europäischer Abstammung gegenüber, welche die nationalen Gedenkveranstaltungen in erster Linie als Feuerwerk zelebrieren wollte und sich von einem postnationalen und multikulturellen Bild des Landes weitgehend ausgeschlossen oder zumindest nicht angesprochen fühlte. Die vorgeblich ‚kanadischsten' der Kanadier wollen, dass der Kanada-Tag nicht nur zu runden Geburtstagen so pompös gefeiert wird wie der 14. Juli in Frankreich – sondern immer, und ein Teil von ihnen reagiert wütend, wenn im Rahmen von Jubiläumsveranstaltungen überwiegend von der Kolonisierung der Ureinwohner und dem Versagen des kanadischen Staates gesprochen wird. Für diese Kanadier waren die Jubiläumsfeierlichkeiten kein Versuch, Differenz und Unterschiede in einer komplexen Gesellschaft zu verhandeln. Für die Traditions-Patrioten entsprach die Inszenierung des *Canada Day* 2017 der Rhetorik von Premierminister Trudeau, der Kanada kurz nach seiner Wahl in der *New York Times* als „ersten postnationalen Staat" bezeichnet hatte und im selben Interview erklärte, dass Kanada „keine Kernidentität, keinen Mainstream" besitze. Was Trudeau damit gemeint haben könnte: Im multikulturellen Mosaik des Landes steht es den Kanadiern frei, verschiedene (ethnokulturelle und andere) Identitäten für sich in Anspruch zu nehmen. In dieser Idealvorstellung wählen Leute selbst, wie viel oder wenig ‚*Canadianness*' sie wollen. Diese Flexibilität ermöglicht es Kanadiern, so die Theorie, anhand von unterschiedlichen Identitäten ihre eigene Bedeutung und ihre eigene Stellung in der Gesellschaft zu finden. Doch Kritiker des postnationalen Narrativs merken an, dass de facto nur Kollektividentitäten, die als marginalisiert gelten und Unterstützung benötigen, ihre Identität zelebrieren und zur Schau stellen dürfen. Wer einfach nur die nationale Identität groß schreibt und feiert, macht sich verdächtig.

Kanada ist ein hochkomplexes Land und das trifft auch auf weite Strecken seiner Geschichte zu. Es sollte möglich sein, dass Kanadier ihren Jahrestag und ihre runden Geburtstage feiern und gleichzeitig auch das dunkle Vermächtnis z. B. von Heimschulen für Ureinwohner, das Problem der unverhältnismäßigen Selbstmordraten in einigen indigenen Gemeinschaften sowie die historische Diskriminierung der LBQT+-Gemeinde anerkennen können. Möglicherweise müssen wir diese Geschichte(n) und die für die Politik des Landes verantwortlichen Personen nach mehr als

einem Kriterium beurteilen, um ihnen gerecht zu werden. Wenn die Umfragen nicht komplett falsch liegen, gibt es eine Menge Kanadierinnen und Kanadier, die sich der dunkleren Seite ihres Landes durchaus bewusst sind, sich aber dennoch stolz Kanadier nennen und die Geschichte des Landes unterm Strich positiv sehen und feiern wollen. Kanada selbst und die wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen, die das Land studieren, haben ein feines Gespür für die Bedeutung kollektiver Identitäten entwickelt. Das Bedürfnis nach nationaler Identität sollte dabei auch in einer möglicherweise postnationalen Konstellation nicht übersehen werden. Wenn es der kanadischen Gesellschaft nicht gelingt, die Legitimität sowohl der progressiv-postnationalen Deutung als auch der traditions-patriotischen Deutung des kanadischen Entwicklungsweges anzuerkennen und einen produktiven Dialog zwischen beiden Narrativen zu ermöglichen, wird Kanada den USA auf deren Weg in eine zutiefst gespaltene und polarisierte Gesellschaft folgen.

Besprechungen/Reviews/Comptes rendus

Martina Seifert, *Die Bilderfalle – Kanada in der deutschsprachigen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Produktion und Rezeption*, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2016 (Albert Rau)

Deanna Reder/Linda M. Morra, eds., *Learn, Teach, Challenge: Approaching Indigenous Literatures*, Waterloo, ON: Wilfried Laurier UP, 2016 (Alexandra Hauke)

Helmbrecht Breinig, *Hemispheric Imaginations. North American Fictions of Latin America*, Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2017 (Katja Sarkowsky)

S. Leigh Matthews, *Looking Back. Canadian Women's Prairie Memoirs and Intersections of Culture, History, and Identity,* Calgary: The University of Calgary Press, 2010 (Brigitte Georgi-Findlay)

Candida Rifkind/Linda Warley, eds., *Canadian Graphic: Picturing Life Narratives*, Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2016 (Brigitte Johanna Glaser)

Louis Fréchette, *Originaux et détraqués. Douze Types Québecquois,* Montréal: Bibliothèque québécoise, 2014 [1892] (Yves Laberge)

Olivier Côté, *Construire la nation au petit écran : Le Canada, une histoire populaire de CBC / Radio-Canada (1995-2002)*, Québec : Éditions du Septentrion, 2014 (Yves Laberge)

Laura Atran-Fresco, *Les Cadiens au présent. Revendications d'une francophonie en Amérique du Nord*, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2016 (Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink)

Richard White, *Planning Toronto. The Planners, The Plans, Their Legacies, 1940-1980*, Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2016 (Ludger Basten)

Ben Bradley/Jay Young/Colin M. Coates, Hg., *Moving Natures: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016 (Alexandra Ganser)

Julia Sattler, ed., *Urban Transformations in the U.S.A.: Spaces, Communities, Representation*s, Bielefeld: transcript 2016 (Bianka Gengler)

Markus Moos/Robert Walter-Joseph, eds., *Still Detached and Subdivided? Suburban Ways of Living in 21st Century North America,* Berlin: jovis Verlag, 2017 (Christoph Stadel)

Martina Seifert, *Die Bilderfalle – Kanada in der deutschsprachigen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Produktion und Rezeption*, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2016 (702 S.; ISBN 978-3-95786-063-7; € 49,80)

Das Bild Kanadas in Deutschland beruht auch heute noch vielfach auf stereotypen Vorstellungen und Klischees. Fragt man Deutsche, gleich welchen Alters, was sie über Kanada wissen und wie sie es beschreiben würden, dann sehen sie es meist als ein kaltes und von Schnee bedecktes Land, in dem man unberührte Natur erleben kann und das Abenteuer in einer unendlichen Weite und Wildnis verspricht. Ein Land, in dem viele Holzfäller leben, wo die Menschen Eishockey spielen und die berittene Polizei der RCMP für Ordnung sorgt. Mehr noch, Kanada gehört immer noch zu den „kollektiven Topophilien (Bachelard) der Deutschen. Ein ultimativer, nördlicher locus amoenus, der bedingungslosen, beglückenden und von Faszination getragenen Affirmation". (12) Warum ist das so?

Martina Seifert geht in ihrer Forschungsarbeit dieser Frage nach und untersucht, wie die Images der Deutschen von Kanada entstanden sind, wie sie sich entwickelt haben, wie sie funktionieren und wirken und warum sie immer noch so fest in ihrer Vorstellungswelt verankert und so weit verbreitet sind. Dabei geht es ihr nicht darum, den Wahrheitsgehalt der Bilder zu prüfen, wie es vielleicht der Titel der Publikation vermuten lässt. Seiferts sehr umfangreiche Studie ist den Methoden und Theorien der kulturhistorischen komparatistischen Imagologie verpflichtet, einem Teilbereich der vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, der sich am meisten mit der Entstehung und Entwicklung nationaler Selbst- und Fremdbilder in literarischen Texten beschäftigt hat. Anhand des Fallbeispiels Kanada untersucht die Dissertation in einer synchron und diachron angelegten Längsschnittstudie das „imagologische Spannungsfeld" (11) im Bereich des Kulturtransfers bzw. der Übersetzung. Sie analysiert dafür ein Korpus von mehr als 1 000 Publikationen der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, die über den Zeitraum von mehr als 100 Jahren (1899–2005) publiziert wurden.

Die Arbeit konzentriert sich auf die deutschsprachige Kinder- und Jugendliteratur und hier im Besonderen auf die Abenteuerliteratur – ein Genre, dem Martina Seifert eine besondere Bedeutung und entscheidende Rolle sowohl in der Entstehung, als auch der Fortführung der Auto- und Heteroimages von Kanada in Deutschland bescheinigt, zweifellos einen entscheidend höheren Anteil, als es die Allgemeinliteratur geleistet hat. Ein zentraler Aspekt ist hier, dass kinder- und jugendliterarische Texte ein bedeutsames „Medium der Enkulturation" (33) sind und zentrale „kulturspezifische Kenntnisse und Sinnstiftungsangebote" (14) für ganze Generationen vermittelt haben. Erwachsene Autoren lassen ihren jungen Leserinnen und Lesern Kanada als „Wunschtraum der Jugend" (14) erscheinen und verarbeiten dabei oft ihre eigenen Sehnsüchte und Wunschvorstellungen.

Martina Seifert fasst den Textbegriff recht weit, sodass über den zentralen Untersuchungsgegenstand der literarischen Texte hinaus, zum Beispiel, Titelbilder, Illustrationen und Verlagswerbung, aber auch Rezensionen oder Beurteilungen mit einbezogen werden. Nicht zuletzt werden Belege auch aus Filmen, Fernsehserien oder Medienberichten genutzt. In ihrem Bestreben, möglichst umfassend zu untersuchen, bedauert Martina Seifert, dass sie auf das Bilderbuch als spezifisch kinderliterarisches Medium im Rahmen der Arbeit nur kursorisch eingehen kann, was bei der immensen Fülle an Belegen ein durchaus 'verzeihlicher Mangel' ist.

Die Arbeit strebt eine „innovative Verbindung mit der historischen Kulturtransferforschung" (14) an unter der Berücksichtigung von verschiedenen „historisch-gesellschaftlichen und mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Kontexten" (15) und versteht sich als ein längst überfälliger Beitrag zur komparatistischen Imagologie, insbesondere aber der komparatistischen Kinderliteraturforschung. Da

Auto- und Heteroimages nicht nur isoliert auf den nationalen Kontext eines Landes beschränkt sind, zieht die Arbeit auch Fremdbilder Kanadas in Betracht, wie sie, zum Beispiel, in Großbritannien, der Sowjetunion oder Skandinavien zu finden sind.

Die Arbeit ist in zwei große Hauptteile gegliedert. Teil I konzentriert sich auf die Heteroimages von Kanada in der Produktion deutschsprachiger Autoren und untersucht in den einzelnen Kapiteln, wie, zum Beispiel, die Bilder Kanadas im Deutschland der Jahrhundertwende, der Weimarer Republik und des Nationalsozialismus aussehen und welche Veränderungen in der westdeutschen Nachkriegszeit, der DDR sowie der BRD seit den siebziger Jahren zu verzeichnen sind.

Deutsche Heteroimages von Kanada entstehen im 19. Jahrhundert (vgl. Kap. 3.1), und bis zur Weimarer Republik wird Kanada oft als „Abenteuerspielplatz" (85) in unberührter Natur gesehen. Seifert widmet der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus (Kap. 3.2) ein eigenes Kapitel und verdeutlicht, dass sich auch hier das positive Bild Kanadas nicht änderte und die Machthaber eher die Vorstellung von Kanada als einem „Land der Männer" (79) nutzten und die kanadische Wildnis als Ort der „Menschenschmiede" (176) nach ihren Vorstellungen instrumentalisierten.

In den 50iger und 60iger Jahren wurde Kanada als das Land für einen Neubeginn nach den Kriegsjahren auserkoren, und dass fast ein Drittel des Gesamtkorpus dieser Arbeit in dieser Zeit entstanden ist, zeigt, welche Bedeutung Kanada erlangt hatte. Das Land galt als „pazifistisches Paradies", als Ort der Zuflucht und „Unschuld" (202). Auch in der DDR verliert Kanada nicht sein grundsätzlich positives Bild. Es wird als „Sympathieträger" und als das „andere (meint: bessere) Amerika" verstanden (301).

Die Bilder Kanadas seit den 70iger Jahren (Kap. 3.5) zeigen, dass auch in dieser Zeit, die von „gesamtgesellschaftlichen Modernisierungsprozessen" (303) geprägt ist, der Imagotyp Kanada kaum eine veränderte Wahrnehmung erfährt. Kanada wird immer noch als ein überwiegend menschenleerer Naturraum gesehen, als Gegenentwurf zur modernen industrialisierten Stadtgesellschaft. Einen Grund hierfür sieht Seifert in der weitgehenden Abwesenheit von Kanadiern im Untersuchungskorpus.

Seifert muss feststellen, dass Kanada nicht nur ein Land ohne Menschen ist, oder, wenn ja, dann nur ein „Land der Männer" (79). Die Texte des Untersuchungskorpus zeigen fast ausschließlich männliche Hauptakteure und Autoren. Weibliche Autoren werden nicht berücksichtigt und in den Texten erscheinen Frauen eigentlich nur in Begleitung von Männern, damit sie überhaupt in der Wildnis überleben können. Die wenigen Darstellungen starker und selbstständig agierender Protagonistinnen bestätigen eher noch die festgefahrenen maskulinen Wahrnehmungen. Darüber hinaus zeigt die Studie deutlich, dass sich im gesamten Untersuchungszeitraum nicht die Bilder als solche, sondern allein ihre Instrumentalisierung entsprechend der jeweiligen mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Kontexte verändert hat.

Der zweite Hauptteil der Arbeit wendet sich dem Themenbereich Kulturtransfer bzw. Übersetzung kanadischer Literatur ins Deutsche zu. Er analysiert, zum Beispiel, inwieweit und ob die in kanadischen Enkulturationsmedien entworfenen Autoimages in Deutschland Aufnahme fanden oder nicht und inwieweit sie Auswirkungen auf die Selektion, Übersetzung, Vermarktung und Rezeption kanadischer Texte zeigen. Seifert legt dar, dass bis zum Beginn der achtziger Jahre nichts übersetzt wurde, was nicht den etablierten Vorstellungen entsprach und, neben dem Geschlecht der Protagonisten, die einschlägigen Heteroimages bestimmend für Transfer und Rezeption waren und das entscheidende Kriterium im Selektionsprozess darstellten.

Das bedeutete auch die komplette Vernachlässigung urbaner, regionaler, moderner und multikultureller Aspekte, die sich in der kanadischen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur immer mehr zeigten. Seit den achtziger Jahren haben diese Auswahlkriterien bei

Übersetzungen rapide an Bedeutung verloren, im Gegensatz zur Produktion deutschsprachiger Autoren, die sich immer noch den stereotypen Mustern verpflichtet fühlen.

Beide Hauptteile werden jeweils durch eine Erläuterung zum wissenschaftlichen Forschungsstand und den Paradigmen der Korpusanalyse eingeleitet. Dabei konnte Seifert für den 1. Teil der Arbeit (Kap. 1) nur auf wenige Vorarbeiten zurückgreifen, im Gegensatz zum 2. Teil, da sich schon zahlreiche Arbeiten mit dem Themenbereich Kulturtransfer bzw. der Übersetzungsgeschichte kanadischer Jugendliteratur Literatur ins Deutsche auseinandersetzen (vgl. Kap. 4.2.).

Die Arbeit schließt nicht mit einem Resümee, sondern mit einem Epilog, und hier wird dann auch deutlich, wie die Publikation zu ihrem Titel gekommen ist. 2004 erschien in Deutschland ein Kinderroman, *Die Kurzhosengang*, der als Übersetzung einer Geschichte von vier 11-Jährigen aus dem kanadischen Englisch vermarktet und zu einem Bestseller wurde, vor allen Dingen gelobt wegen seiner Authentizität. Als er dann sogar den deutschen Jugendliteraturpreis erhielt, flog der Schwindel auf. Alle Rezensenten und Leser waren in eine Bilderfalle getappt, denn der Roman war frei erfunden und der Autor hatte nur die stereotypen Bilder von Kanada verwendet. Ein Roman für Kinder entlarvte die Wirkungskraft der deutschen Heteroimages von Kanada und zeigte eindrucksvoll die „Macht der Images" (628).

Die ambitionierte Studie zeigt eindrucksvoll die Entstehung, Entwicklung und Wirkung des Imagotyps Kanada in Deutschland auf und kommt auf der Grundlage der wissenschaftlich fundierten Methoden der Imagologie zu grundlegenden Erkenntnissen. Auto- und Heteroimages von Kanada werden von den Autoren immer wieder aufgegriffen, wobei ständige Wiederholungen einen Wiedererkennungsprozess generiert haben, der den Bildern Objektivität verleiht und von den Rezipienten als Realität akzeptiert wird, bewusst oder unbewusst. Der Roman *Die Kurzhosengang* ist hier ein eindrucksvolles Beispiel, dass die fortlaufende Präsentation der Bilder auch ein „Mittel zur Verstärkung des etablierten interkulturellen Wissens" (23) ist. Sowohl in diachroner als auch synchroner Hinsicht werden die Images auch heute noch meist als homogen und frei von Ambivalenzen verstanden.

Martina Seifert hat eine Pionierarbeit vorgelegt, und ihre Ergebnisse stellen eine wertvolle Grundlage für weiterführende Untersuchungen dar, die dabei durchaus als Vorlage für Untersuchungen anderer Länder dienen kann. Man muss sich etwas Zeit nehmen, um die dichte Arbeit zu lesen und man fragt sich gelegentlich, ob nicht auch ein 'paar Seiten weniger' die gleichen wertvollen Ergebnisse hervorgebracht hätten.

Albert Rau

Deanna Reder/Linda M. Morra, eds., *Learn, Teach, Challenge: Approaching Indigenous Literatures*, Waterloo, ON: Wilfried Laurier UP, 2016 (485 pp.; ISBN 978-1-77112-185-9; CAD 48,99)

Deanna Reder's and Linda M. Morra's extensive anthology *Learn, Teach, Challenge: Approaching Indigenous Literatures* stands out as a unique collection of pieces that range from scholarly observations, determined criticism, and analytical readings to educational manifestos, personal anecdotes, and intimate memories by forty-five indigenous voices engaged in scholarship and activism who highlight that "there is an Aboriginal experience unique to the Canadian context" (11). The book's five parts are each framed by an "Introduction" and a "Final Section Response" tailored to the thematic specificities of the respective sections, which are also dedicated to individual pillars of indigenous scholarship: "Position" includes essays by such prominent writers as Helen Hoy and Renate Eigenbrod who muse that "position and self-reflection continue as fundamental methodologies in Indigenous

literary studies" (16) and serve as the primary objects of study in any decolonization project aiming, through the teaching of indigenous texts, at a reconsideration of "the prevailing white-eurocanadian-christian patriarchy's institution of higher learning" (28). The fusion of Native and non-Native perspectives in these first nine chapters offer an ideal entryway into "Situating Self, Culture, and Purpose in Indigenous Inquiry" and studying "Location as Critical Practice" as scholars, teachers, and readers. Part two, "Imagining Beyond Images and Myths," combines republished seminal pieces such as Gerald Vizenor's "Postindian Warriors" and Daniel Francis's "Marketing the Imaginary Indian" with new essays such as Renae Watchman's final section response to highlight the important work scholars have been engaged in for decades in the rewriting and reshaping of the 'Indian image,' critical efforts that must begin with an "[a]wareness and education of how Indigenous peoples have been depicted and continue to be caricatured" today. Examining in the classroom the "critical role that Indigenous literatures play" (215) both within and beyond Canada can, through measures of "re-Indigenizing the classroom and curriculum," support twenty-first-century efforts of "creating, thinking, and forming to represent, resist, reclaim, renew, and reframe" (215) problematic past-time images of indigenous peoples as traumatic victims. In this sense, scholars and teachers can work towards processes of restoration that reintroduce and reposition the significant cultural values of Indigenous literatures, scholarship, and epistemologies in theory and praxis without separating one from the other. In the third section, "Deliberating Indigenous Literary Approaches," Kimberly M. Blaeser, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Elvira Pulitano, among others, move towards theorizations of Native literatures in which scholars "must continue to formulate responsible critical tenets for [the] field, and reflect on ethics" (301) in order to arrive at ways of considering Native academic and literary voices from various regions and cultural experiences in dialogue and to "honour the full humanity of Indigenous individuals and their many communities" (313). Daniel Heath Justice's efforts in terms of "the decolonization imperative" echo the titular "Contemporary Concerns" of section four: "the storied expression of continuity that encompasses resistance while moving beyond it to an active expression of the living relationship between the People and the world" both "*reflects* Indigenous continuity of the past and present, and *projects* that continuity into the future" (352-53). As such, this section's concerns are reflected in essays by Jeff Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, T'lakwadzi, and Katsisorokwas Curran Jacobs, among others, who suggest ways to read, study, and teach indigenous approaches to reconciliation within and beyond the frame of the TRC, Native family and kinship structures, Aboriginal storytelling, and political restitution to move "From Truth-telling to Community Mobilization" (389), i.e. to reframe efforts of reconciliation by Canada, which "legitimize and reinforce colonial relationships," and foster strategies of indigenous "restorying" (389) that suggest Native-centered points of view that prioritize community and activism. In the volume's final section, "Classroom Considerations," eight original essays by, for example, Sarah Henzi, Warren Carriou, and Sophie McCall deliberate the particularities of bringing indigenous literatures, cultures, epistemologies, and scholarship into the classroom as practices of decolonization and diversification. The authors discuss the importance of teaching oral and written histories, indigenous treatments and re-imaginings of genre conventions, the possibilities and limitations of historical accuracy, authenticity, and truth, and the opportunities provided by Aboriginal literatures to invest in "a radical rethinking of trauma and healing" (486). In line with the editors' imperative to learn from and about Indigenous communities, teach Aboriginal stories, and chal-

lenge the colonial narrative, this last section closes the volume in a way that suggests possible answers to "the tough questions of the past" (502) that continue to provoke imperative discussions about the place, meaning, and controversies associated with indigenous studies and inspire important scholarship that takes the form of anthologies such as this one. The decolonizing discourse at work in the impressive number of essays in Deanna Reder's and Linda M. Morra's collection reminds Indigenous studies scholars of what Helen Hoy calls the "responsibility to combat structures of power and entitlement" (51) through an active investment in the ways indigenous texts – oral, written, visual, and virtual – can, as Emma LaRoque advocates, "shed light on Native humanity" (61) while "creating a space from which to enter the mandates of western thought and format without having to internalize its coloniality or to defy our personal and cultural selves" (69). *Learn, Teach, Challenge: Approaching Indigenous Literatures* thus serves as a "harbinger of the future" (28), signposting the important ways in which Aboriginal literatures, cultures, and epistemologies can and should be learned, taught, and challenged by Native and non-Native readers, instructors, and scholars within and beyond Canada and the Americas. In turn, the essays in this volume remind us to learn, teach, and challenge ourselves as part of what Sarah Henzi describes as a "practice [that] will offer new reflexive avenues for approaching questions of identity and artistic production" and that "will aid in the creation of a new space to voice, create, resist, restore, and reaffirm experiences, histories, and memory, and to rectify the falsity of colonial imagery" (491). Deanna Reder's and Linda M. Morra's volume speaks to these points in ways that will prove useful to teachers, scholars, and students at any level of familiarity with Indigenous studies. The methodological practices and approaches at play in this collection enrich the experience of readers by suggesting *how* we can learn, teach, and challenge Indigenous texts as ways of "looking to the future to imagine alternative directions" (502) for Aboriginal "literature and the corresponding theory" – two realms that "enjoin us to challenge stereotypes, prejudice, and institutional inertia" (4).

Alexandra Hauke

Helmbrecht Breinig, *Hemispheric Imaginations. North American Fictions of Latin America*, Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2017 (390 pp.; ISBN 978-1-61168-990-7; $45)

The so-called 'hemispheric turn' in American Studies was an important factor not only in the transnationalization of the field with regard to its subject matter but also in terms of its questioning the construction of 'America', all too often simply conflated with 'the United States'. However, the widening of the scope across the continent has, at times, unwittingly reproduced earlier conceptual limitations and epistemological blind spots. Carol Field Levander and Robert S. Levine draw attention to how "the divide between Latin American Studies and American Studies has, in some respects, widened with Latin Americanists often accusing Americanists of appropriating specialized fields of knowledge" (2006, 399-400). As Winfried Siemerling and Sarah Casteels highlight in their introduction to *Canada and Its Americas,* Canada is hardly ever taken into account in hemispheric literary studies (2010, 8), thus limiting the study of the hemisphere to the regions south of the 49th parallel. And along a slightly different line of criticism, Ricardo Salvatore has recently remarked how the hemispheric turn in American Studies still tends to replicate "the US epistemic privilege of choosing what part of the hemisphere is representative of the whole" (2015, 364). Despite the important and fundamental shifts of perspective over the past twenty years, what is included in the so seemingly comprehen-

sive concept of the 'hemisphere' often remains implicitly limited to particular countries and regions and/or tends to reiterate the 'hemisphere' as consisting of the US and Mexico.

Helmbrecht Breinig's remarkable monograph *Hemispheric Imaginations* presents a welcome example of a clearly defined analytical project that avoids reproducing these blind spots and pitfalls. The scope is both impressively vast and prudently circumscribed: vast because the framework of reference analyzed is indeed the 'hemisphere' (xv); prudently circumscribed because Breinig explicitly limits his analysis to *literary constructions* of Latin America and the Caribbean in Anglophone Canadian and US American prose writing of the 19th to the early 21st centuries (with a clear focus on the 20th century). The project is one of cultural hermeneutics: Breinig offers attentive and often surprising readings of US American and Canadian literary engagements with Latin America – or rather, with particular ideas of Latin America, that, in their turn, contribute to the more broadly conceived cultural construction of those images. As such, these fictions, or imaginations, result from a constellation of asymmetric power relations, a constellation that the author captures with the concept of 'Latinamericanism' and which is understood as "demarcating the construction of Latin American otherness and its circulation in the public mind" (6). Structurally, Latinamericanism displays crucial similarities to Edward Said's influential (and contested) notion of 'Orientalism', a model that appears particularly useful for Breinig's own agenda of analyzing discourses of alterity, for it "documents the direct connection between the epistemic and the politico-economic appropriation of the Other" (35).

Alterity and identity are central categories of the interdisciplinary based readings Breinig provides, but the central interest of the book is much more extensive. In his excellent chapter two, while focusing on the specific manifestations of the 'Latin American Other', Breinig still addresses questions of alterity, identity, constructions of 'self' and 'other' more fundamentally and with obvious implications beyond the context at hand. Here, he builds not only on his longstanding engagement with questions of multiculturalism, literary imaginations, and inter-Americanism but also on his concept of 'transdifference', in order to capture a systematic "shift of emphasis away from notions of difference and also from notions of a mélange in the direction of a simultaneity of – often conflicting – positions, loyalties, affiliations, and participations" (33). While engaging in cultural hermeneutics, the centrality of this concept also highlights a shift away from intercultural hermeneutics: there is, as Breinig emphasizes, no fusion of horizons in the engagement with the Other (33). Acknowledging this co-presence of potentially conflicting identity positions allows for seeing nuances, ambiguities, and contradictions more clearly and provides, as Breinig's readings in the following nine chapters illustrate, a hedge against the all too convenient reading of US American and Canadian hemispheric imaginations as exclusively caught up in the reproduction of Latin American stereotypes. So while these clearly play an important role in Breinig's critical analyses, too, his careful attention to irreconcilabilities in imagining the Other – for instance in Melville's "Benito Cereno" – is in effect much more interesting than the mere identification of stereotypes and their perpetuation across time. While occasionally taking into account non-literary texts, Breinig largely focuses on what he calls "elite or mainstream literature" in order to illustrate "not only the power of discursive thinking but also the capacity of literary art to disrupt and subvert it, to show self and Other with more complexity, uncertainty, ambiguity, openness" (18). While non-literary texts may also allow for such complexities – if even inadvertently – the overall trajectory of Breinig's argument is clear and welcome: the point is not complexity for complexity's sake, but that these irreconcilabilities allow for adequate and sensitive

contextualizations across time and in two different national frameworks, the United States and Canada. As Breinig points out, it is often not so much the components of Latinamericanism that change but their discursive function for the narrative construction of the nation (109).

The book is structured in five parts. Part one consists of the introduction and the already discussed theoretical chapter, whereas parts two to four – each containing two to three chapters – focus on literary renderings of historical events and materials (part two), specific elements of Latinamericanism such as nature and gender (part three), and societal shifts as reflected in literature from the post-Vietnam era to the early 1990s (part four). These parts mainly focus on US American writing (with the exception of Jeannette Armstrong's poem "History Lesson" discussed in the context of postmodern and Indigenous versions of Columbus in chapter 10), while part five is devoted to Canadian literature, most notably Malcolm Lowry's modernist novel *Under the Volcano* (completed by Lowry while living in Canada) and Margaret Atwood's *Bodily Harm*. Yet, also rather unexpected novels such as Jessica Morrison's *The Buenos Aires Broken Hearts Club* are discussed as well. Anglo-Canadian literature dealing with Latin America, argues Breinig, addresses generally the same issues as their US American counterparts, but the inter-American perspective taken on Latin America has to be contextualized in Canada's complicated relationship to the US (286). As Breinig rightly points out, "the lateness of Canadian nationhood and the comparatively weak self-conception as a nation have made it difficult for Canadian scholars to join the trend toward transnational hemispheric studies that are seen by many to be another form of US cultural imperialism" (285). While some scholars have sought to place Canada in a hemispheric context (Breinig mentions Siemerling and Casteels' *Canada and Its* Americas; Diana Brydon also comes to mind), there clearly is a discrepancy between the literary and scholarly treatments of inter-American entanglements – notions of 'trans-Canada' mostly translate into the crucial field of diaspora studies, with little systematic attention to the kind of analyses offered here. This is one reason why at least this reader would have wished for a more expansive treatment of some of the works Breinig mentions but does not further discuss, such as George Szanto's Mexican trilogy, or Indigenous texts exploring the connections between Indigenous peoples across the hemisphere, such as Jeannette Armstrong's *Whispering in Shadows*. There is much more to discover here, and Breinig's book opens an overdue trajectory. The kind of inquiry he embarks on is important, insightful, and thought provoking, and it resonates strongly beyond the materials analyzed (or the geographical scope targeted). It also raises further questions regarding the perspectives of e.g. Anglo-Canadian, Latino-Canadian, or Caribbean-Canadian writers on inter-American entanglements and the ways in which they, in turn, respond to one another: the struggle of representation, the processes and the boundaries of cultural understanding take place within and across national imaginaries and their institutionalizations.

Katja Sarkowsky

S. Leigh Matthews, *Looking Back. Canadian Women's Prairie Memoirs and Intersections of Culture, History, and Identity,* Calgary: The University of Calgary Press, 2010 (418 pp.; ISBN 978-1-55238-096-3; CAD 39,95)

Since the 1980s, the study of women's personal narratives has helped to illuminate the role of gender in historical processes of western settlement and to revise assumptions underlying male-defined narratives of pioneering. Nevertheless, as S. Leigh Matthews deplores in her introduction, Canadian scholarship still lags behind studies focusing on the American West and has only begun to recover women's accounts as

legitimate historical and/or literary source material. Although one could object that the personal narratives of, for example, Catharine Parr Traill, Susanna Moodie, and Nellie McClung did receive serious attention in Canadian Studies, the textual archive that Matthews has recovered – more than 30 memoirs, focusing on three prairie provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta), produced between the 1950s and the 1980s, and mostly out of print – is surprisingly large and unstudied, representing a "unique and 'virtually untilled field'" (5).

Considering the memoir form's generic instability – read as either autobiography or history –, Matthews proposes to "reconcile these lost or ignored texts with their historical/literary heritage and to amend the relative lack of critical attention from both historians and literary critics" (13). Women's memoirs, she suggests, do important cultural work as narrative disruptions of cultural images and "as points of intersection with idealistic images of white, English-speaking women's participation in prairie land settlement" (14). This re-visioning potential of women's prairie memoirs is shown to operate on several levels that are explored in four chapters.

Matthews' first focus is on how these texts re-vision dominant historical narratives of western settlement. While the dominant male-defined narrative invokes the (future) agricultural potential of the region as a land of opportunity (a "next year" country of future plenty), women's memoirs apparently shift the perspective onto the immediate, individual family farm, its domestic economies, and its messiness.

The second focus is on how the texts revision literary understandings of land settlement in Canada which have been largely shaped by Catherine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie. Matthews points to the critical tendency to consider both women's texts as polar opposites and proposes to view them rather as two ends of a continuum which Matthews' memoirists engage with in manifold ways.

A third focus is on the texts' re-visioning of the space(s) of western settlement by showing how gender is constructed within specifically located spaces, represented by the "geographic space of the Canadian west, the physical space of the female body, and the textual space in which memoir writers represent their lived experience of prairie settlement" (209). Matthews argues that these spaces are inter-related: Women memoirists exhibit "conformity to cultural expectations of the female body in the prairie landscape" when they represent the settling of the prairies. At the same time they use "the textual space of the memoir to provide less constricted representations of prairie women, to document female transgressions of cultural expectations, both as they may have occurred in the lived experience of settlement, and as new and empowering constructions at the moment of 'looking back'" (209). Like earlier scholars of western women's personal narratives, Matthews explores the paradox faced by women that Victorian expectations were challenged by the conditions of prairie life which demanded behaviour that "deviated from idealistic cultural images" (210). As a consequence of this paradox, she suggests, "the memoir as textual space allows for considerable and imaginative play with the culturally constructed Prairie Woman image" (210). Especially in this chapter, Matthews engages critical and feminist theory and explores scenes of "narrative transgression[s]" (238) which deals with the paradoxical situation of prairie women between conventions and necessities. She suggests that, while in dominant cultural narratives the "work of women remains rhetorical and disembodied," in the memoirs the adult female physical body is represented (239). In their "representations of women's bodies chasing bears, fighting fires, running races, straddling horses, driving wagons and working in the fields, the memoirists examined here provide us with a narrative space in which to confront the domestic ideal that persisted throughout the different phases of western settlement" (296). The memoirs

provide a "temporarily safe space" in which authors "demonstrate the precarious nature, the constantly shifting boundaries, of what it meant to be a 'decent woman' in prairie society" (296).

The last focus is on how the memoirs revision narratives of a landscape devoid of native inhabitants or animals. Since the female memoirists seem to focus rather on gardening, berry-picking, and domestic subsistence than on the realities of commercial agriculture, Matthews interprets this as exhibiting "an eco-consciousness that effectively re-visions the dominative and exploitive nature of large-scale agricultural practices" (300). Here one could object that this might be wishful thinking on Matthews' part and what she reads as eco-critical could also be read as complicit in 'emptying' the landscape of its first inhabitants and masking that process by 'naturalizing' historical processes of dispossession.

Matthews' close readings of the personal narratives expose how they simultaneously confirm and challenge cultural images and do away with simplistic either/or dichotomies. The texts negotiate between "representing acts of complicity with cultural norms and also constructing personal experiences that 'confront' these norms." They also negotiate "between a 'surface' conformity to readerly expectations of a western settlement text and those 'undercurrents' of difference that allow for the (sometimes subtle) re-visioning of history" (386).

Matthews' study explores an admirably broad range of texts, fleshing out the dynamics within and among a diversity of voices, and making them speak to each other. Her close readings render justice to the ambivalent textual processes at work in the accounts. These readings work best when she focuses on textual scenes and narrative moments in which ambiguities and undercurrents can be shown to manifest themselves. In addition, the memoirs are contextualized very well by historical background information that provides a deeper understanding of where the women's narratives are located within Canadian local and national projects. This study has successfully tilled a so-far untilled field, recovering texts that deserve more attention in the near future.

Brigitte Georgi-Findlay

Candida Rifkind/Linda Warley, eds., *Canadian Graphic: Picturing Life Narratives*, Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2016 (320 pp.; ISBN 978-1-77112-179-8; CAD 29,99)

The recently published *Canadian Graphic* represents one of very few studies existing so far on the extensive, heterogeneous comics tradition in Canada. The collection of essays originated from intersecting interests, that is, both the analysis of word-image relations and the increasingly popular scholarly preoccupation with life-writing. Hence a major focus of the study is to sketch the methodological particularities of 'graphic life-writing', with its subgenres of 'autographics', 'biographics' and 'graphic metabiography', and subsequently to explore its characteristics with the help of case studies.

The volume is subdivided into an introductory chapter and three sections, the essays of which respectively address "Confession and the Relational Self" (Part 1), "Collective Memory and Visual Biography" (Part 2), and "The Child and the Nation" (Part 3). The individual articles illuminate in diverse ways the extent to which Canadian comics artists have contributed to the field of life-writing.

In their introductory chapter, the editors Candida Rifkind and Linda Warley first trace autobiographical comics back to both alternative comics in the 1980s and the growing interest in life-writing in the final decades of the 20th century, before drawing attention to their special feature, the multi-modality of self-representation, which requires readers to become involved in the (re)construction of lives out of interlinking

words and images. This reference to the importance of self-fashioning and self-reflexivity on the part of the respective artists as well as readers' cooperation in disentangling the graphic narratives indicates a recurring concern of this study.

The first part of *Canadian Graphic* features deliberations on a variety of confessional comics: while Kevin Ziegler explores in a general way their very nature as works of art that expose intimate information to strangers and therefore refers to them as "public dialogues" (23), the following three essays present in their analyses a selection of the topics addressed in these graphic narratives. Thus, Kathleen Venema reads Sarah Leavitt's *Tangles* as both an Alzheimer's narrative and a reworking of the artist's relationship with her mother, J. Andrew Deman interrogates Julie Doucet's *My New York Diary* with regard to her interventional representation of female sexuality in comics, and James C. Hall examines Chester Brown's *I Never Liked You* for its revelations on the author's adolescent struggles with his family, his masculinity, and his emerging artistic self.

In the second part the focus is on the biographical mode used in comics that engage in both personal and national commemoration and at the same time may have larger political implications. In a close analysis of Seth's *Great Northern Brotherhood of Canadian Cartoonists*, Kathleen Dunley discusses the artist's attempts to reclaim Canada's heritage of cartooning (also by including those artists who had wandered off to the United States), to make visible a particular Canadian aesthetic in this art form, and to position himself among his colleagues. Linda Warley and Alan Filewood explore Scott Chandler's *Two Generals*, a diary-based cartoon rendition of the experiences during World War II of his trauma-ridden and mainly silent grandfather, and thereby raise questions about past "codes of masculinity and military culture" (15). Candida Rifkind discusses Ho Che Anderson's extensive three-part graphic biography *King* as an example of 'metabiography', arguing that this artwork is revisionist in approach since it challenges the public mythologization of the American Civil Rights activist Martin Luther King, includes a massive gender critique, and "develops a unique aesthetic of critical black memory" (188).

Part III examines graphic narratives mainly targeted at young readers and thereby suitable either to instil them with a particular version of Canadian history and Canadian 'values', or alternatively to induce them to critical readings by making them explore, through close attention to the comic-specific element of the gutter, what has been silenced or suppressed. Issues of "restorying" (208), or narrating in new and alternative ways, Indigenous experience are at the centre of Doris Wolf's article on David Alexander Robertson's graphic biographies *The Life of Helen Betty Osborne* and *Sugar Falls*, works that deal with the violence against First Nations women and with the fallout of the residential school system. In a similar revisionist mode, Eva C. Karpinski identifies and questions representations of gender-related conduct and middle-class ideology in two biographics often used in an educational context, John Lang's *Lone Hawk*, which recounts the achievements of the white male World War I hero Billy Bishop, and Willow Dawson's *Hyena in Petticoats*, which narrates the life of the white suffragette Nellie McClung. Both this section and the volume as such are concluded with Cheryl Cowdy's intriguing exploration of the child self, in its historical and cultural figuration, first in Roch Carrier's iconic picture book *The Hockey Sweater* and then in Hervé Bouchard and Janice Nadeau's *Harvey*, a narrative that recreates and recontextualises *The Hockey Sweater* against the background of American popular culture on the one hand and changing notions of 'Canadian-ness' on the other.

As one of the first Canadian scholarly investigations of the expanding field of graphic life narratives, Rifkind and Warley's volume explores not only a great variety of thematic approaches to graphic repre-

sentations of individual and collective Canadian identities but also investigates, through meticulous descriptions of and perceptive reflections on selected panels, the heterogeneity of visual styles and storytelling techniques employed by the artists. Thus it constitutes a welcome introduction to a new and productive field of research within Canadian Studies.

Brigitte Johanna Glaser

Louis Fréchette, *Originaux et détraqués. Douze Types Québecquois,* Montréal: Bibliothèque québécoise, 2014 [1892] (263 p.; ISBN 978-2-89406-354-5; CAD 10,95)

Paru initialement en 1892, *Originaux et détraqués* est une étude sur le Canada-français de la fin du dix-neuvième siècle dont la valeur historique et identitaire demeure trop négligée. Rédigé sous forme de chroniques et de portraits, ce recueil permet de constater la fébrilité de la vie littéraire bien avant la grande période de la littérature québécoise des années 1960. Avocat, écrivain, pamphlétaire, mais aussi politicien et député fédéral durant quatre années au Parlement d'Ottawa, Louis Fréchette (1839-1908) a été une figure marquante et influente de la littérature canadienne et québécoise. En dépit de ses pointes d'humour et de son ton parfois satirique, on ne saurait classer cette œuvre multiforme parmi les romans et pas tout à fait dans la catégorie du conte; en relisant certains passages descriptifs après plus d'un siècle, on la situerait presque du côté de la description ethnographique à laquelle il ne manquerait que la dimension théorique – bien qu'il soit inutile de se risquer dans des généralisations abusives ou de vains exercices de classification stylistique.

L'ouvrage *Originaux et détraqués* se subdivise en douze portraits de contemporains, non pas des notables ou des célébrités québécoises, mais des personnages pittoresques ayant probablement existé, bien que l'auteur se soit permis de modifier les noms et les lieux de résidence des personnes décrites, qu'il identifie sans le savoir – d'une manière sociologique (à la Max Weber) – comme étant des « types québecquois » (Fréchette utilise sciemment ce terme, 16). Contrairement à ce qui en a été dit, les personnes décrites ici ne viennent pas toutes de la ville de Québec. Par ailleurs, le lecteur européen remarquera peut-être dans ce livre datant d'il y a plus d'un siècle l'orthographe inhabituelle du mot « Québecquois », dans une épellation singulièrement différente de celle maintenant acceptée depuis le milieu du 20e siècle (on écrit désormais « Québécois » sans redoubler les lettres « qu » au milieu du mot). En fait, Louis Fréchette ne faisait pas exception en orthographiant « Québecquois » de la sorte; de plus, il figure ici comme l'un des premiers écrivains à employer ce mot pour identifier non seulement les habitants de la ville de Québec mais également tous ceux qui vivent dans la province de Québec et pas forcément dans la capitale (16). Ainsi, Fréchette écrit par exemple: « C'est un Québecquois, il est de Rimouski » (16). Aujourd'hui encore, cette question reste fondamentale et bien au-delà de la sémantique pour mieux appréhender l'identité collective des Québécois.

Auteur consacré même de son vivant, Louis Fréchette écrit avec verve dans une langue imagée. Si son style souvent recherché s'apparente davantage à celui des écrivains contemporains de la France, il ne manque pas, dans les dialogues qu'il recrée, de reproduire la langue vivante du parler populaire québécois, qu'il recompose imaginativement sous la forme de vers rimés et colorés:

Ma cher' madam' Vermette,
Voudriez-vous m'permette
D'vous d'mander une alumette? (176)

En réalité, c'est tout le lexique savoureux retenu et mis en évidence par Louis Fréchette qui fait la force (documentaire et littéraire) de ce livre riche en québécismes

propres au 19e siècle et en mots inusités en Europe: « une chaudiérée d'eau bouillante » (177) pour désigner une chaudière pleine, ou encore l'expression « beau dommage » pour dire « assurément », « cela va de soi » (205).

Désormais réédité à prix d'ami et en format de poche, *Originaux et détraqués* servira aux cours de littérature canadienne et d'études canadiennes pour illustrer la vie des lettres au 19e siècle. En outre, ce livre conviendra tout autant à des cours et des recherches sur la littérature de la Francophonie non-hexagonale du 19e siècle. On reprochera seulement à l'éditeur BQ son choix d'une couverture si déplaisante à regarder et si peu représentative du contenu; mais, comme on le sait, on ne peut juger un livre uniquement par sa page frontispice.

Yves Laberge

Olivier Côté, *Construire la nation au petit écran : Le Canada, une histoire populaire de CBC / Radio-Canada (1995-2002)*, Québec : Éditions du Septentrion, 2014 (446 p. ISBN 978-2-8944-8791-4; 39,95)

Ce livre substantiel est la thèse remaniée de l'historien québécois Olivier Côté, qui se penche sur les représentations de la nation canadienne dans une série télévisée — *Le Canada, une histoire populaire* — qui a été largement diffusée dans les deux langues officielles entre 1995 et 2002. Cette série historique de dix-sept épisodes était prévue pour montrer, sinon magnifier, l'histoire du Canada, et ce en dépit de son passé colonial. Le contexte politique entourant le deuxième Référendum sur la souveraineté du Québec était évidemment au cœur de cette entreprise d'éducation populaire par les médias. L'analyse de cette docufiction peut mettre en évidence plusieurs fils conducteurs et de nombreux clichés à propos d'une partie de la population canadienne. Comme les canadianistes le savent, la définition de la nation canadienne, et par ricochet de la question de la nation québécoise, sont fondamentales mais aussi largement débattues dans un pays qui, parfois, cherche encore ce qui le définit mais aussi ce qui le distinguerait de ses voisins (et notamment les États-Unis). Cette réflexion sur la spécificité du Canada est naturellement au centre des études canadiennes, et particulièrement depuis 2015, au moment où le Premier Ministre Justin Trudeau a affirmé au *New York Times* (repris par *The Guardian*) qu'en raison de sa politique ouvertement multiculturaliste, le Canada serait « le premier pays postnational » (« the world's first 'postnational' country »), c'est-à-dire un peuple sans attache nationale précise et sans autre identité nationale que cette absence d'identité nationale. Cette négation de la nation (et de l'histoire canadienne) a évidemment fait sursauter de nombreux observateurs instruits, et particulièrement au Québec, comme on a pu le lire par la suite dans certains quotidiens canadiens et sur Internet.

Le livre *Construire la nation au petit écran : Le Canada, une histoire populaire de CBC / Radio-Canada (1995-2002)* ne touche pas les déclarations récentes du Premier Ministre Justin Trudeau, mais il y est question de la nation canadienne et de sa définition, de l'identité nationale et de la construction sociale de la nation (« Nation-building »). Si on entend souvent dire que ce sont les dominants ou les vainqueurs qui écrivent l'histoire, on affirme aussi que le récit recomposé du passé risque d'être employé afin de légitimer le présent, l'idéologie dominante et les élites au pouvoir. Olivier Côté n'affirme pas autre chose lorsqu'il écrit: « cette mise en récit télévisuelle sert l'hégémonie culturelle des élites libérales anglo-canadiennes surtout ontariennes à laquelle le producteur délégué Mark Starowicz, les journalistes radiocanadiens et certains historiens de l'école historiographique des *limited identities* participent bon gré mal gré » (16).

Tout au long de ce livre exhaustif, Olivier Côté décrit admirablement comment la série télévisée *Canada, A People's History / Le Canada, une histoire populaire* reproduit

subtilement pour mettre en scène les pires préjugés du Canada-anglais face aux Francophones et au Québec. Ainsi, à propos d'un épisode sur le Québec de 1914, au début de la Première guerre mondiale, on représente les Canadiens-français de manière négative: « Le scénario original dépeint de ce fait les Canadiens français comme des pacifistes ethnocentristes qui ne s'enrôlent pas dans l'armée, frustrés qu'ils sont par le Règlement 17, règlement qui limite l'usage du français comme langue d'enseignement et de communication dans les écoles ontariennes » (165). Bien pire: tout au long du processus d'élaboration et de scénarisation des épisodes, des experts québécois chargés de critiquer et de valider le projet ont prévenu les producteurs des erreurs, des préjugés et des conceptions fausses colportées par le découpage des épisodes, et bien des inexactitudes auraient pu être corrigées à ce moment, n'eût été de l'entêtement néocolonial des producteurs de cette série. Il est fascinant de suivre les personnages historiques et de constater qui sont, dans chaque situation, les « bons » et les « méchants ».

Si on se désole de la large diffusion (particulièrement dans les écoles) de cette série télévisée, à l'évidence biaisée mais à l'image des contradictions et des inégalités canadiennes, on ne peut qu'admirer le travail d'une grande rigueur effectué par Olivier Côté, qui dépasse les limites de la discipline historique pour emprunter efficacement les méthodes des sciences sociales et des études médiatiques. En ce sens, le livre *Construire la nation au petit écran* devrait être lu par les chercheurs en études canadiennes et en histoire comparée. Les bibliothèques universitaires devraient en posséder un exemplaire. On peut le commander directement chez son éditeur (Septentrion, à Québec), en deux versions: sur papier ou en livre électronique.

Yves Laberge

Laura Atran-Fresco, *Les Cadiens au présent. Revendications d'une francophonie en Amérique du Nord*, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2016 (262 S.; ISBN: 978-2-7637-2820-9; CAD 32,95)

Das vorliegende Buch verfolgt eine zweifache Zielsetzung: zum einen die Geschichte, die Entwicklung und den Stellenwert der frankophonen Gesellschaft und Kultur in Louisiana im Kontext der Beziehungen zu den anderen frankophonen Kulturen Nordamerikas, insbesondere Kanadas, darzustellen; und zum anderen die aktuelle Einstellung von Französisch-Studierenden in Louisiana zur französischen Sprache, zu ihren Ausprägungen in Louisiana und zur frankophonen Kultur der *Cajuns* anhand von Umfragen herauszuarbeiten. Beiden Zielsetzungen wird der vorliegende, mit knapp 250 Seiten relativ konzise Band gerecht – wenn auch mit einigen Lücken, die zu Fragen und Kritik Anlass geben. Die ersten beiden großen Kapitel des Buchs, „Les Cadiens" (I) und „Intégration au monde francophone" (II) überschrieben, geben in der Tat einen recht guten Überblick über die Geschichte der frankophonen Gesellschaft und Kultur in Louisiana, deren Entwicklung durch den Niedergang der Plantagengesellschaften des amerikanischen Südens nach dem Sezessionskrieg in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, aber auch durch die monolingual ausgerichtete Sprachgesetzgebung der USA sukzessive – und vor allem seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts – deutlich an Boden verloren hat. Einen entscheidenden Einschnitt bildete in diesem Zusammenhang die Abschaffung des Französischen als Verwaltungssprache 1914 und als Unterrichtssprache an den Schulen in Louisiana im Jahre 1915 (vgl. 24). Gut herausgearbeitet wird auch das Phänomen der „Renaissance louisianaise" seit den 1960er Jahren, die von der in Kapitel III („L'institutionnalisation") ausführlich dargestellten Gründung des CODOFIL (*Council for the Development of French in Louisiana*) im Jahr 1968 auf Initiative des Rechtsanwalts James Domengeaux – eine Institution zur Förde-

rung der französischen Sprache und Kultur in Louisiana – und der Einführung zahlreicher Klassen mit intensiviertem Französischunterricht („Classes d'immersion") an öffentlichen Schulen entscheidende Impulse erhielt. Zumindest *de jure* erhielt der Bilingualismus in Louisiana in der Folge einen offiziellen Status, da das Französische auch als Verwaltungssprache wieder zugelassen wurde (*vgl.* 29). Die Aufwertung des Französischen in Louisiana seit den 1960er Jahren ging einher mit einer erneuten Intensivierung der kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen der frankophonen Minderheit Louisianas und dem frankophonen Kanada, vor allem den *Acadiens* in den kanadischen Westprovinzen Nouveau-Brunswick und Nouvelle-Écosse, die ihren Ausdruck in vielfältigen institutionellen und politischen Kontakten, zahlreichen gemeinsamen Kultur- und Musikfestivals und den Publikationen von Autoren aus Louisiana im kanadischen Verlag Editions d'Acadie in Moncton (der bis 2000 bestand) fand. 1971 wurde, wie die Verfasserin erwähnt, der Begriff „Acadiana" zur offiziellen Bezeichnung des frankophonen Louisiana, das 1974 auch eine eigene Flagge erhielt, eingeführt (31f.).

Das letzte Kapitel (IV) des Buches mit dem Titel „La conscientisation de la jeunesse" geht auf den Bewusstseinswandel unter Teilen der jüngeren frankophonen Bevölkerung ein, die, so die Verfasserin, der frankophonen Sprache und Kultur in ihren verschiedenen Ausprägungen – vom Spracherwerb und der Sprachpflege über die Gastronomie bis hin zur Literatur und zu spezifischen Festen und Soziabilitätsformen wie dem *Mardi Gras* – eine wachsende Bedeutung beimisst. Auch in Verbänden wie „Francojeunes de la Louisiane" seien erneut Forderungen nach einer Anerkennung und Festigung der Identität der frankophonen Bevölkerungsschichten Louisianas erkennbar, die sich in drei Facetten (die die Verfasserin als „processus" bezeichnet) äußern: in der Forderung nach einer Integration Louisianas in die Institutionen der Frankophonie („Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie"); in der weiteren institutionellen Festigung der schulischen und politischen Institutionen zur Förderung der frankophonen Minderheit in Louisiana; und in der Förderung des Bewusstseinswandels der Jugend (*vgl.* 195).

Auch wenn der vorliegende Band einen guten Überblick über die Entwicklung der französischen Sprache und Kultur in Louisiana gibt und zur gegenwärtigen Situation, u.a. durch die durchgeführten Umfragen und ihre Ergebnisse, neue Erkenntnisse und Einsichten vermittelt, so bleiben doch einige kritische Fragen. So erwähnt die Verfasserin nur sehr kurz in ihrem historischen Kapitel (20) einzelne Zeitungen, während in den Ausführungen zur Aktualität der Stellenwert der Medien, insbesondere jener der Printmedien im 19. Jahrhundert und des Radios sowie des Fernsehens im 20. Jahrhundert und schließlich des Internets im 21. Jahrhundert ausgeblendet bleibt. Almanache wie der *Almanach Louisiane* und der *Almanach de la Renaissance,* der sich selbst in der „Préface" der Ausgabe von 1869 als Periodikum der „grande famille franco-louisianaise" bezeichnete, und Zeitungen wie *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans* und *Le Propagateur Catholiqu*e hatten im 19. Jahrhundert eine herausragende, auch identitätsstiftende, Rolle für die frankophone Minderheit in Louisiana. Welche französischsprachsprachigen Medien im gegenwärtigen Louisiana existieren und welchen Stellenwert die frankophone Minderheit und ihre politischen und kulturellen Wortführer im Internet einnehmen, etwa auf publikumswirksamen Webseiten oder Blogs, und sich gezielt – vor allem im Hinblick auf die jüngere Generation - einbringen, findet keine Erwähnung. Fragen hiernach sowie nach der Bedeutung des transnationalen französischsprachigen Fernsehsenders TV5 Amérique im frankophonen Louisiana hätten auch Bestandteil des ausführlichen Fragenkatalogs sein können, der Französischstudierende an Universitäten und Colleges in Louisiana vorgelegt wurde (*vgl.* 253-263). Dieser räumt zwar der frankophonen Literatur, der Musik und den traditionellen mündlichen Erzählungen

(„Contes") in ihren verschiedenen sprachlichen Ausprägungen einen gewissen Stellenwert ein – der jedoch die frankophone Kultur Louisianas tendenziell aus einem ‚folkloristischen' Blickwinkel betrachtet –, aber nicht den diversen Medien und der Medienkommunikation. Es fehlen auch präzise Bezüge und entsprechende Fragen zum Stellenwert des Französischen im beruflichen und ökonomischen Bereich, einschließlich des seit den 1960er Jahren zunehmend wichtiger werdenden Sektors des Tourismus.

Die Verfasserin hat mit ihrer Studie ein engagiertes und zugleich informatives Buch zur frankophonen Minderheit in Louisiana vorgelegt, deren heute sehr begrenzten Stellenwert sie mit Recht betont, wenn sie vom „caractère très limité de la place reconnue au français dans le sud de la Louisiane" (191) schreibt und die Frankophonen Louisianas als eine Minderheit bezeichnet, zu der sich offensichtlich nur noch ein verschwindend kleiner Teil der Bevölkerung Louisianas explizit bekennt (44.960 im Jahre 2000 im Vergleich zu 431.651 im Jahre 1990, vgl. 38). Die Verfasserin lässt jedoch ebenso viele Fragen offen wie sie – begrenzte - Antworten formuliert.

Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink

Richard White, *Planning Toronto. The Planners, The Plans, Their Legacies, 1940-1980*, Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2016 (xiv+450 pp.; ISBN 978-0-7748-2935-9; CAD 50,00)

Toronto historian Richard White has written a thoroughly researched and documented, concisely argued, very readable and richly illustrated book describing and analyzing the multifaceted transformations of urban and regional planning taking place in Toronto and its wider region from the 1940s into the 1980s. His guiding question outlined at the outset illustrates why this book may well be of interest to many scholars (and even non-academics) way beyond the confines of the disciplines of history or planning: He wants to understand why Toronto as a city looks the way it does and what planning has to do with this. In other words, in what way has planning had an impact – if, indeed, it has had one – on the physical form, the landscapes, and even the configuration of daily life in Toronto and its suburbs. Hence the book may speak not just to historians interested in planning or planners interested in the history of their discipline, but also to geographers, architects, sociologists, political scientists as well as to residents and even those who are 'just' interested and informed visitors or – dare one say it? – fans of Toronto.

To precisely delineate the scope of the undertaking White clarifies that this is not a history of Toronto or of all the changes affecting the city during these four decades, nor is it a general treatise on planning per se. His focus is on urban and regional planning which encompasses issues as land use, transportation infrastructure, parks and open spaces as well as piped services (water and sewage). It covers the work done by planners and other related professionals (architects, landscape architects, engineers etc.), irrespective of their being in public or private employ, and it understands planning as a process of devising future oriented plans for implementation – so it's much more than just land use regulation or control. White's interest is centered on Toronto, and since the city experienced substantial expansion and outward growth over the decades covered, he also includes the regional perspective but only insofar as it is of relevance to the development of Toronto. He thus excludes planning in the independent suburban municipalities, but he includes the development of regional governance structures, processes, and plans as they become important vis-à-vis the City of Toronto. In the same way the regional planning activities and initiatives of the provincial government of Ontario are being treated as and when they become of relevance to the development of the Toronto region. The temporal focus results from the premise

that there was no planning in the abovementioned sense in Toronto before the 1940s and that by the 1980s a whole new system or paradigm of planning had been established, the precise configuration of which is still somewhat unclear and ambiguous even today.

White's study is divided into five chapters. The first sets the scene, detailing the development of a planning system in the true sense of the word during the 1940s to the mid-1950s. This owes much to World War II and a widespread consensus on the efficacy of state-led planning. In Toronto, first attempts at expert-led municipal planning (through an appointed Planning Board) had to contend with political elites of a populist outlook that shied away from fiscal commitment and comprehensive planning. Yet with largely unplanned urban expansion on the horizon, other actors, not least the province, were less hesitant.

Chapters two through four analyze the emergence and establishment of a potent and diverse planning system for city and region which largely mirrored the ideas of a modernist planning paradigm. Chapter two deals with the province-driven establishment of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. With its Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board – whose jurisdiction extended further into the region, even beyond the 13 Metro municipalities – the province ushered in a truly regional planning approach and the establishment of a potent, thoroughly modernist and interventionist planning and development bureaucracy that literally paved the way for a systematic and orderly process of suburbanization. This has left an astounding legacy in the physical landscape: a network of highways and high-capacity arterial roads *and* a functioning, high-capacity system of public transit, a modern system of water and sewage pipes as well as water treatment facilities, state-of-the art neighbourhood-based designs for new suburban subdivisions, a mix of housing and tenure types including apartment buildings spread throughout the whole suburban area, a distribution of industrial lands throughout Metro, and a compact urban form focusing development along the lake shore, thus avoiding indiscriminate sprawl or a multitude of satellite towns.

Chapter three tells the story of establishing planning in the City of Toronto. With expert planners tightly controlled by a cautious (and distrustful) conservative Council there is little evidence of planning being able to proactively guide new development or devise schemes for comprehensive renewal or modernization of the city fabric. Therefore, its physical legacy remains scarce; what development there was arguably was more a consequence of the determination of other actors, both private developers and the province in combination with other special interest groups, e.g. in the field of housing. As chapter four reveals – this looks at the Toronto region as perceived and envisaged by the provincial government – even more spatially encompassing initiatives for regional planning (the provincial Greater Toronto Region concept) remained similarly ineffectual, in spite of being based on most thorough, data-driven population and transportation forecasts. There were just too many localist interests in the wider region to acquiesce to a grand regional scheme of urban/suburban order.

Chapter five ties these three distinct arenas of conceptualizing and practicing planning together again, analyzing the transformation of this modernist, expert-led comprehensive planning approach and system from the late 1960s onwards. Reflecting the impact of general countercultural tendencies in society at large, it focuses on the importance of an emerging New Left and a new middle class in resisting modernistic comprehensive planning approaches and projects – with the stopping of the inner-city Spadina expressway its most symbolic moment. As established neighbourhoods articulated their resistance to change brought about by metropolitan growth, new reform councillors and then mayors converted planning into a district-based, localist system of preserving (the

qualities of existing) residential neighbourhoods at the expense of metropolitan or truly regional perspectives. While thus preserving the now much-cherished qualities of the inner city, the new system of planning had little guidance to offer for the increasing pressures of metropolitan change brought about by globalization and neoliberalism.

But that particular story (of postmodernist [?] planning in Toronto) remains to be told in another book. This one, detailing the emergence and establishment of the modernist paradigm of planning, scrutinizing its strengths and weaknesses, spatial, political and social implications – and above all, tracing its physical impact on the diverse landscapes of Greater Toronto through a huge variety of wonderfully illustrated case studies of urban projects, plans and initiatives – is a masterfully told story. It is based on first-hand interviews with almost all relevant actors in the dramas related as well as on a wide-ranging bibliography. Its thoroughness, its careful and plentiful annotations, its highly useful index make it a historical work of the highest quality and a delight to read.

Ludger Basten

Ben Bradley/Jay Young/Colin M. Coates, Hg., *Moving Natures: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016 (352 S.; ISBN 978-1-55238-859-4; CAD 34,95)

Der vorliegende Band ist der fünfte, der in der Reihe "Canadian History and Environment", herausgegeben von Alan MacEachern, bei der University of Calgary Press erschienen ist. Ausgangspunkt der Herausgeber ist die Einsicht, dass Mobilität – von Menschen, Material und Ideen – die kanadische Wahrnehmung von und Interaktion mit Landschaft und Umwelt stark geprägt hat. Die zwölf Einzelbeiträge, in der Mehrzahl von HistorikerInnen verfasst, setzen sich mit den unterschiedlichen Regionen in diachroner Perspektive auseinander und untersuchen u.a. den Einfluss klimatischer Bedingungen auf Transportsysteme und -muster, die Folgen der Errichtung von Mobilitätskorridoren für Flora und Fauna und die Effekte sich verändernder Mobilitätstechnologien und -praktiken auf die Tourismusindustrie. Am Schnittpunkt von Umwelt- und Mobilitätsgeschichte angesiedelt nähert sich die Aufsatzsammlung ihrem Thema im Hinblick auf die Konstruktion und Verwendung verschiedener Mobilitätstechnologien und Infrastrukturen sowie deren Wirkung auf menschliche und nicht-menschliche Umwelten. Im zweiten Teil der Fallstudien widmet sich der Band mobilen Praktiken im Hinblick auf verschiedene Formen von „recreational mobility“ (Klappentext), wobei nicht ganz klar wird, warum dieser Fokus gewählt ist – auch das Umschlagbild, Alex Colvilles „Ocean Limited“, ein Gemälde aus dem Jahr 1962, deutet das nur subtil an.

In ihrer Einleitung beginnen die Herausgeber mit der Frage, wie sich neue infrastrukturelle, technologische Möglichkeiten der Mobilität zunehmend positiv auf das Selbstbild Kanadas auswirkten: „the grand expanse of a nation with too much geography was no longer an obstacle to national greatness" (2); Mobilität und (nationaler) Fortschritt sind demnach konzeptuell eng verwoben. Dieser Einsicht folgend diskutieren sie die Errichtung neuer Transportwege als „nation-building projects“ (2) – nicht zufällig koinzidiert "the emergence of the Canadian nation-state […] with this transportation revolution" (3) –, die auch zu neuen Wahrnehmungen des Verhältnisses von Natur und Nation führten. Das kanadische Fortschrittsnarrativ – eine Konzeption kanadischer Geschichte als „epic struggle to penetrate the wilderness, capture resources, and consolidate the country through improved transportation“ (5), so die Herausgeber, sei bis heute populär.

Dies nimmt der Band zum Anlass, sein Thema an der Schnittstelle zwischen Um-

welt- und Mobilitätsgeschichte unter zweierlei Aspekten zu betrachten: den „material practicalities of mobility" (5) und deren ökologische Auswirkungen einerseits, die die erste Hälfte der Fallstudien unter dem Banner „Production, Pathways, and Supplies" in den Blick nimmt; und die „cultural perceptions inspired by different forms of mobility" (7) andererseits, denen die AutorInnen in der zweiten Hälfte des Bandes („Consumption, Landscape, and Leisure") nachgehen. Mobilität wird in der Einleitung breit als *umbrella term* für u.a. „travel, transportation, tourism" (9) und verwandte mobile Praktiken definiert und schließt „the movement of people, objects, images, and wastes across boundaries and over time and space, as well as the motivations behind and social implications of these movements" (9) ein. Diese breite Definition wird zwar dem Forschungsgegenstand gerecht, allerdings ist anzumerken, dass die Einzelbeiträge an der Zirkulation von „images", „cultural meaning" und sozialen Konsequenzen insgesamt deutlich weniger interessiert sind als etwa an Transportgeschichte und sich damit die Frage nach einer engeren, dem Band besser entsprechenden Definition stellt. Wäre der Fokus ein kulturwissenschaftlicher gewesen, wäre das Fazit der Herausgeber, dass kein „great deal of difference between the Canadian experience and that of other, similar parts of the world" (17) bestünde, vielleicht ein wenig differenzierter ausgefallen.

Die Fallstudien können hier natürlich nicht im Einzelnen diskutiert werden; einige davon scheinen tatsächlich „mobility" weniger konzeptuell im o.g. Sinne, sondern synonym mit „transportation" zu verstehen, was zu bedauern ist, weil es die neuen Perspektiven der interdisziplinären Mobility Studies unberücksichtigt lässt. In ihrer regionalen Breite sind sie jedoch beeindruckend; zeitlich beginnend mit der Schifffahrt Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, führen sie zum Siegeszug der privaten Automobilität, wobei sich die Mehrzahl mit den ersten sechs Dekaden des 20. Jahrhunderts beschäftigt. Auch ist hervorzuheben, dass die indigene Perspektive zumindest immer wieder mitgedacht wird; umso erstaunlicher ist die relative Absenz anderer *race/class/gender*-kritischen Perspektiven. Wer über die historische Bedeutung der *Intercolonial Railway*, der kanadischen Dampfschifffahrt, des St. Lorenz-Kanals oder urbaner Projekte wie der *Toronto Subway* Genaueres erfahren will und LeserInnen, die sich für die Tourismusgeschichte Kanadas auch unter ökologischen Gesichtspunkten interessieren, ist der Band nichtsdestotrotz zu empfehlen.

Alexandra Ganser

Julia Sattler, ed., *Urban Transformations in the U.S.A.: Spaces, Communities, Representation*s, Bielefeld: transcript 2016 (425 pp; ISBN 978-3-8376-3111-1; EUR 39,99)

Urban Transformations in the U.S.A.: Spaces, Communities, Representations aims to present a timely and current overview of several different fields of study pertaining to and concerning the North American urban space and connecting them to a global realm of cityscapes. The essays in this collection offer a wide and representative array of ways in which the urban space has been and is still being transformed from its first conceptions into present day's globally connected metropolises and beyond. This collection of texts, in its varied approaches to narratives from and about urban spaces and issues concerning North American cities and metropolises specifically, shows the manifold ways in which the urban environment facilitates personal and communal transformations of identity as well as systemic processes while at the same time being profoundly influenced and continually changed by its inhabitants in a fundamentally reciprocal relationship.

In her introductory essay, Julia Sattler outlines the impetus for the body of texts by drawing a bridge from present-day issues of urban environments in the United

States such as the consequences and issues resulting from the processes of de-industrialization in the Rust Belt cities to similar issues inherent to the Ruhr region of Germany. In identifying and connecting comparable issues resulting from urbanization both in the United States and in Germany, Sattler grounds the premise for the research conducted at the Ruhr universities right in their native region while relating them to U.S. metropolises and urban spaces around the world.

The historical and spatial objectives or urban transformations in the United States are discussed in their various aspects in the section *Models Of Urban Transformation*. Beginning at the core of the nation with Michael Wala's deliberation of the architectural and highly symbolic construction of the nation's capital, the second text moves from the core city into the suburban areas that have been strategically transformed by the integration of what author Nick Bacon calls *crossroads-urbanism* (44), highlighting their emblematic function as transitory connection points in a system of highways. Yet, it is not just the space between the cities that has been transformed by their presence, the urban space itself has been transformed into a space providing (in-)visibility that strongly influences political discourse, especially for minority groups. As Tazalika te Reh shows, acts of public (in-)visibility have shaped the production of African-American art and political participation acutely. In contrast, Walter Grünzweig takes issue with Richard Florida's theory of the *creative class* and suggests that the concept moves against an Emersonian understanding of creativity as an individual attribute.

In *Mapping EthniCity*, the texts move towards experiences of minorities in the urban space. Again, historical aspects of city dwelling and contemporary experiences of living in the urban space are connected. While Insa Neumann centers on the experience of German immigrants and their progeny in New York City through the investigation of cultural practices in both the private and public realm, Kornelia Freitag highlights the transnational aspect of immigrant experiences and identities in Indian-American narratives. Josef Raab then moves the discussion to the West Coast and into the Latin-American yet heterogeneous *barrio* of East L.A. New York's Chinatown is investigated from two different viewpoints – the culinary realm (Bidlingmaier) and the tourist experience (Mikó) – to underline its function as cultural enclave in the city. Thomas Heise examines Chinatown again in the third section – *Liminality and the American City* – with relation to its prominent role in crime narratives. While the narrative potential of its inhabitants is investigated here, John Hegglund subsequently argues that *post-human* agents (260) similarly enact influence and initiate change in the urban space. This sentiment relates to the influence of the gas station in the suburban landscape that has irrefutably changed spatial developments and movement in the space itself, as Gary Scales points out. Harkening back to fundamental American mythologies, Utku Mogultay applies the frontier myth to urban space to underline spatial and cultural transformation.

Contested Spaces presents aspects of political and cultural power relations in the urban space, emphasized by institutions such as newspapers and other media. Kathrin Muschalik makes an example of reports of the 1992 riots in the *L.A. Times* and shows how news coverage shaped and influenced the public opinion during the crisis. Similarly, Eva Bosenberg looks at the representation of L.A.'s *inner city* in fiction, contesting conventional stereotypes of African-American urban residents. One aspect that informs much of the discourse is the issue of gentrification, which is central to Astrid Kaemmerling's investigation of its filmic representation that documents residents' displacement in San Francisco's Mission District. The transitory nature of space in the urban environment again is essential in Faye Guenther's assessment of queer spaces and their function as memory archives.

The final essay, in the section *Perspectives in Urban American Studies*, suggests a reading of the body of texts presented in this collection as a connection between different forms of media and their influence on the urban space. Buchenau and Gurr suggest a shift towards an understanding of narratives as vital in the shaping and realization of urban projects and a perception of transformations of urban space. They argue that changes in urban mapping as well as the cultures and relations in the space are primarily influenced by narratives about the urban space.

This final assessment connects the interdisciplinary and diverse fields of study presented throughout this volume in connecting them not only through their focus on urban space but the use of different narrative techniques that inscribe meaning into the urban space. Similar to the connection between Ruhr and Rust Belt, the selection of texts is bound together by the various issues and opportunities the urban theory presents for scholars of different disciplines. Tying together the multifaceted history of the city and future perspectives for development and change in the urban space, the volume provides not only a broad insight into the field of urban studies but a jumping-off point for further research and scholarship that promises to retain the city in its various iterations at the center of American studies.

Bianka Gengler

Markus Moos/Robert Walter-Joseph, eds., *Still Detached and Subdivided? Suburban Ways of Living in 21st Century North America,* Berlin: jovis Verlag, 2017 (144 pp.; ISBN 978-3-86859-457-7; EUR 35)

At least since the 1950s, suburbs have long been considered a characteristic feature of North American urban landscapes. Planners, developers, real estate agents, and even some scholars, have praised this form of residential layout and urban living as modern, efficient, family-friendly and affordable. But quite early, critics, among them the prominent voices of Jean Gottman and Jane Jacobs, have decried the sprawl of suburban detached single-family dwellings as voracious consumers of open land, as a wasteful supply of basic urban infrastructures and services, or as a sterile form of urban living eroding the vitality of city cores. Some of the "experts" have pleaded for a return to "compact cities", others have favoured the alternatives of "satellite communities" or "new tows", or of high-density "super-blocks". This reviewer has experienced in the late 1960s and 1970s a personal housing transition from living in a high-rise apartment at the edge of the centre of a Canadian Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) to a suburban bungalow, and shortly afterwards to a heritage home in the old residential area of a medium-sized Prairie city.

There is an abundance of literature on North American suburbs, scholarly publications from different academic disciplines, official documents from various agencies, and also popular reports. At the outset, one could therefore pose the question whether this new book will give the reader new insights and be a meaningful addition to the abundant literature on this topic. In spite of the fact that this book reiterates and reformulates some earlier observations and findings, several arguments can be made for the merits and innovative value of the book edited by the urban planners Moos and Walther-Joseph.

This book presents the results from the major Collaborative Research Initiative "Global Suburbanisms: Governance, Land, and Infrastructures in the 21st Century" (2010–2017). While interdisciplinary in focus, the research has clearly a planning focus with most of the contributors being members of the School of Planning, University of Waterloo, Canada; among them also a group of students who participated in this project as part of their coursework. This team of the University of Waterloo was

complemented by Elvin Wyly, Chair of the Urban Studies Coordinating Committee at the University of British Columbia, by Pablo Mendez of the Department of Geography and by Liam Mc Guire of the Department of Geography at the University of British Columbia.

The book gives a most recent overview and critical analysis of the North American suburbs as the pervasive urban residential land use and suburban living dream for millions of families. It addresses the principal issues of suburbia, its planning ideals, challenges, and evolving patterns, and also attempts to shed some light on the options for suburban futures. Maybe a touch too audacious, the book claims to be "the first of its kind: a blend of critical urban theory, planning policy, and empirical visual analytics focused on the multiple dimensions of suburban ways of life that transcend the taken-for-granted stereotypes of the city/suburb divide" (8). The volume is structured into the following five principal units: Suburban imaginaries; defining suburbanisms; planning the North American suburbs; mapping suburbanisms; and suburban futures. The units contain a number of short articles on relevant topics amply illustrated with photographs, graphs, and maps. The inclusion of 82 colour figures, expressive photographs on different types of suburbs, clear and easily readable graphs, and especially the extensive series of computer enhanced "machine readable data files" have to be considered as one of the most attractive features of the book. Refreshingly innovative is the dialogic exchange of four fictional planners which allows the reader to "listen" in a most direct fashion to their professional debates. Each unit is further supplemented by a generous list of end notes of references – an impressive total of 269 entries.

In the first two introductory chapters, the pervasive rise of private automobile use, the desired residence in a socially and culturally homogeneous "de-racialized" environment, "domesticity", i.e. the prevailing "nuclear family" and domestic role of women, and the rise of an urban middle class, are identified as the principal agents for promoting the North American suburban way of life. Planners, investors, and architects were keen to accommodate this "suburban dream" and also to promulgate it, although some scholars and practitioners criticized this development of excessively wasting open spaces, of being environmentally harmful, or of creating conformist, sterile urban landscapes. To test these identified key features of suburbanism, the authors select a series of indicator variables and mapping component scores for the nine largest Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs). In the chapter "Planning the North American Suburb", Pierre Filion gives a succinct overview of the evolution of urban planning and (sub)urban transformation in North America for the seventy-year period examined in this book. He concludes that in spite of some efforts of "recentralization", higher urban densities, expanded and more efficient public transportation systems, and new and more varied design features for housing, urban dispersion and the ideal of suburban single detached family homes, serviced by large shopping malls, remain the characteristic features of North American cities.

In the opinion of the reviewer, the most interesting and novel part of the book is devoted to "Mapping Suburbanisms". Here, six US-American Metropolitan Statistical Areas and six Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas serve as examples to portray in a series of maps the following urban features: Age of the urban structures; dwelling types; mode of transportation used by urban dwellers; proportion of first-, second- and third generation immigrants; proportion of visible and non-visible minorities; housing tenure; rates of impoverishment; proportion of urban and suburban ways of living. Using statistical data of the American Community Survey of the US Census Bureau for the year 2010 (US cities) and the CMA census tract data of Statistics Canada for the year 2011 (Canadian cities) the urban maps have been compiled on the basis of the tool of ArcGIS,

Version 9.0 of the Environmental Systems Research Institute, Redland, California. Additional maps depict "suburban ways of living" measured as a share of single-family living, commuting by car to work, and home-ownership exceeding the metropolitan average. Here the question arises whether these are the only and most important criteria for defining current "suburban ways of living". While the reader is captivated by a wealth of information, the reviewer would have welcomed a more detailed comparative analysis on the US-American and Canadian Metropolitan Areas considering the variety and obvious differences of the cities portrayed.

A very interesting concluding chapter of the book is entitled "Suburban Futures". Here, the following graphic typology of North American residential suburbs is proposed: Classic Suburbs; New Urbanist Suburbs; High Rise Suburbs; Transit-oriented Suburbs; Ethnoburbs; Distant Suburbs; Vertical Suburbs in Cities; and Detached Urbanism. The chapter also features very stimulating articles on new perspectives of suburban design and suburban living: Planning Suburban Public Spaces for Youths; Intergenerational Living on a Suburban University Campus (York University at the northern edge of Toronto); Aging in the Suburbs; and a short article on design features of the "big-box" shopping mall of the "Boardwalk" in Waterloo. While this mall is labelled "a suburban redesign with a human scale", the reviewer with his personal acquaintance of the "Boardwalk", is not convinced that the proposed design transformation will substantially attenuate the disadvantages of the big-box mall. Considering the growing popularity of new urban green spaces and urban gardening, unfortunately too brief glimpses treat the "local suburban agriculture" and the integration of "heritage farms" into the suburban developments. As a concluding article, somewhat out of place is a feature on autonomous vehicles as a potential "sentinel" of low-carbon suburban futures. Instead, the reviewer would have welcomed a summary of the research findings and a general discussion on the future of North American suburbs.

In sum, this is a very attractive and stimulating book, with captivating short texts and ample illustrations. Primarily conceived from an urban planner's perspective, it is a very useful source book and guide for other related disciplines, for professionals, academics and urban dwellers, many of them having personal experiences of living, shopping or recreating in the suburbs.

Christoph Stadel

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