Global Encounters: New Visions
Department of Geography and Planning, Queen's University

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GLOBAL ENCOUNTERS: NEW VISIONS

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Letter from the Editors

We present this year the fourth volume of the Global Encounters: New Visions (undergraduate) journal. As we start to make sense of 'post'-pandemic life, research interests by students are starting to show and flourish once more. Space and place are recognized as analytical instruments useful not only for geographers and planners, but for anyone curious about better understanding the world they live in. Scholars in disciplines ranging from Gender Studies, English, Health, History, and Economics, are writing and thinking spatially in their respective disciplines. Meanwhile, growing attention to the social dimensions of natural processes, and conversely, the materiality of social relations, is troubling longstanding disciplinary boundaries. In this moment, geography is coming anew into its own as a versatile site of engagement.

Our fourth volume is capturing a convergence and leap of students back into research inquiries. We feature a sample of works being done by our students on reviewing books, critiquing natural resources, thinking about regional health, and the impact of historical events across time. Together, these pieces are threaded by issues of power and social justice, as well as concerns for the implications of their analysis, whether it be directed to policy makers, academics, or community members. More importantly, these pieces give us hope in the future of (re)imagining the field as one equipped to understand and take on real-world issues.

We want to thank the many students who submitted their work for publication this year. As always, 2023 – 2024 presented us with an overwhelming selection of papers that reflect the breadth and talent of the Queen's community. All were a pleasure to read.

This volume is the product of collaboration and dialogue not only between our authors and editors, but also between the graduate and undergraduate student bodies. This year began our long-term viability transition from graduate to undergraduate students managing the journal. We thank everyone involved for their work, care, and generosity they placed in this project as it truly begins to be a peer-reviews journal at the university. We would also like to extend our appreciation to the Department of Geography and Planning for their ongoing support of the journal.

Global Encounters: New Visions Editorial Team

CONTRIBUTORS

Matthew Bell is a fourth-year Education student at Queen's University and is incredibly honoured to be a part of this volume of the GENV journal. Matthew has a passion for geography and has really enjoyed delving into topics surrounding sustainability and the effects of colonialism in global geographies. He feels that his paper has encapsulated these interests in a way that is topical to the current climate crisis and highlights some underlying issues that are often unseen. As a future teacher candidate, Matthew wants to bring these topics into his classrooms to cultivate a new generation of geographical thinkers, as the interdisciplinary underpinning of geography opens up opportunities for these types of discussions.

Kim Nguyen is a fourth-year Geography student in the Concurrent Education program at Queen's University. She first discovered her passion for Geography in her grade nine geography class and has stuck with it since. After graduation, she plans to become a high school Geography teacher and encourage young people to explore the discipline. However, Kim does not want to limit herself and will go where her geographic curiosities take her!

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Let's Reimagine the Future of Geography

Nguyen, Kim

ABSTRACT

Geography is a diverse field of study where many subdisciplines have emerged in physical or human geography. However, this article discusses the future of geography as it faces an identity struggle, resulting in the division between the various subdisciplines in human and physical geography (Lois, 2018; Clifford, 2002). Moreover, the intellectual curiosity of geographers has become limited, preventing the discipline's progress (Lois, 2018). Many other geographers have noticed this lack of direction for the discipline and provided some guidance to address it (Lois, 2018). First, to reimagine the future of geography, geographers should move away from trying to explain what geography is by demonstrating how and why geography continues to be relevant (Hartshorne, 1966; Clifford, 2002). Next, the history of geography highlights the importance of diverse geographic knowledge, providing guidance on informing the discipline's future (Ferretti & Barrera de la Torre, 2023). Last, geographers need to recognize the importance of diverse subdisciplines in geography, creating a sense of community and purpose for the future of geography (Castree, 2022). Although this paper begins to imagine the future of geography, it is my hope to remind geographers of all experiences to never let go of their passion and participate in the new direction of geography.

Keywords: *Geography, Relevance, Academic Future*

As my undergraduate studies are coming to an end, I reflect on whether studying geography was the right call for me. Without a doubt, studying geography was one of the best decisions in my life. I have learned so much, and importantly, met many brilliant geographers, including professors, teaching assistants, and peers who have nurtured my passion for the discipline. These are the people who shape geography, so why is the field of study not recognized enough by non-geographers ? Geography is a fascinating field of study that explores social and physical processes through a spatial lens (Hartshorne, 1966). Perhaps it is because geography faces an identity struggle from a lack of direction (Lois, 2018). This loss of direction for geography causes it to lose its academic status, stunting its progress and causing non-geographers to see it as irrelevant (Lois, 2018; Clifford, 2002). However, my four years of studying geography at Queen's, both human and physical streams, have taught me the opposite. To change the trajectory for geography, geographers must stop answering the question, "What is geography?" by demonstrating how and why geography continues to be relevant in society (Clifford, 2002; Ferretti & Barrera de la Torre, 2023). Additionally, geographers must learn the history of geography to answer how the discipline came to be and how it continues to shape its future. Last, the diverse nature of geography has been argued to be its weakness (Ferretti & Barrera de la Torre, 2023). However, diversity in geography is also its strength, expressed in Noel Castree's metaphor of "Ecosystems of the Anthropocene," recognizing the importance of each subdiscipline in geography (Castree, 2022, p.12). Therefore, amidst geography's identity crisis, this paper synthesizes academic research and personal reflections to remind geographers never to lose their passion for geographic learning by remembering geography's rich history of diversity.

The most significant barrier to the progress of geography is the lack of identity in the discipline (Lois, 2018). Specifically, geography encompasses many concepts from the social sciences, humanities, and physical sciences, making it confusing for non-geographers to understand the discipline (Lois, 2018). Although there are overlapping concepts between other disciplines, geography differs because it emphasizes the importance of place and space and how physical and social processes shaped these places (Hartshorne, 1966). According to Carla Lois (2018, p. 114), geography was once a recognized and well-respected discipline, but by the 19th century, geography became an "undisciplined discipline," losing its academic rigor and identity. Some argue that the cause for geography's loss of direction is a result of the many subdisciplines found within geography, which can be categorized as either human or physical geography, making it a broad academic discipline (Clifford, 2002; Castree, 2022). Thus, geography's inability to decide what it should be results from the divisions in the discipline, causing a rift between physical and human geographers. This underlying division experienced by geographers is detrimental to the progress of geography, limiting the potential of experienced geographers in their geographic curiosity and deterring future geographers from entering the field of study. A new direction must be taken to recognize the importance of diversity in the discipline.

Furthermore, geographers have often had to answer the dreaded question, "What is geography?" Richard Hartshorne (1966) defines the discipline as the "study of earth as the home to man." Although his definition uses outdated language and does not explore the social and physical processes that geographers examine in their work, it nonetheless provides the most basic understanding for non-geographers (Hartshorne, 1966). However, if geographers want geography to be taken seriously, they must veer away from answering "What is geography?" to "Why and how is geography relevant?" (Clifford, 2002, p. 434). The question of what geography is has never been effective because of the plethora of answers that it generates since there are many types of geographies. Instead of clarifying the discipline, the answer leads to more confusion for non-geographers (Clifford, 2002). Additionally, by asking how and why geography is relevant forces geographers to reflect on their research interests, how their work contributes to geography as an academic discipline, and how one understands the world. This places the responsibility on geographers to determine the future of geography (Clifford, 2002). Thus, the future of geography can be sustained if we look at how geography has been relevant in understanding the world instead of focusing on a definition that encompasses the discipline.

The history of geography can shape the future of geography. Specifically, Nicholas Clifford (2002, p. 431) discusses the future of geography and its "survival as a unitary academic discipline." He reiterates the same concern from Lois (2018) about the lack of cohesion between the subdisciplines in geography. However, the discipline's past must be considered when determining the direction for the future of geography (Clifford, 2002). Federico Ferretti and Geronimo Barrera de la Torre (2023) explore the importance of the history of geography by recognizing Indigenous geographies and epistemologies from Latin America. Specifically, Ferretti and Berrera de la Torre (2023) discuss how Western geographical frameworks are the hegemonic understanding. However, they also discussed the importance of decolonial geographies rooted in Indigenous, radical, and feminist approaches that challenge the western and "singular" perception of geography (Ferretti & Barrera de la Torre, 2023, p. 1). These "rediscoveries" of alternative geographies contribute to the discipline, demonstrating geography's dynamic and plural nature (Ferretti & Barrera de la Torre, 2023, p. 2). Clifford (2002) reiterates the same argument by stating that geography, as an academic discipline, differs

in all countries, where it is more recognized in some places like the United Kingdom or dismissed in others like the United States (Clifford, 2002, p. 435). Therefore, Ferretti and Barrera de la Torre (2023) do not dismiss western geographical knowledge but bring silenced alternative geographies into the conversation about the future of geography. The problem that geography faces is not its various subdisciplines but the lack of mutual understanding within the field of study (Clifford, 2002, p. 432). Consequently, when the history of geography recognizes the importance of all forms of geography, it establishes a shared past and a reimagination of the future of geography.

The broad nature found within geography has often been seen as a weakness of the discipline. However, this "broadness" in geography refers to the discipline's diversity, which can also be argued to be its strength. For instance, Noel Castree (2022) effectively discusses the division and lack of identity within geography. Castree (2022) recognizes that there is no one way to address the discipline's issues, but he provides a positive outlook for the future of geography with metaphors. The history of geography has been one of diversity, which has been argued to be its weakness (Castree, 2022). However, Castree uses the work of science journalist Marri's book Rambunctious Garden and the "Ecosystems of the Anthropocene" as a metaphor to explore the nature of geography (Castree, 2022, p. 12). Specifically, he explains how ecosystems vary depending on location, insinuating the many types of geographies that exist (Castree, 2022). However, each subdiscipline found in geography can be considered a "species," contributing to the discipline's ecological system (Castree, 2022, p. 13). Therefore, Castree beautifully explains the importance of diversity within geography, demonstrating the reimagination of geography that Ferretti and Barrera de la Torre (2023) have discussed. Although geography faces an identity struggle, leading to a division in the field of study. Castree's (2022) metaphor of an "ecosystem of the Anthropocene" recognizes the work that geographers have contributed to their respective geographical interests in the field of study. As such, the metaphor of geography as an ecosystem reiterates the idea that the diversity in geography serves a purpose in continuing the discipline and empowering new and experienced geographers.

In essence, geographers can change the trajectory of geography through their passion for geographic learning. The discipline has lost its sense of direction because of the many subdisciplines found in geography (Lois, 2018; Clifford, 2002). As a result, there is a loss of identity within geography, leaving a rift between physical and human geographers (Clifford, 2002). This lack of unity within geography has undermined the importance of the field of study, limiting the intellectual curiosity that geography requires to survive (Clifford, 2002). In order to address this, geographers need to step away from answering the question of "What is geography?" and move towards "Why and how is geography relevant?" (Clifford, 2002; Ferretti & Barrera de la Torre, 2023). Next, geographers need to look back on the history of geography to understand how the discipline has always been diverse, reorienting geography for the future (Ferretti & Barrera de la Torre, 2023). Last, Castree's (2022) metaphor of geography as a complex ecosystem rejects the argument that geography's weakness is its wide academic bandwidth but acknowledges the strength of diversity and how each subdiscipline has a purpose in the field of study. Therefore, I hope this paper reminds geographers, whether they are beginning to take a first-year geography course or are experienced geographers, of their passion for the discipline and reimagine a better future for Geography.

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Cormorants and Ontario

A Critical Case Study

Garcia, Chris

ABSTRACT

'Problem' species are wild animals, native or otherwise, which have become considered a nuisance to contemporary society. This critical case study examines one of Ontario's most recent problem animals: the double-crested cormorant. Considering the biology and ecological history of the native bird in southern Ontario, this article explores what caused the defamation of the species and argues against the severity of its newly implemented open season, which threatens to place the birds back on historical endangered lists.

Critical to the methodology of this paper has been the use of three theoretical geographic concepts. Through the lens of Lorimer's nonhuman charisma (2007), Conon's trouble with wilderness (1996)', and Jerolmack's city/nature divide (2008), the inappropriate nature of Ontario's double-crested cormorant persecution becomes apparent, and larger parallels with struggles in conservation as a whole reveal themselves.

(Cuatrok77, 2020)

INTRODUCTION

Birds and human society have had a long and troubled relationship with one another. From urban eyesores to resource pests, birds like pigeons, seagulls, sparrows, and starlings are frequently put on the human hit list as 'problem' species (Thearle, 2013). Giving new light to the term 'invasive', these animals seem to be constantly encroaching on the fabricated lines and ideals of civilisation; and what might start as inconvenient squabbles with backyard birds, can rapidly become extinction events for vilified animals that bring the very constructs of humanity's place in a more-than-human world into question.

Ontario's newest problem bird, the native double-crested cormorant, has become a product of nonhuman charisma. Framed for the desecration of shorelines and gamefish stocks by lobbyist hunting federations, cormorants have been declared open to eradication by the public as of July 31st 2020 (McIntosh, 2020). The birds, who just started to recover their populations from anthropocentric interference, have become the focal point of a city/nature divide before anyone cared to look into their perspective or consider Ontario's perception of wild spaces.

Throughout this critical case study, I will argue that the double-crested cormorant has received an unjustified management sentence, well out of line with current ecological reconciliation frameworks. Expressing the relationship between cormorants and Ontario as illustrative of how resolving the ecological crisis depends upon our ability to accept conservation as a system of sharing that can not prioritize urban desires.

CASE STUDY OVERVIEW

The problem at hand is that the Ontario double-crested cormorant is being irresponsibly hunted. Every year since 2020, September 15th to December 31st is open season, wherein any hunters with a small game licence and a shotgun can 'harvest' up to 15 birds a day (Ontario Fish and Wildlife, 2023). This presents three key issues; the justification for the hunt, its overarching goal (or lack thereof), and the management structure of this initiative. By looking into a variety of ground-level sources from both sides of the argument, the story can be pieced together.

Regarding the justification of the annual cormorant hunt, its reasoning is problematic as the primary advocates are recreational hunters/fishers and cottage owners. They insist the species is overabundant, invading and destroying locations unsuited to their presence, and an ecological threat to their game fish stocks. Community forums such as the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters (OFAH) provide this reasoning readily as they share their opinions on the matter (OFAH, 2023). This is a perspective ignorant of the historical records of double-crested cormorants in the area, their true ecological function and research explaining why they are experiencing a population spike. Nonprofit bird conservation associations and researchers provide details of how the cormorants have been present across large ranges in Ontario for centuries at historically high numbers (Cornell Lab of Ornithology, 2023; Wires & Cuthbert, 2006). This information complements government fact sheets explaining the dramatic account these animals have experienced at the hands of humans; who historically oiled their eggs and destroyed their hatchlings, ultimately culminating in an 86% population crash due to commercial pesticide Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) poisoning (Environment Canada, 1995). With as little as 10 remaining breeding pairs in Ontario, habitats previously cleared by the build-up of acidic cormorant guano were able to revegetate, and invasive fish stocks grew unmanaged.

A sudden surplus of habitat and resources, in tandem with the ban on DDT, is what wildlife charities like Ontario Nature (ON) and even groups like the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters (OFAH) accredit to the recent resurgence and population spike of the double-crested cormorant (ON, 2016; OFAH, 2020). This evidence indicates the true keystone function of the cormorant, repeatedly referenced by previously mentioned sources and animal rights groups such as Great Lakes Cormorants (GLC). They explain the cormorant's destructive colonial nesting habits clear nest sites for other ground-nesting birds, and that their diet of primarily invasive, low-trophic level, fish keeps an ecosystem in check, ultimately even benefitting the local population of game fish (GLC, n.d; Johnson et al, 2010). collectives like ON and GLC go on to explain that despite their appearance of uncontrollably rising numbers, cormorant populations are, in reality, plateauing at equilibrium and returning to their historic status and range. The birds' presence had simply been forgotten by Ontario residents who grew accustomed to the species' absence; a phenomenon known as shifting baseline syndrome, common to deceptively overabundant organisms coming back from the brink (GLC, n.d).

Turning to the goals of the cormorant open season, the hunt is heralded by The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry (TOMNF) as an initiative to restore balance in ecosystems (TOMNF, 2020). However, wildlife charities like ON have exposed the fact that there is no quantitative population management target for what is effectively a cull (Bell, 2020). Minister Yakabuski of TOMNF has stated "We've heard concerns from property owners, hunters and anglers, and commercial fishers about the kind of damage cormorants have caused in their communities, so we're taking steps to help them deal with any local issues," (TOMNF, 2020, p. 1). He fails to mention input from any other ecological stakeholders beyond those who have

advocated and lobbied for the complete eradication of cormorants. The objectives of this hunt are out of touch and skewed by those who have biased views of how an ecosystem should serve them.

Finally, the management structure of the cormorant hunt is effectively incomplete. Independent environmental news sources have repeatedly found that on top of a lack of goals for cormorant removal, there is no requirement for hunters to report their bagged kills. Hunters are already permitted the excessively large figure of 15 birds a day, however, without reporting the government has no clear idea of how many animals have been shot collectively (Wittnebel, 2023). A blind eye is being turned to the management of this species, and with interviews of participating hunters admitting there is no consumptive or alternative use for a dead cormorant, countless participants are likely overharvesting and leaving the birds to rot undocumented (Cotnam, 2020).

On the surface, this case study importantly demonstrates an unwarranted cull of a native species with every right to exist undisturbed by humans. However, at a deeper level, this interaction with an identified problem species relevantly highlights destructive tendencies towards conservation ethics; what does it mean when governing natural resource departments condone the biased killing of native species and ignore conservation success stories? Altogether it culminates in a perpetuation of issues surrounding key critical geographic concepts.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To better analyse this case study, the lens of three theoretical concepts will be instrumental. These include nonhuman charisma, a city/nature divide and the trouble with wilderness. Each of these theories directly refers to the geographical relationship between people and the management of natural world elements. Through them, definitions of concepts like problem species and their conservation or eradication take on a new light in a geographical greater more-than-human context.

Coined by Jamie Lorimer, nonhuman charisma refers to the exploration on how the perception of wild animals by human beings can operate their environmental governance. How appealing a species is ecologically, aesthetically or corporeally to people can determine its prioritisation as worthy of protection or persecution (Lorimer, 2007). Lorimer's examination of motivational human energies surrounding wildlife management was partially inspired by a desire to contribute to the efforts of scholars like Bruce Braun and the development of a more-than-human geographical framework. A framework wherein the social and cultural spaces of humans are united with the myriad of nonhuman organisms that occupy them (Braun, 2005).

For this analysis, the ideas of Lorimer's ecological and corporeal charismas will be examined. These two nuances of his theory specify nonhuman charismas based on the physical appearances and behaviours of animals, along with the emotions they evoke in humans and how those feelings evolve (Lorimer, 2007).

This concept will help shape the understanding of the cormorant hunt, how humans are motivated to act on the issue, and the social relationship with animals and conservation as a whole. To complement this, the construct of a city/nature divide will be considered. A popular argument in critical geography, Colin Jerolmack discusses it at length in the applicable context of pigeons as a problem species (Jerolmack, 2008). Jerolmack makes repeated reference to the works of Bruno Latour and his foundational definitions of the city/nature divide. Both writers express the theory as a Westernised idyllic separation between civilisation and the wild; wherein an urban space has been removed from the primitive balance of nature and needs to be aggressively kept that way as a display of human superiority (Latour, 1993).

The nuances of this theory revolve largely around the idea that cities are the epicentre of human progress, thus making them the focus of analysis. In the cormorant case study, while instances of birds encroaching on city centres do exist, the greatest source of research is located in manicured cottage country. I will be appropriately modifying the range of the city/nature divide to account for these areas where some view the birds as matter out of place; another applicable concept derived from Mary Douglas' analysis of pollution taboos and pests (1966). Ultimately, this theory will help round out the concept of problem species like cormorants and their cultural relationships with humans.

Finally, with ties to both the perceived vilification of animals and the idyllic separation of society and nature, the trouble with wilderness can be readily applied to the cormorant case study. William Cronon has argued that perceptions of 'wilderness' are obtuse human constructs, perpetuating the idea that the natural world is something in isolation to be conquered rather than an integral element of humanity's evolution (Cronon, 1996). Expansively, this theory as examined by other scholars, encompasses paradoxical Western concepts of the continued colonial agenda, impossible conservation, and the hyper-fixation of human relationships dictating the fate of wilderness (Fletcher et al, 2021; Watson, 2004). Emboldening the city/nature divide, this theory recognizes that the biases of society consider wild spaces as a means to an end. Whether that is for resources or recreation, the wild owes affluent people something, regardless of the human or non-human histories it has experienced. The human notion that a wild space should be preserved to meet the desires of the people who occupy it is particularly applicable to

the cormorant case study. Understanding this perfectly frames the troublesome relations between birds, conservation and society.

All three of these theories share core themes with one another and the key issue between cormorants and Ontario; providing enlightening perspectives for a critical case study analysis.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

As has been discussed, Ontario's native double-crested cormorant has recently been allocated an annual open season. This decision made by the provincial government is not grounded in credible ecological research, but rather the influence of recreational hunter/angler and property owner plaintiffs. Through the analysis of three critical geographic theories, it can be clearly seen that the justification, goals and management of this initiative are unfounded with the current ethics of conservation. The future of ecological reconciliation remains uncertain in Ontario so long as disputes like this go unresolved or fail to be analysed within frameworks that enable us to understand the relationships between environments and society.

Scholars have begun to quantify the human perceptions of charismas in wild animals, revealing an instrumental facet in how efforts are organised to protect or eradicate species (Lorimer, 2007). Ecological charismas derived from the behaviour and physiological properties of an organism, or evolving corporeal emotions associated with a species over time, all influence a society's affection or destain towards an animal; both in the eyes of the public and authoritative institutions. Much of the justification for the eradication of cormorants in Ontario comes from how they nest, feed, and their abundance (OFAH, 2023).

With large colonies clearing vegetation along shores due to their anatomically acidic droppings, coupled with their ability to consume up to a pound of fish a day, recreational property owners and anglers have developed a very negative association of ecological charisma with the birds; shrinking the provincial recognition of more-than-human geographies (MacPherson, 2010; Braun, 2005). This relationship grants cormorants colourful articles on hunting lifestyle pages and blogs across North America, such as in Figure 1.

Specifically in Ontario, this development of an adverse corporeal charisma surrounding notions of overabundant, destructive and unappealing birds has managed to outshine the double-crested cormorant's ecological function as a keystone species and their history of near extinction (Environment Canada, 1995). Since the 1600s, public vilification of fish-eating birds has resulted in a tumultuous relationship, however, after severe anthropogenic DDT poisoning in the '60s nearly wiped cormorants out in the province, their apparent population spike has been regarded as a conservation success story by local wildlife associations (Lazarus, 2018). The shifting baseline for what healthy cormorant numbers look like in the public eye has confused outdoor recreation enjoyers as to what their surrounding ecosystem should look like, and aided in the development of charismas they have lobbied to policymakers like TOMNF (GLC, n.d; Animal Alliance of Canada, 2020a).

Ultimately, the creation and marketing of non-human charismas have taken what should have been an ecological success story for Ontario, stripped it of scientific research, and given people with biased opinions on how the balance between the natural world and society should function, the means to justify eradicating a native species. This bias surrounding issues of where the line is drawn between the wild and civilisation has long been subject to debate for geographic scholars addressing the city/nature divide.

The imagined geographies of physical and theoretical barriers between humans and the surrounding natural world have a particularly strong cultural hold on Western society (Latour, 1993). This reality means the fundamental structure, and lack of goals, within the present hunt for double-crested cormorants speaks volumes to this theory. As cormorants return to their historic range and nesting grounds, they are invading the sacred developed spaces of civilisation. News stories and videos capture 'problematic' cormorants nesting in the Toronto Islands in need of removal (Zura & Casaeltto, 2023). These 'problem' animals have one of their largest strongholds in North America on the coast of Canada's largest city; the conservation area of Tommy Thompson Park (Tommy Thompson Park, 2022). However, being a protected space, this is not the forefront of their cull, as hunters can only reach them once they enter sprawling cottage country.

Still an embodiment of human culture, rural development possesses its own rules surrounding divisions from the natural world. No longer in the primitive balance of nature, entire ecosystems have become proud parts of human cultural space (Harrison, 2013). Here in exurbia, the arrival of cormorants has disturbed the anthropocentric ideals of extended ontological zones, making the birds pests out of place (Douglas, 1966; Jerlomack, 2008). To defend the delineation of civilisation from nature, the cormorants are swiftly removed; convenient as the hunt still has no population target or goals (Bell, 2020). Collectively, Ontario's culture of dividing cities and urban spaces from the surrounding environment has provided the foundations for the double-crested cormorant cull. Subsequently perpetuating the ease for academic goals and regulations within the initiative to go unestablished; allowing the colonized environment to better suit the needs of its human oc-

cupants.

Finally, to address the problematic methods being permitted within the cormorant hunt, it is critical that the perception Western communities have of the construct of wilderness as a whole is analysed. William Cronon's study and theory of the trouble with wilderness has sparked increasing amounts of debate on what exactly a wild space means to Western society. Drawing from historical beliefs recorded by founding naturalists like Henry Thoreau, Cronon identified concepts of the wild existing as a completely isolated frontier to provide adventurers with a means to an end still prevalent in the public consciousness (Cronon, 1996). These opportunities could be resource-based or recreational, but ultimately the wilderness represented a provision for those able to capitalise on it.

Running with this theory, contemporary scholars aptly linked the framework of colonial dominion over 'savage' spaces to the trouble with wilderness (Fletcher et al, 2021). This wild surrender to predominantly white male conquerors can be seen actively unfolding within Ontario's cormorant hunt. Hunters who have admitted to lacking a use for killed cormorants have no legal obligation to report the number of birds they kill (Wittnebel, 2023; Animal Alliance of Canada, 2020b). They can already bag 15 birds a day for 4 months, and based on Western perspectives, they are likely wasting plenty more to affirm their claim on the wild.

Cormorants exist as an aspect of the wilderness to be conquered as a reflection of humanity's dominion over nature. By returning to their historic range, the birds exist as a challenge to the newly established an-
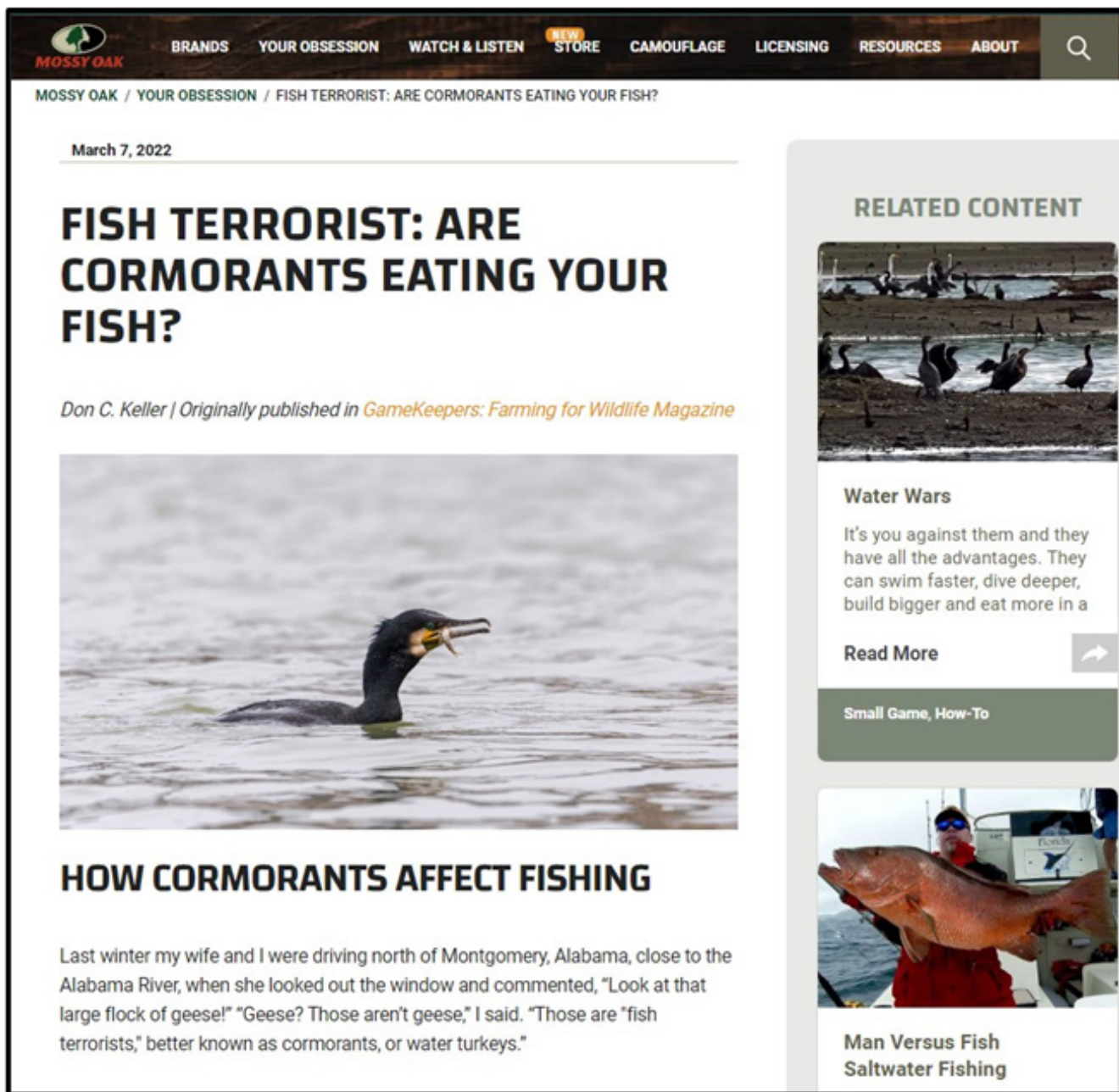

Figure 1. Article on cormorants (Keller, 2022).

thropocentric order; it is not enough to manage their population and monitor the progress of such an initiative, they need to be archaically culled. Western geographic taboos surrounding the perception of wilderness have made the question of enforcing stricter guidelines on the bag count of 'harvested' inedible birds negligible over the unfounded idea that they might be jeopardising what recreation the wilderness ought to owe society.

CONCLUSION

By critically analysing Ontario's active cormorant hunt with foundational geographic theories, the province-wide initiative can be recognised not as an ecological management strategy, but as a cull of an important native species unfounded in appropriate amounts of academic research. The hunt has critical weaknesses in how it was justified, the goals it aims to accomplish, and its management structure. The birds' prosecution has become grossly based on the biases of human ideals, it perpetuates the destructive separation between society and nature, and highlights fundamental shortcomings with the Western perception of what a wild space is.

By mismanaging such an operation, and initiating damage to what should have been celebrated as an ecological victory, the Ontario hunt for double-crested cormorant is a direct offence to contemporary conservation ethics. Reconciling with the environment can not always be an aesthetically pleasing process, loyal to our desires; it takes sacrifice and an appreciation for landscape function. We need to break out of our historic Western narratives, hold out-of-touch authorities accountable and increase our cultural carrying capacity for superficially undesirable things like 'problem' species.

Just like cormorants, we are animals that consume excessively and make a mess where we settle. It is time to stop blaming the birds that evolved in balance with their ecosystem for environmental destruction and reconsider how we can change our own impact.

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Conservation and Ecotourism in Botswana

The Cost on Indigenous Rights and Wildlife Welfare

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ABSTRACT

The global conservation and reserve systems, posed as protectors of biodiversity and wildlife, perpetuate the displacement of Indigenous communities while also causing detrimental impacts on wildlife. By looking at the specific case of Botswana's Central Kalahari Game Reserve and Chobe National Park through the lens of green colonialism and the trouble with wilderness, this paper will argue that ecotourism and conservation efforts contribute negatively to the welfare of local people and animals.

INTRODUCTION

Chobe National Park is considered to be Botswana's most visited park in the region, known as the big game country (Botswana Tourism, 2021). It is an essential part of Botswana's tourism industry and is marketed as a "true wildlife paradise" (Chobe National Park, 2023). Although posed as a place of wildlife conservation, the actions within the park display capitalist self-interest and prioritize tourism over animal welfare (Motlhoka, 2022).

The second area is the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR), which is a more remote and less visited park but is one of the largest wildlife reserve areas worldwide (Botswana Tourism, 2023). This is a place seen as people-free, an absolute wilderness and a "mysterious beauty." (Botswana Tourism, 2023). In contrast to this myth, this park was actually established as a reservation area for the San people in 1961 and is their traditional home and hunting land (PBS, 2017). In order to create this illusion of empty wilderness for tourists and capital gain, the San were forcibly displaced from their land and disconnected from traditional life and practices such as hunting (PBS, 2017).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Trouble with Wilderness, a concept coined by William Cronon, helps look at the effect of ecotourism and conservation on Indigenous populations. This theory outlines how the idea of 'wilderness' is deeply entangled with colonialism and Western views. He argues that wilderness is a myth created to serve as an escape for white males (Cronon, 1996). Furthermore, the framework shows how this idea furthered the human-nature divide and made way for exclusionary models of conservation (Cronon, 1996).

Another framework that adds to Cronon's theory and expresses the harmful effect of conservation is fortress conservation. This model of conservation focuses on the idea that there should be a strong human-nature divide (Brockington, 2002). This idea is especially prevalent in Africa as white settlers look to it as a place of untouched wilderness and forcibly removed people living there for hundreds of years prior (Lee, 2023). Overall, Western powers use the myth of wilderness and untouched land to displace Indigenous populations and create space for Western tourism and capitalist ventures. This process encompasses ideas such as fortress conservation and the trouble with wilderness and is referred to as green colonialism (Singh, 2021).

Ecotourism is tourism to a place in order to learn about the ecology, usually with a focus on conservation and sustainability (Fletcher, 2019). This practice is criticized because it enforces human nature divides and green colonialism (Fletcher, 2019). In regard to the effects of ecotourism and green colonialism on wildlife, theories such as lively commodities and non-human charisma are essential. The terms lively commodities and encounter value are connected to both each other and to ecotourism. The idea of lively commodities is that non-human life can produce capital gain through the demonstration that they are living (Collard & Dempsey, 2013). The value that is derived from these experiences with lively commodities is called encounter value (Barua, 2016). Without encounter value, ecotourism would not exist, so all these frameworks are deeply entrenched. The last framework is the idea of Non-human Charisma, "the distinguishing properties of a non-human entity or process that determine its perception by humans and its subsequent evaluation" (Lorimer, 2007, 915). Although there are many forms of non-human charisma for this case study, the focus will be on aesthetic charisma. This refers to an animal's ability to provoke emotions in humans based on the encounter (Lorimer, 2007). Overall, capitalist values have created a system of commodified encounters between humans and nature. This has led to conservation efforts being focused on capitalist gain and exploitation rather than animal preservation and well-being.

Lastly, this study will look forward to current alternatives and solutions for the current conservation crisis, such as community-based conservation (CBC), reconciliation-driven conservation and participatory conservation (Berkes, 2004). These ideas are all interconnected and rely upon the shift from Western capitalists and non-profits driving conservation to local communities (Berkes, 2004). The challenge in these cases is that each community is different, and unlike fortress conservation, it requires an individualized approach for each location's needs (Galvin et al., 2018).

LIMITATIONS/POSITIONALITY

In doing this research, I note my position as a white settler on traditional Anishnaabe, Haudenosaunee, and Wendat lands. I am privileged to live and study on this land and have continuously benefitted from systems of Indigenous oppression, such as the national parks and conservation system.

The majority of literature on this topic is also provided by Western viewpoints, which has been a major limitation. However, my research looked at sources other than my position to draw on broader knowledge. Using viewpoints from the San people (bushmen) in Botswana, such as PBS's Why the Native People of the Kalahari are Struggling to Stay, is crucial to this research. This source Interviews Indigenous populations and provides a critical lens, but they are still interviewed and edited by PBS, a Western organization (PBS, 2017). Furthermore, I utilized sources like Resson Kantai Duff's TED talk to bring in first-hand perspectives on local solutions

elsewhere in Africa. This research argues the issues of ecotourism in Botswana and the potential solutions in the future. Although framework and academia highlight the many problems, the solutions lie in collaboration with communities and the return to traditional and sustainable ways of life (Duff, 2022).

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) is a 52,800 km2 grassland reserve located in the heart of not only the Kalahari but also Botswana (Botswana Tourism, 2021). This land was originally home to the San people (or bushmen) and is their traditional hunting and tracking grounds, activities which are central to the San life and have been done for decades (PBS, 2017). In 1961, the government established it as a formal reservation area and a sanctuary for the San people (Botswana Tourism, 2021). This is also the year that the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) was created by European conservationists to be involved with conservation efforts and funds globally (Lee, 2023). The first few years after the establishment of the CKGR, the San lived relatively peacefully. However, after the discovery of diamonds in the area in the 1980s, this came to an end (PBS, 2017).

Furthermore, the government of Botswana began initiatives in the early 2000s to promote more diverse tourism throughout the country. This led to the establishment of hunting and luxury lodges and the permitting of fly-in tourism to the reserve (Botswana Tourism, 2021). Now, the reserve boasts many campsites, lodges, and activities, which include game drives, wilderness drives, and natural/culture-based walks with the San (Botswana Tourism, 2021). What the tourism website fails to say about the CKGR is that in order to achieve this picturesque tourism location as well as exploit the land for diamonds, numerous evictions were forced upon the bushmen (PBS, 2017).

The CKGR is a prime example of fortress conservation and green colonialism, as the San have been systematically removed from their land and stripped of their culture, homes and communities under the guise of conservation (Vidal, 2016). Big evictions happened in 1997, 2002, and 2005 and the San were forced from their homes by soldiers, threatening their families and neighbours (PBS, 2017). Forced to relocate out of the CKGR, land that was set aside as a 'sanctuary,' the San relocated to villages such as New Xade (PBS, 2017). The bushmen who relocated to New Xade are approximately 50 miles away from their old home and are not allowed to return. Those who do return have the risk of being killed (PBS, 2017). Those who have managed to stay in the CKGR are forced to live at the edge of the reserve and are not permitted to hunt and participate in traditional and sustainable practices (Vidal, 2016). In 2016, the wildlife minister in Botswana, Tsheke-

di Khama, placed many lives at risk with a shoot-on-sight policy for poachers within reserves (Vidal, 2016). Western non-profits and conservation groups supported this policy in regard to illegal wildlife trade and the biodiversity crisis (Vidal, 2016). These acts are based on the belief promoted by Western ideology that humans and nature are not intertwined and practices like hunting for survival are unethical, not everyday activities (Singh, 2021). Fiore Longo from Survival International describes conservation as "Conservation is an ideology based on the idea that other human beings' ways of life are wrong and are harming nature." (Fiore Longo in Lee, 2023). Longo succinctly describes conservation and what is happening in Botswana and worldwide.

Furthermore, the government is permitting the construction of multiple luxury hunting lodges, which allow permit-paying hunting tourists to use the land (Botswana Tourism, 2021). The establishment of lodges like this highlights William Cronon's arguments on the Trouble with Wilderness (Cronon, 1996). Cronon describes this trouble in part as viewing wilderness as an untouched escape for wealthy white males, which is what CKGR has become (Cronon, 1996). San bushmen, who have maintained and hunted on the land for generations, are being displaced from the CKGR. If they attempt to participate in traditional hunting activities, they are being shot at and imprisoned. Meanwhile, primarily rich white tourists can pay to fly in and hunt in the CKGR as long as they have money (Vidal, 2016).

Currently, over 25% of Botswana is set aside as conservation areas such as reserves (Siyabona Africa, 2023). Botswana's government is focused on a tourism philosophy that is very high-cost and has a low number of tourists. This ensures the people a free wilderness image of untouched nature (Siyabona Africa, 2023). This also ensures that only privileged, primarily white tourists visit the country and maintain the Western idea of wilderness and the human nature divide (Cronon, 1996). The government of Botswana focuses on the success of the tourism industry by implementing the troubled Western views of wilderness and providing a wild playground for rich people (Cronon, 1996).

Although the Botswana government has denied it multiple times, the forced evictions of the bushmen coincide with the discovery of diamonds and rich diamond deposits on the San land (Survival International, 2014). The government has consistently said that the removal is due to the bushmen's way of life not corresponding with conservation goals and efforts. In contrast, the bushmen connect the removal to diamond mining (PBS, 2017). Even if the Sans ways were not sustainable, the government has shown their real belief on conservation through the establishment of a major diamond mine within the CKGR (Survival International, 2014). In 2014, the Ghaghoo Diamond Mine was created within the CKGR and is one of the largest diamond

mines in the world (Mining Technology, 2014). The license for this mine was approved by the government in 2011, and the construction and destruction of the land took place while the government systematically removed and killed San allegedly to save this land (Survival International, 2014). The location of this diamond mine was discovered in 1981, the same time the government began the forced removal of the bushmen (PBS, 2017). The establishment of the Diamond mine within the CKGR solidifies that the removal of the San has racist, colonial and capitalist undertones, all hidden under the term of conservation.

It is not only the people who are being harmed through ecotourism and green colonial policies in Botswana but also the local wildlife. Chobe National Park is Botswana's most visited big game country park and pulls a large number of tourists to see the large elephant population (Botswana Tourism, 2021). The tourism industry posed as sustainable, has been linked to the degradation of ecosystems in Botswana and worldwide (Gumbo, 2022). Tourism infrastructure such as hotels, other accommodations, roads and airports contribute to the destruction of the environment and many animals' natural habitats (Gumbo, 2022). Furthermore, the operation of tour vehicles, both land, air and aquatic, contributes to air and noise pollution (Gumbo, 2022). These vehicles also pose a threat to the safety of animals, especially birds and fish (Gumbo, 2022).

The stresses of human nature interactions are leading to the decline of many species throughout Botswana (Darkoh & Mbaiwa, 2015). Fences which are meant to border conservation areas, farms, and other structures further disrupt animal populations and their migration patterns (Darkoh & Mbaiwa, 2015). Animals that are the face of conservation efforts, such as Conservation International and WWF, include charismatic megafauna such as elephants, lions, and pandas. These animals are used due to their aesthetic charisma and ability to create feelings in humans (Lorimer, 2007). These animals, especially elephants, are the face of conservation in Botswana but are constantly affected by tourism and human interactions (Darkoh & Mbaiwa, 2015).

Botswana has begun implementing practices that are aimed at addressing the effects of conservation and reserve systems, mainly on wildlife populations. The government has shifted its focus from hunting lodges to promoting 'picture tourism,' which encourages tourists to bring phones and cameras on a safari and take pictures from a distance away (Siyabona Africa, 2023). Due to the change in the nature of human-animal interactions, people went from hunting and tracking to friendly encounter-based tourist interactions, and the wildlife's response to humans has also started to change (Gumbo, 2022). The cases of large game animals attacking farmers and villages have increased. This affects both home and food security for communi-

ties in the area (Gumbo, 2022).

CONCLUSION

The issue with conservation dates back to early colonial policy and Western ideology. This thought rules ecotourism in Botswana, and issues such as green colonialism and the trouble of wilderness are prevalent even just through the Botswana tourism website. Both the CKGR and Chobe National Park market themselves as people-free, untouched wilderness filled with wildlife (Botswana Tourism, 2023). Cronon's trouble with wilderness shines light on how this idea of people-free is a myth created by Westerners to provide an escape for wealthy white tourists (Cronon, 1996). Furthermore, this idea of the human nature divide contributes to the oppression of local people through fortress conservation and green colonialism (Singh, 2021). Not only do these systems affect human populations but also local wildlife and biodiversity. Animal habitats and biodiversity are being degraded in order to create tourist infrastructure and excursions. Both upon initial construction and continual use (Gumbo, 2022). Planes and boats are both shown to harm wildlife and biodiversity and are being used for the enjoyment and benefit of the majority of wealthy white people (Gumbo, 2022). Furthermore, the government is capitalizing on non-human charisma and encounter value of lively commodities such as the African elephant. While under the guise of conservation, corporations and the government are using charismatic megafauna such as the large elephant population to boost tourism and economic revenue (Barua, 2016). While the government claims the new laws around poaching and conservation are aiding local animal populations, the growing aggression towards farmers by the animal population shows a negative impact on the human-animal relationship (Gumbo, 2022). Overall, this study argues that the conservation and ecotourism systems are complex issues rooted in European colonialism and human nature divides. There is hope for our future, but the current model of exclusionary and fortress conservation must be replaced by community-based and stewardship models (Duff, 2022). A challenge still present is that Western non-profits still dominate the conservation field and the narrative surrounding ecotourism and conservation.

MOVING FORWARD

Although historically, conservation efforts have been focused on Western views and benefits, the future holds promise for change. Conservation International, although an American non-profit rooted in green colonialism, has partnered with local communities, the Botswana government and non-governmental organizations to restore the rangelands (Conservation International, 2023). This project plans to focus on a commu-

nity stewardship approach, reducing carbon emissions and restoring previous grazing land (Conservation International, 2023). The project impacts are intended to directly aid 247,000 people, over half of whom are women. The data provided also suggests that the project will not only aid direct villages but indirectly to the entire population of Botswana (Conservation International, 2023). Although the initiative does look to have many benefits, a limitation was that the literature on the topic from websites other than Conservation International is lacking.

Another hopeful story of community-based conservation is told by Resson Duff in her TED talk Why Africa Needs Community-Led Conservation. In this talk, she addresses problems with observation and the benefits of community-based conservation (Duff, 2022). She gives the example of the declining lion population in the Samburu region of Kenya. Due to poaching, climate and other human factors, the lion population in Africa has been declining (Duff, 2022). Duff talks about Jeneria Lekilelei, who helped create the community-based Warrior Watch program and the Ewaso Lions project, which has helped the lion population to triple since the establishment of the program (Duff, 2022). This is a tangible example that helps shed light on how Indigenous knowledge can change conservation and the biodiversity crisis at a community level (Duff, 2022).

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The Cobalt Mines of the Democratic Republic of Congo

A Deeper Look Into the Shocking Findings Behind the Electric Vehicle Market

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In our fast-moving capitalist society, humans seek out the newest technology and assume it to have a long-lasting battery, and those buying electric cars expect that they can travel as far or further than their gas-powered counterpart. As technology improves, these asks do not become that outlandish, rather attainable, and these products are slowly becoming more affordable for the average citizen in the Global North. What many consumers do not realize, is the rare earth metal required to make these electronics and the extensive processes that companies go by to access it. Cobalt has unique properties that allow lithium-ion batteries to be more efficient, and powerful over long periods. In short, cobalt is a key facet in the shift toward sustainable energy sources. Its use is crucial for limiting carbon emissions from internal combustion engines, as well as creating electric solutions for other industries. The demand for Li-ion batteries from an electrifying Global North has led to the injection of foreign mining companies within the Democratic Republic of Congo. The extraction of cobalt in the Democratic Republic of the Congo exemplifies the intersection of disaster capitalism and environmental racism, as the Global North rushes to keep up with the electric vehicle market during the climate crisis. Multinational corporations are exploiting the natural resources and the desire for labour in the developing nation of the Democratic Republic of Congo, resulting in a booming economy for these corporations and the slow violence of the local Congolese communities. This is incredibly important because as electric vehicle sales rise, it represents a swathe of consumers who possibly do not know where the source of their batteries come from, and a continuation of these practices in these mines.

Electric vehicles (EVs), although older than their gas-powered vehicles, have only become mainstream recently. Around 2010, car companies started to offer fully EVs like the Chevrolet Spark and the Nissan Leaf, additionally, now-popular Tesla was only a small but extremely successful startup. Since then, technology and electric car charger infrastructure have vastly improved and in the last 4 years, battery cost has decreased by fifty percent, lowering the entry cost of cars for consumers (Matulka, 2023). Lowering costs has spiked fourteen percent of all car sales in 2022 were EVs (International Energy Agency, 2023) but also because people are becoming environmentally conscious when thinking about their modes of transportation. Unfortunately, this change is disproportionate and only occurring in three Global North markets where these EV companies are situated, China, Europe, and the USA (International Energy Agency, 2023). Although it seems great that EV sales are growing, the increased demand for cobalt cannot be sustainably or uniformly sourced. Cobalt cannot just be found in your backyard, but only in certain environments with fertile soil and high rates of copper or nickel (USGS, 2021), like that of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The DRC has the largest cobalt reserves and produces twenty times the amount from their mines than any other country (USGS, 2021). One might think that this increasing demand and incredible supply places the DRC in a position of power, but the current climate of cobalt mining in the DRC tells a completely different story.

The DRC was colonized by the Belgians in 1885 and gained their independence in 1960. Since then, there has been political unrest as the USA and Belgium have apparently attempted to disrupt the democracy as well as civil relations within their state (BBC, 2023). Not coincidentally, the first large-scale deposits of cobalt found in the DRC were found in 1914 by a Belgian mining company (Gulley, 2022). Their colonial history is of importance because it can help to contextualize foreign-led extraction occurring within the country. These colonial ties continue today, as foreign investors benefit from the natural resources of the DRC, leaving limited positive impacts behind. Today, most of the world cobalt refining occurs in China (Cobalt Institute, 2021) and this is a product of the Going Out Strategy, a 1999 Chinese governmental plan that aimed to increase foreign investment and secure minerals and resources from specifically in Africa and Asia (Gulley, 2022). Not only are the extractive operations detrimental to the economy and social welfare of the Congolese people, but the current method of extraction is immoral and dangerous for the miners and their families.

Artisanal mining is a form of mining whereby the miners are void of modern tools, technology, and safety equipment, but are forced to work with their hands, pickaxes, and chisels. According to Kara (2023), one of the first people to publish about these mines' claims about 30% of all the cobalt being mined in the DRC is done through the method of artisanal mining. Artisanal mining entails shifts of 5,000 people working consecutively, exposing workers to toxic and dangerous conditions like collapsing mineshafts (Beaule, 2023). In 2014, it was found that almost 40,000 children were working in these mines, as young as seven years old (Secrist & Fehring, 2021). While the rest of the first world feels like they are making the conscious purchase, the workers in the DRC are literally breaking their backs and dying to make a living. In one mine, workers are being paid about $3.50 a day, given two bread rolls for lunch, and have no other choice to put money on the table. (Pattisson, 2021). This is problematic because this form of labour is much cheaper for foreign companies to employ thousands of Congolese people, and the relaxed labour laws in Congo are being exploited to create a broken system that is dangerous, and unsustainable. The Bureau of International Labor Affairs (2023) found that Congo has made minimal advancement in the efforts to reduce the worst forms of child labour, including child labour within cobalt mines specifically. What this highlights is that these minimal regulations permit extractive companies to thrive, and corporations are tak-

ing advantage of it.

This case study is incredibly nuanced, but timely, as our current political and environmental climate is pushing for sustainable energy sources and transportation. Although, one must ask themselves; at what cost to those at the bottom of the supply chain? To examine this case study, the three lenses of disaster capitalism, slow violence, and environmental racism will provide nuance and a deeper understanding to the underlying issues at play. They will work effectively together and play a role in each others existence. Alongside these theoretical frameworks, a broad range of sources will be imperative as each medium can bring their own strengths to the case study. Academics articles, news sources, case experts, and government reports will all be necessary to creating a deeper understanding of the situation in the DRC. News sources provide up to date and less formal understanding of the situation in the DRC and the most "on-the-ground" understanding. The academic articles and case experts like Kara provide an in-depth insight and connecting the facts to the deeper thinking frameworks. Finally, government documents will provide factual evidence, the consumer perspective, but also the comparison of working conditions to countries with more safe and humane regulations

The Global North have contributed the most to carbon emissions, and their economies are the ones who have also deemed electric cars to be a great solution to the climate crisis. However, once again, through capitalism, they are benefitting off the backs of countries like the DRC to solve the issues that they created by themselves. Disaster capitalism, first coined by Naomi Klein (2007) is the exploitation of a disaster for the capital gain of a private or public sector, often via the deregulation or relaxed laws as a product of said disaster. In this context, the disaster is global warming, and the rise of electric car sales is the capitalist response to this crisis. Klein's framework will help to deconstruct how this case is a product of the current global political economy and break down the environmental and societal relationships that are occurring in the DRC.

The clear dichotomy between labourers and benefactors shows the compliance to uphold the status quo of the Global North and the Global South. Environmental racism was a term coined by Benjamin Chavis (1982) and is the racial discrimination in the form of intentional targeting of marginalized communities for toxic waste, dangerous work, and the exclusion of people of colour for ecology leadership movements. Pulido (2016) argues that conditions like these are not a product of capitalism, but also racism, and a classist system. In his article, Frankel shares the story of the miners who claim they have no authority over the cobalt, as they "just sell this to the Chinese" (Frankel, 2016). There is a clear hierarchy of impoverished labours, and Chinese middlemen that do little labour in a foreign country. Cor-

porations responsible for the continuous exploitation of the Congolese artisanal mining labour provide a transparent outlook on their values and morals for other human beings. The work 'opportunities' the Congolese people are provided are not worth the toxic exposure and dangerous working conditions they are subjected to. This framework will provide a cornerstone for my argument and unveil how exploitation might be driven by racial factors as well.

As one considers the overarching impacts of this economy, it is easy to overlook the slow violence that is occurring at the bottom of the supply chain. Slow violence is the damage done in certain geographies as a product of the spatial properties of that environment and is often not considered violence in the present (Nixon, 2011). Artisanal mining itself is incredibly dangerous and poses immediate risks to the miners, but artisanal cobalt mining is even more dangerous because cobalt itself is toxic to breathe and touch. This exposure to these toxic geographies poses likely long-term health risks (New Jersey Department of Health and Senior Services, 2005) to those miners within close contact with the cobalt. Nixon's concept will help to outline how these mining efforts happening now, will have lasting and detrimental effects on the Congolese people, and for whom, the powers and capital gain of the Global North.

As are most ventures today, this extensive extraction of Congolese cobalt is driven by capitalism and the desire for profit. Results from the National EV Survey conducted by Consumer Reports found that over seventy percent of consumers find that widespread EV usage will help to reduce climate change, car companies should provide electric options, and there should be government subsidies for EVs (Consumer Reports, 2020). This shows a turn in the current automotive market, and consumers, as a product of climate change are shifting their purchasing power towards electric automotive options. Despite the supply in the DRC, the extraction and production of cobalt is being led and is benefitting the Global North (Bridle et al., 2021). Glencore, a Swiss company, by far, is the leading producer of cobalt in the world (Statista, 2023), and has major subsidiaries in China where they conduct most of their refining. Additionally, Glencore has signed a multi-year agreement with General Motors to supply cobalt batteries (Glencore, 2022), a Chinese company Contemporary Amperex Technology Co Ltd to supply batteries for Volkswagen (Desai, 2017), and leading EV company Tesla bought their cobalt from Glencore (Calma, 2023). Switzerland, Germany, USA, are all Global North Markets benefitting from this extraction, and China, a Global South country, is manufacturing these batteries for not only themselves, but also heavily for these Global North markets. As many know, EVs will not solve the climate crisis but can help curb some of the carbon emissions from the large transportation industry. They

provide a short-term solution and under Klein's disaster capitalism framework, the climate disaster provides an opportunity for the neo liberalization the natural resources and transportation industry (Fletcher, 2012). As people try to deal with the stresses of ecological grief, these multinational automotive corporations, through clever marketing, sell these solutions to a 'clean and green' future. Klein's work helps us to understand how the exploitation of not only the labour of the Congolese miners but also the climate crisis provides a platform for capitalism.

The benefits of the EV market are not being enjoyed at a uniform level on a global scale, it begs the question of why one country can be exploited to such great measures for profits. As discussed, the DRC's history of colonialism impacts their control over their resources today, and Chavis' framework of environmental racism is revealing how it is being colonialism is being reproduced through cobalt. The largest cobalt mining companies operating in the DRC are from foreign countries, but the largest Congolese state-controlled company Gécamines is funded by the Chinese government and Glencore themselves. In 1960, three days before the DRC proclaimed their independence, the Belgians dissolved their state mining company, which resulted in the new state, the DRC, having little control over the private shareholders of the country's asset (Goncharov, 1963), and occurred again with DRC's palm oil industry (Nixon, 2011). Foreign investors having control over these mining companies reproduces those very first instances of colonialism in the new state of the DRC. Although the cobalt supply does exist within this nation, it does not require the form of dangerous and extraction. There are many other forms of safer and sustainable cobalt mining operations using modern technology and with safety regulations. Through the driving force of disaster capitalism, environmental racism is being enacted for the benefit of foreign mining companies and consumers higher up on the supply chain. Similar effects are seen in Brazil whereby capitalism is driving natural resource extraction via mining from foreign markets. Like the DRC, Brazil export high-value natural resources but must import manufactured goods. These endeavours within the Amazon are resulting in health concerns, environmental disasters as well as wealth and land concentrations whereby land is developed solely for extraction and is left behind destroyed with no benefit for the local community (Rodrigues de Andrade et al., 2022). The long-term physical, social and mental health impacts of the ongoing cobalt mining is unknown, but it's trend is not positive for the Congolese people. There is a clear hierarchy of human value in place within the DRC, and the miners are feeling the brunt force of it. These foreign companies know economic stimulation is needed within the country, and their "opportunity" gives them a way to put money in their pockets. The government cannot deny these companies because that would be to deny these families an opportunity to make a living. Although, the unforeseen outcome are these dangerous working conditions and toxic geographies, which in turn does not compensate for the small sums of money that these artisanal miners are even making anyways, they are being exploited.

Nixon's work around slow violence is applicable to this case because, over time, the impacts of this form of cobalt mining will become more apparent for the Congolese people. However, doctors in the DRC are cautious about linking the impact of the metals to disease because cobalt provides a profit for the overarching economy of the DRC (Frankel, 2016). This is problematic because the driving forces of disaster capitalism and environmental racism enable the slow violence of the Congolese people for the benefit of the Global North. It would be ignorant to think that they should halt all operations because of course this does provide the DRC with an economic opportunity, but it should be able to be conducted ethically, sustainably, and safely. The effects left behind from cobalt mining will be long-lasting, and the cleaning up of the region's soils and waters will be a long and strenuous process. As the Global North continues to be compliant with toxic geographies and supply chains, slow violence will become more visible and apparent in the exploited communities (Davies, 2019). In his article, Frankel (2016), highlighted birth defects, reduced lung capacity, cobalt concentrations to be 43 times higher, and other dangerous heavy metals to be up to 5 times higher in humans and the local fish population, than a control group. The continued exploitation of Congolese cobalt will have an indirect and unobvious impact on the health of the Congolese people, but evidence is already appearing. Structural violence in the form of deregulation around labour and separation between the rich corporations and the poor miners is a form of slow violence (Nixon, 2011). In no world should any group of people be pushed towards generational health impacts to provide for their families, but this is the case here in the DRC if no change is made. This Congolese people are making an incredible sacrifice so that those in the Global North can indulge in purchases that alleviate their guilt about their already large impact on the environment.

Environmental racism, disaster capitalism, and slow violence weaved seamlessly together as they were all able to compliment each other within their scope, but this approach did have some limitations. Throughout my paper, I discussed the conditions of many mines, but this does not account for all mines within DRC. Additionally, with language like the 'DRC' and 'Congolese', I aimed to encompass all mines/miners within the nation which fails to admit the intricacies of this economy. I was able to address this by narrowing my research to artisanal mining, as there are other issues with industrial mining in DRC. Finally, as a white man from North America, who also contributes to this economy of cobalt-driven batteries, my understanding and

knowledge of the conditions of these mines in Congo are solely based on my research. This is why I tried to use sources that were both academic and not, as well as seek out research that included personal anecdotes and testimonials from those who interact with these mines daily.

This case study has highlighted the unseen bottom of the supply chain of today's EV economy and how it is being fueled off the backs of illegal and dangerous labour of the Congolese people. Cobalt is a rising metal whose value is increasing every day due to its importance for electric vehicles, but also for everyday consumer electronics. Most of the entire world's cobalt is located within the Democratic Republic of Congo, but the production of cobalt its profits is being extracted from the nation just like the metal itself. As the Global North continues to position the EV as a solution to the climatic crises, the extraction of cobalt in the DRC exposes the coming together of environmental racism and disaster capitalism as a driver for exploitation. The developing DRC proves a breeding ground for multinational corporations to take advantage of the dense cobalt supplies and manpower shortage, resulting in booming economies for these corporations and the slow violence of the Congolese people.

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Green Spaces in Toronto

Racism in Green Space Implementation and Accessibility

Prowse, Naomi McGuiness

Toronto, Ontario is Canada's largest urban centre and is home to 7.6% of the Canadian population and to 10.7% of the country's visible minority population (Statistics Canada, 2023). Environmental racism is an ongoing issue in Toronto as the loss of greenspace for urban development projects has caused debilitating effects on the city's lower-class racialized communities. Through examining tree coverage, gentrification, and environmental neglect in several lower-class racialized communities within Toronto, it is evident that environmental racism is in existence. To fix issues of environmental racism and injustice occurring in Toronto, new policies and community initiatives must be implemented.

Environmental racism is a form of systemic racism that exists through legacies of segregating policies and practices which lead to environmental injustices. It is seen in urban centres worldwide, both historically and in present day, through a lack of value placed on and care tended to greenspaces in many low-income, predominantly non-white neighbourhoods. The environmental policies and practices currently in effect result in the disproportionate degradation of environments inhabited by communities of colour. (Patnaik, 2020). Using Toronto, Ontario as a main area of focus, environmental racism is seen in this city through the lack of tree coverage in low-income racialized communities of the Greater Toronto Area, gentrification in Regent Park, and through environmental neglect in the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town.

The distribution of green spaces within the Torontonian metropolis is not uniform. Particularly, green space is distributed in favour of wealthier, whiter populations. Environmental racism in this context is seen through the correlation between location with tree coverage, racialized populations, and economic income distributions. In studying three maps, it is apparent that areas occupied by low-income populations and racialized communities align with regions of the least amount of tree coverage. Figure 1 shows a map displaying the 2012 racial distribution of students in the Toronto District School Board according to parent census and Figure 2 shows a map portraying the 2020 census findings on the distribution of average household income. These maps show a correlation between race and wealth, as the lower-income population that is predominantly non-white live in Scarborough and York. Figure 3 shows a map depicting the 2007 tree cover distribution in Toronto. Through comparing Figure 1 and Figure 2 with Figure 3, it is apparent that York and Scarborough also have the least amount of tree coverage compared to the rest of the Toronto metropolitan region. The relationship between Toronto's tree canopy, median household income, and distribution of race shows a positive spatial autocorrelation which highlights a discernible intersectionality between race and class as two groups who feel the effects of environmental injustices. Ac-

cording to the article, "Urban greenness, 2001, 2011, and 2019", the presence of trees and vegetation within the city "can improve urban air quality, mitigate urban heat island effects, reduce or delay storm water runoff, provide wildlife habitat, and provide recreational opportunities and aesthetic benefits," leading to happier and healthier populations (Lantz et al., 2021). Since York and Scarborough regions have a low quantity of trees, the low-income and marginalized communities that occupy these areas do not receive the benefits of urban trees and vegetation, perpetuating a reduction in the well-being of this population. This lack of greenspace in the York and Scarborough regions exemplifies the environmental racism experienced in the Toronto metropolitan area.

Within the city of Toronto, environmental racism is also seen through the gentrification of Regent Park. Gentrification is an urban process characterized by the transformation of a neighbourhood into one inhabited by a wealthier population of residents and businesses (Teelucksingh, 2003). This process occurs through the displacement of the previous residents, who tend to be racialized and of low-income status (Teelucksingh, 2003). The revitalization of Regent Park, a downtown Torontonian neighbourhood, is an example of a community that experienced gentrification. In the process of revitalizing Regent Park, its original tenants suffered the consequences of environmental racism. Established in 1949, Regent Park was home to one of the oldest and largest public housing projects in Canada (Brail & Kumar, 2017). It was originally developed to house low-income residents however, in the early 2000s, to create a more inclusive and sustainable urban environment, new housing options, community facilities, and greenspaces were incorporated into the area. In this process some of the original Regent Park housing was torn down and replaced with higher income housing, transforming the neighbourhood into a mixed-income community. This resulted in the displacement of the predominantly low-income, racialized residents as they could no longer afford the increased cost of living in this neighbourhood (Brail & Kumar, 2017).

In a segment titled "Revitalization or Displacement – Regent Parkers Reflect on the Effects of Revitalization" Regent Park TV (RPTV) reporters, Kedar Ahmed and Fabio Rivera went to streets within Regent Park to gauge thoughts from community members on its revitalization. Several residents, especially new residents of Regent Park, had positive feedback about the neighbourhood's revitalization however, there were also detractors. Andrew, a Regent Park resident, shared that he felt that the changes to the neighbourhood were a combination of both revitalization and gentrification. Andrew states: "We're building lots of condos but who's buying them. I was actually looking… to rent and it was like $2600 for a one bedroom [apartment]. It's a nice area now that it's revitalized, but I think it's definitely

TDSB Student Population by Ethno-racial Background
(2012 Parent Census: Kindergarten to Grade 12)
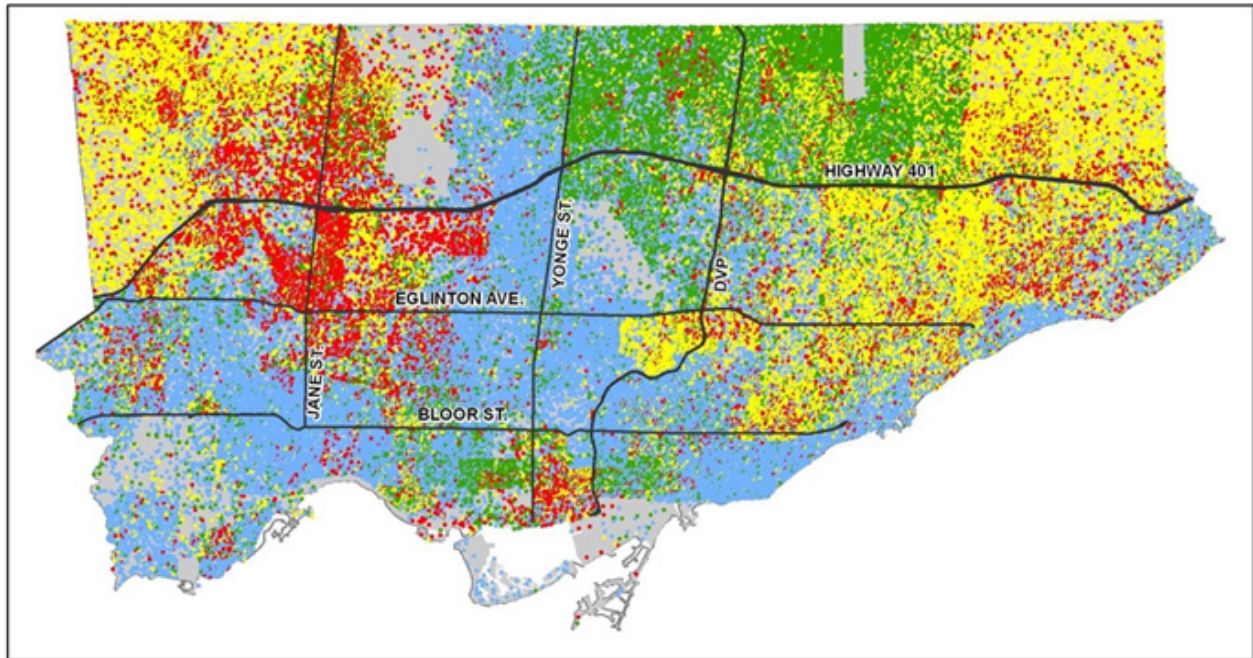
TDSB Student Population

1 Dot = 1 Student

- Black
- East Asian
- South Asian
- White
- Major Road

Date: 13/03/2013
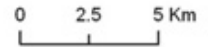
Produced by: Research and Information Services
Sources: TDSB Facilities Planning

0   2.5   5 Km

Poverty Rate | Median Household Income | Average Household Income
Median Individual Income | Average Individual Income | Population Density

Labels

Census tract average after-tax household income in 2020

- More than $115,000
- $100,000 to $115,000
- $90,000 to $100,000
- $75,000 to $90,000
- Less than $75,000
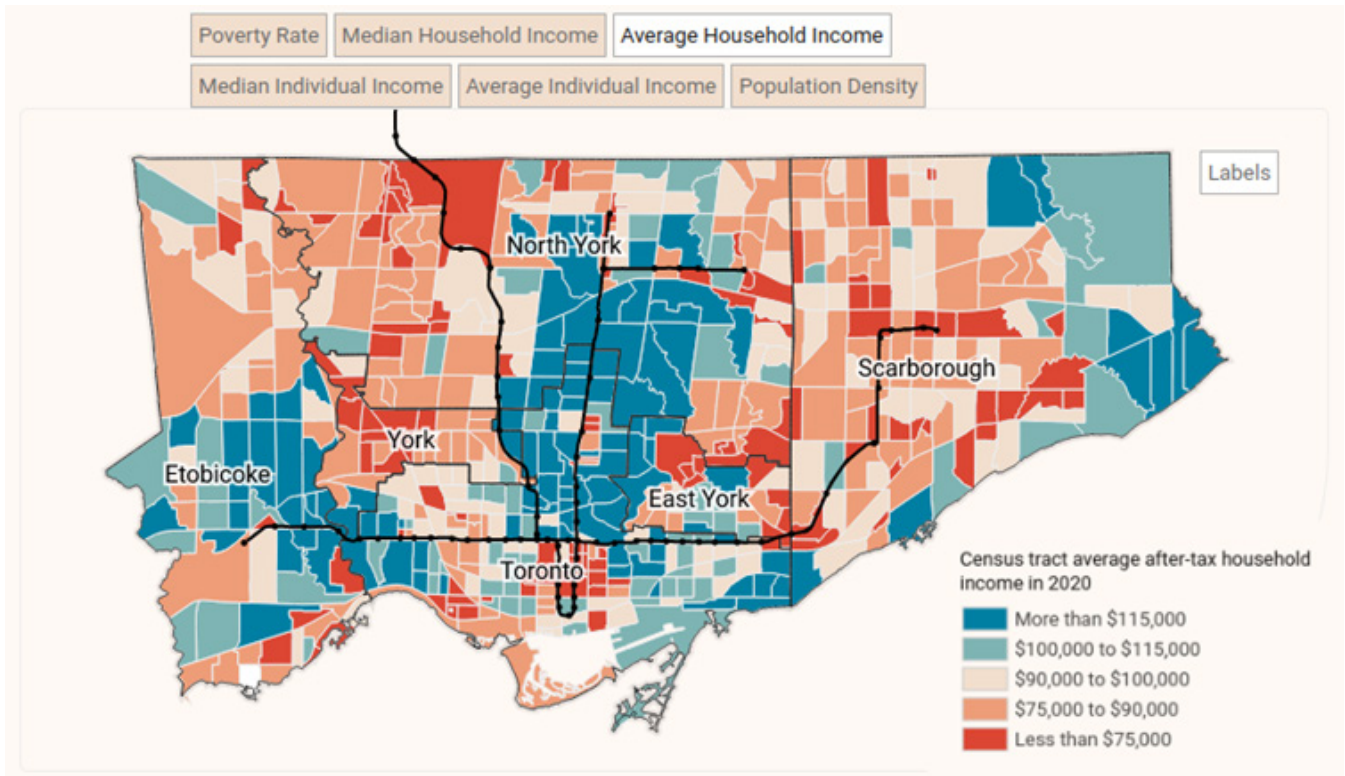
Figure 1 (top). Student Population by Ethno-racial Background in the region of Toronto (TDSB, 2013).
Figure 2 (bottom). 2020 of the Average Household Incomes in the region of Toronto (Allan, 2022).

gentrification too" (Regent Park TV, 2023). Workers in the area also spoke of the changes. Krysta shared with the interviewer: "I know that a lot of people have mixed feelings about what's been going on. I think it definitely feels a bit more on the gentrification side. I just feel like anywhere they put up giant expensive condos like this, you force the people that live here out because they can't afford to live here anymore, or you've torn down the building they used to live in, and that to me feels like gentrification" (Regent Park TV, 2023).

The implementation of green spaces here was not intended to benefit the low-income communities who inhabited Regent Park; instead, green gentrification occurred – the revitalization and aestheticization of a once degraded environment – which led to increased living costs and ultimately resulted in the displacement of the residents of the public housing project. To equitably include greenspaces within the city, it is imperative that all populations have access to these spaces ceaselessly. Equitable access to greenspace can never be achieved through green gentrification because while a gentrifying process inaugurates greenspaces, the population who initially lacked access is simultaneously being displaced, resulting in minimal interaction between the new greenspace and the old residents. (Quastel, 2009). While Regent Park was initially made to service low-income communities, its revitalization did not benefit its original population; instead, it created opportunities for the new and wealthy population that took over. This exemplifies how Regent Park's original low-income, racialized population experienced environmental racism as they were forced into displacement to make space for the wealthier and predominantly white population to take over and gain the environmental benefits of the revitalization.

The neglect of environmental maintenance in Toronto's Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town further demonstrates the environmental racism that exists in this city. The Jane-Finch Corridor is perhaps the most infamous and stigmatized Toronto intersection. Compared to other parts of the city, this area has significantly higher rates of crime, poverty, and unemployment. Anastasiya Romanska investigated the history of the Jane and Finch neighbourhood for a blogTO article. Prior to 1960, the land on which the Jane-Finch Corridor is situated today, existed as a small farming community until it was sold to developers (Romanska, 2021). Rapidly, this area became a suburb that was intended to act as a solution to Toronto's rapid growth: "The neighbourhood was built to accommodate a higher need population through low income and public housing. However, the government began failing this neighbourhood even in its early years. The [Ontario Housing Corporation] has been criticized for not thinking about the social infrastructure that would be needed to sustain such a community" (Romanska, 2021). The area quickly became known for its large population and high levels of pove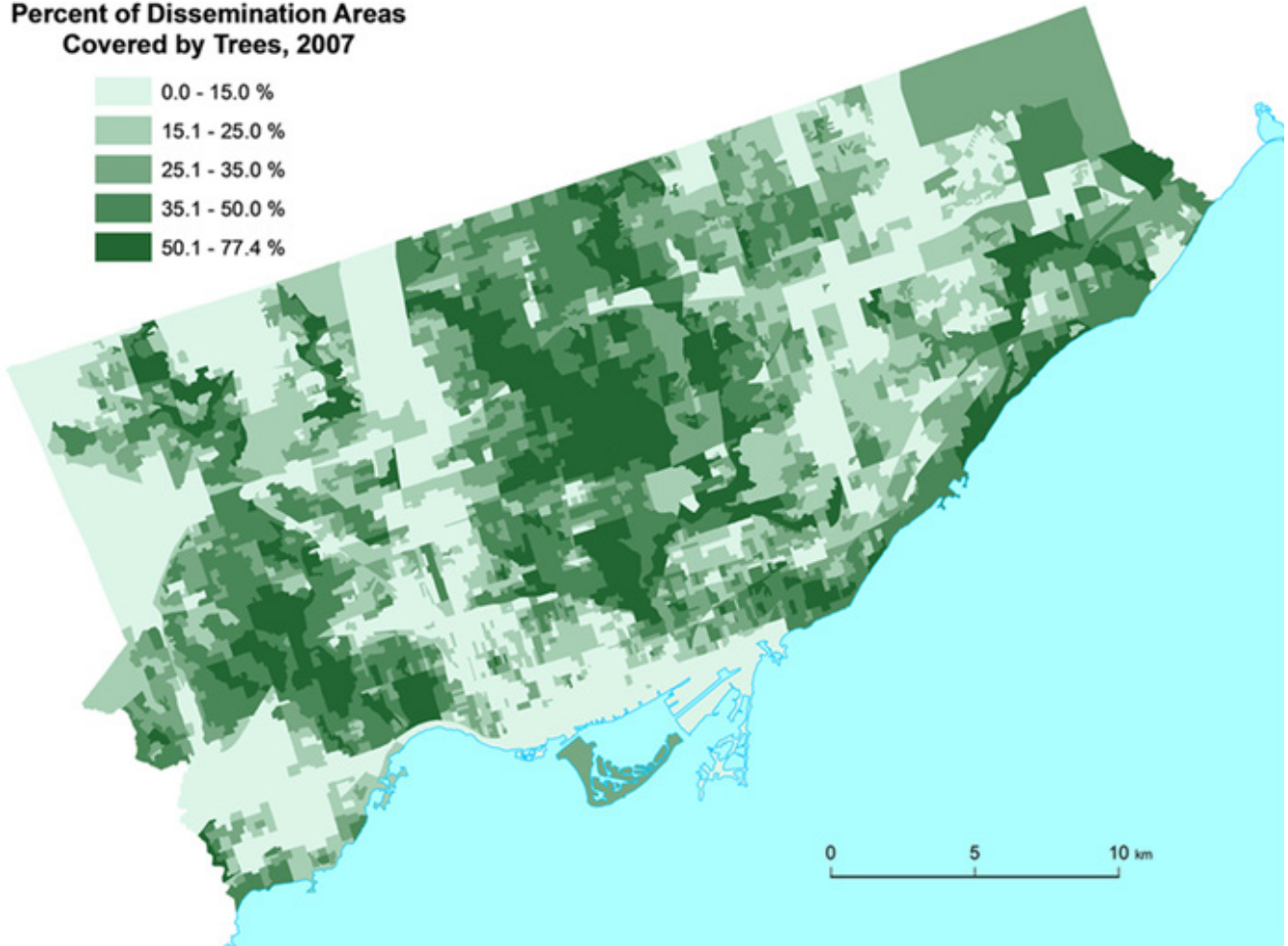rty, and developed a reputation for gangs, drugs, and criminal activity. St. James Town is another densely populated Torontonian neighbourhood that is situated downtown, marked by its 19 high-rise buildings. It is an area of low socioeconomic status and houses a large, racialized population. As shown in Figure 4, while St. James Town is recognized as a highly walkable area, it has the lowest number of parks per person in Toronto (Hassen et al., 2022). The community report, Park Perceptions & Racialized Realities in Two Toronto Neighbourhoods, explores the experiences of "racialized and Black, Indigenous and People of colour (BIPOC) in public greenspaces" within the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town (Hassen et al., 2022). Eighteen racialized photographers from the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town captured snapshots of the greenspaces in these two neighbourhoods, documenting issues of accessibility, safety, inclusivity, mental health, and wellbeing within their communities.

In the "Exclusion" section of this report, photographers voiced that "while the diversity in both the communities was largely understood as an asset and made residents feel like they belonged to these communities, resident photographers also voiced concerns about how they felt their neighbourhoods were targeted for neglect because of it" (Hassen et al., 2022). Residents spoke of how green spaces were largely unkept, and that the condition of greenspaces in their communities made them feel excluded and unwelcome: "Greenspaces in the community emit invisible signals to them that they are being subtly and intentionally excluded" (Hassen et al, 2022). Photos in this section include benches hidden under bushes and signs telling residents to stay off certain grass areas. The environmental racism that exists in the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town is evident through the government's neglect towards the maintenance of green spaces in these communities.

In the "Mental Health & Wellbeing" segment, residents emphasize the importance of greenspace to keep in good health. Especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, greenspaces held great importance in supporting mental health. As the majority of the residents of both neighbourhoods live in apartment buildings without backyard space or private greenspace, the pandemic caused a decline in mental health and well-being associated with this lack of access to the natural environment. Outdoor spaces in these neighbourhoods that do exist are appreciated, but the quantity is sparse. A resident of the St. James neighbourhood spoke about the impact of the lack of urban natures saying, "If you are living in an apartment at least when you look outside you (want to see) nature… they don't care for the mental health issue of people. When I see building building building building around me, it's a lot" (Hassen et al., 2022). The environmental racism that exists in the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town is evidenced by the government's lack of acknowledg-

**Percent of Dissemination Areas
Covered by Trees, 2007**

0.0 - 15.0 %
15.1 - 25.0 %
25.1 - 35.0 %
35.1 - 50.0 %
50.1 - 77.4 %

0   5   10 km

COMPARISON OF NEIGHBOURHOODS 6-11

North St. James Town	Black Creek Community	Glenfield-Jane Heights	City of Toronto

North St. James Town (SJT)
- : 44,321 people/km²
- : 6,497 m² of park area
- : 3.1 m² of park area/person

Black Creek Community (J+F N)
- : 6,282 people/km²
- : 405,563 m² of park area
- : 18.7 m² of park area/person

Glenfield-Jane Heights (J+F S)
- : 5,864 people/km²
- : 761,264 m² of park area
- : 24.9 m² of park area/person

City of Toronto
- : 4,150 people/km²
- : 8,086 ha of City-owned or operated parkland
- : 28m² of park area (including ravines and environmentally sensitive areas) /person

: Population density of approx. 5000 people/ km²
: Parkland distribution of approx. 5m² of park area/person

Note: The maps indicate accessible greenspace, which includes some non-park spaces.

Figure 3 (top). 2007 Distribution of Tree Coverage in the region of Toronto (Kardan et al., 2015).
Figure 4 (bottom). Relationship between the amount of people and parks within four neighbourhoods in Toronto (Hassen et al., 2022).

ment towards the provision of sufficient green spaces to these communities.

The community report section on "Rights to Play & Children's Recreation" states: "for the kids, greenspaces are a peace of mind" (Hassen et al., 2022). Unfortunately, the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town do not provide sufficient nor maintained green spaces for children to use. It is the residents of the community who have built green spaces for the children to use. For example, individuals of the community have bought and put-up basketball nets in public spaces as there has been a failure by the city of Toronto to create these amenities. One resident confirmed this issue: "it may not really be the most appropriate place or… the best location for that item to be added, but because people need that outlet to explore they do it in greenspaces" (Hassen et al., 2022). The lack of government support in constructing and maintaining outdoor recreational spaces in the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town demonstrates the purposeful neglect of these neighbourhoods by the local government as they prioritize high-income and less diverse neighbourhoods – further evidence of environmental racism. This directly correlates with the "Maintenance Inequities" section of the report which shows unkept public parks, broken basketball nets, and public garbage bins that are overflowing. One of the photographers took a trip to Cabbagetown – a wealthier neighbourhood adjacent to St. James Town – to photograph the state of the garbage bins there. Figure 5 shows the garbage bins in the Jane-Finch Corridor, and Figure 6 shows the bins in Cabbagetown. While garbage disposal in both areas is the responsibility of the municipality, St. James Town sees unmaintained and overflowing garbage disposal while Cabbagetown sees maintained garbage disposal. The disparity between the maintenance of garbage disposal within these two neighbourhoods demonstrates how the municipality takes better care of wealthier neighbourhoods and neglects to care for the needs of less wealthy neighbourhoods. This is evidence of the existence of environmental racism in the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town and clearly shows that the municipality does not prioritize low-income, mainly non-white communities, yet it prioritizes wealthier, largely white populations.

Residents of the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town indicate in the "Access and Accessibility" and "Safety" sections of the report that the greenspaces in their communities may feel welcoming however, they are neither safe nor accessible. Photos show unoccupied metal chairs with no proximity to shade: "especially during summer the chairs get hot due to the metal construction and during winter it gets cold. Also, there is dirt around it making it disgusting to use it" (Hassen et al., 2022). Other photos and commentary identify a lack of accessibility to greenspace locations as they are located on higher ground than the surrounding roads

and sidewalks, or are accessible only by stairs (Hassen et al., 2022). Residents speak about the seemingly constant construction in their neighbourhoods: "the construction seems very precarious... it just doesn't feel safe to just access this one hiking trail. On the way you see the signs, danger due to overhead wire and… there's a sense of foreboding" (Hassen et al., 2022). On an entry to a walking trail, where construction requires that pedestrians walk on the side of the road, a resident comments: "the idea of having to be looking for your safe place, to be looking for a greenspace, somewhere to decompress and unwind and you have to go through this to get there… it does seem a bit compromising" (Hassen et al., 2022). The lack of care given to the state of these neighbourhoods is palpable. The neglect of urban nature and greenspaces in these areas perpetuates a disregard for the well-being of the residents.

The cases of the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town demonstrate the blatant slow and structural violence that exists in Toronto. These two neighbourhoods suffer greatly from degraded and neglected environments. They lack constructive public and government attention, and as a result stay painted in a negative light that acts as a further driving force for their neglect. This is what Rob Nixon describes in his concept of slow violence: "a violence of delayed destruction that that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all" (Davies, 2022). Slow and structural violence often present themselves hand in hand as slow violence is routinely the result of structural violence. It is the social structure of Toronto, where there exists systemic class-based and racial discrimination that facilitates the environmental racism that occurs both in the Jane-Finch Corridor and St. James Town (Lee, 2019).

Addressing the issues of environmental racism and injustices that result from unequal development of urban natures and the lack of care given to greenspaces in low-income communities of colour, necessitates a shift towards community-centred approaches to green space creation and regeneration. Grassroots initiatives that prioritize bottom-up approaches are essential to revitalizing neglected communities without capitally exploiting these areas and expelling their residents. Policymaking and policy design is "fundamentally a knowledge-based endeavour involving a question of not just what we know but also how we know what we know, and how this knowledge is mobilized in and through policymaking" (Ritchie, 2020). It is the residents of a community that know their space best; they understand how it is used, how it functions, and how it can be best tended to and cared for. Direct engagement with residents of a community through community planning, consultations, and codesign processes will ensure that neighbourhood development and revitalization align with the current and future needs of

its residents. Grassroots projects – initiatives that originate at a local level driven by individuals or communities over larger organizations and governments – can include community gardens, local art installations, and community initiatives to promote environmental justice. These types of initiatives can empower residents and foster a sense of ownership and belonging (Torjman & Makhoul, 2012). Several initiatives are already visible in communities like the Jane-Finch Corridor, where community members bring in their own basketball nets into greenspaces to create a more welcoming environment. Of course, it should not be up to the residents of the communities alone to create change; provincial and municipal governments have a responsibility to create equitable urban living spaces that integrate nature and greenspaces throughout their jurisdictions. Regenerative initiatives should be community led and sufficient government funding will enable communities to be built to meet the needs of their residents. By fostering community-led development, Toronto can promote sustainable, equitable development while mitigating the negative impacts of environmental racism and injustices.

Toronto's unequal distribution of urban green spaces reflects historical and enduring environmental racism and injustices. The city struggles with the disproportionate impact of urban development and urban greenspace development on lower-class communities of colour. The distribution of tree cover is one that systemically favours wealthier whiter neighbourhoods. Gentrification and green gentrification have resulted in the displacement of low-income racialized communities, and a lack of revitalization illustrates their continued neglect. Government neglect in managing green spaces in lower-class communities of colour is a contributor to the environmental racism that continues to exist in Canada in present day. The Torontonian metropolis reveals a race and wealth divide that drives access to urban nature. Toronto is not the only city to experience these disparities as systemic racism and environmental injustice exist across the globe. However, as one of North America's largest urban centres, Toronto has a duty to confront its environmentally unjust practices. It has a duty to advocate for its own people and work with its most in need populations to build a city that prioritizes the well-being of all residents.

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Figure 5 (left). Garbage bins in the Jane-Finch corridor.

Figure 6 (right). Garbage bins in Cabbagetown.

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In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public life in Upper Canada

Book Review

Schonfeld, Samuel

Roberts, J. (2009). In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada. UBC Press.

Julia Roberts' book, In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada, explores the role of taverns in public life prior to confederation. The book examines taverns as a colonial public space and demonstrates how women, men, Black people, Indigenous people, and people of varied backgrounds interacted together and strove for a place (both a physical and societal place) in the public through taverns. Robert's purpose in writing the book was to re-examine taverns as a role player in shaping the colonial identity, and in so doing, write a more reflective historiography of their complex social dynamics. In essence, In Mixed Company convincingly argues that taverns shaped colonial identities by reinforcing and rejecting various societal norms and common interactions among Upper Canadians.

To start, Roberts revisits the spatial design of taverns to effectively argue that spatial design was used to preserve a degree of inclusivity that was appropriate for a tavern in the colonial context, and that it created a degree of social separation between classes (p. 13). The author effectively asserts this claim by demonstrating how "Donaldson [a tavern-keeper from Amherstburg, Upper Canada] dressed his tavern as he did his body" to purport an image of respectability and cleanliness. This image would be more attractive to drinking parties (p. 12). Furthermore, Roberts notes that Donaldson put his "most expensive" (p. 13) possession, "the £18 clock (which cost as much as his horse)" in his barroom (p. 13). This suggests that Donaldson "expected reasonable behaviour from soldiers and gentlemen alike" (p. 13). In addition, Roberts demonstrates how tavern designs in Upper Canada determined if it was a 'good public house' by using Ely Playter's and Elizabeth Simcoe's description of a tavern known as the "King's Head Inn" which was on "Burlington Bay" (p. 14). In Playter and Simcoe's tavern descriptions, 'good public houses' created physical division between different classes of society. Used in her work on taverns in Upper Canada, Roberts effectively argues that the spatial design of taverns brought people together through "rituals of mutual belonging over drink" (p. 13) while simultaneously physically separating different members of society in its (socio)-spatial design.

Roberts next convincingly demonstrates that taverns were meeting places for men and women, by investigating Ely Playter's – a tavern-keeper – writings to show how 'household' and 'tavern' life were intermingled. Roberts argues that because Playter was single and envious of married men, his writings and descriptions of his tavern give insight into the interactions of men and women in taverns (p. 40), ultimately revealing that taverns offered the possibility for men and women to interact (p. 39). She argues that Playter's tavern had a "good design" compared to its class division, which worked to dismantle the boundaries between men and women and therefore between tavern and household life (p. 42). She also asserts that "Playter's inclusive language indicates that women were integrated into the pleasure-seeking group's tavern going" (p. 45) which shows how women were not solely involved in the domestic sphere of taverns. However, Roberts maintains that men remained the dominant group frequenting the tavern. In essence, her examination of Ely Playter's journal concretely demonstrates that taverns operated as public spaces in which men maintained precedence, but that taverns also offered women a space to operate in the public sphere as well.

In terms of more 'formal' affairs, by showing how taverns were important meeting places to discuss various affairs, Roberts diligently suggests that taverns were "valuable public spaces" for people to congregate and that they were "indispensable" for all orders of society (p. 57). Indeed, to prove the increasing importance of taverns as a public space for settler-colonials, Roberts uses a graph to show how the "ratio of Upper Canadian taverns to population" increased gradually between 1801 and 1847 despite the Women's Christian Temperance Movement slowly gaining momentum (p. 59). She also shows that taverns were important because they "were informal courts of public opinion" (p. 75) in which private matters could be made public. For instance, Roberts draws on newspapers – such as the Kingston Chronicle and the Brockville Recorder as well as many others – to show how taverns were useful places of congregation for "discussion and debate" about private and public affairs (p. 73). In the end, Roberts accurately shows how taverns were central to colonial society as they fostered courts of public opinion and debates in a time when other institutions could not.

However, Roberts asserts that there were unwritten rules, rituals, and customs which shaped and governed how interactions and drinking in taverns worked as she examines accounts of tavern-goers. The author notes that based on some of the accounts of tavern patrons, "forms of disordered" behaviour threatened the "cohesiveness" of public houses, and that to prevent these forms of disorder, rules and laws were upheld by tavern-goers (p. 78). Roberts writes that it was these rules and regulations which allowed tavern-goers to drink and unite at taverns while not consuming alcohol at a rate that would render them disorderly. Furthermore, although fights were discouraged, Roberts notes that it was customary to continue any altercation outside the tavern to avoid disrupting the other tavern-goers. She notes that there were certain signals to express the desire to fight (p. 99). Accounts also revealed that, choice of "drink emerges as a symbol" for it served to create social bonds between social classes (p. 86). Indeed, a shared drink represented the creation of a friendship, "a reconciliation with an enemy, a squib with an old acquaintance" (p. 86), and a bond between those of

separate social classes. By showing how tavern-goers held each other accountable and how drinking in taverns created bonds across social classes, Roberts convincingly proves that taverns fostered a place of cohesiveness because of the customs which regulated disorderly behaviour. Despite the compelling argument in this chapter, it is odd that this is the first chapter which emphasizes the role of the actual drink in taverns, because the primary (contemporary) purpose of 'taverns' is to have a drink. This therefore reinforces the historical role that taverns played in shaping colonial identities.

In the next chapter, Roberts revisits tavern archives and patron accounts to show how taverns served as a public space for racial boundaries to be relaxed, and to create a "sense of mutual belonging" – but, that they also upheld racial contestation for space (p. 102). The author claims that there is evidence of "a mixed tavern public" as she writes that "Natives met [with others]" (p. 102) at taverns, and that Black people met and "celebrated Emancipation Day [with whites]" (p. 111). However, Roberts does not make a convincing argument that African Americans and Indigenous people were equally or freely involved in public tavern life as she cites evidence that taverns that did allow Black and Indigenous patrons entry were attacked (p. 117). Although Roberts proves that taverns facilitated interactions between white colonials, Indigenous people, and Black people, the evidence suggests that the place of African American and Indigenous people in taverns was inconsistent, and therefore that taverns could be racially exclusive. Furthermore, Roberts' examination of religious cohabitation and confrontation in the chapter detracts from the point she makes – that taverns were places of mixed company[1].

Later, Roberts investigates Harry Jones, a Crown Land agent and a regular tavern-goer, and his 'cronies' to challenge the historical narrative that churches were the only places of culture and respectability. She does so by examining Jones' accounts to suggest that taverns were integral in every-day life for "'white, male, and middle-class'" people to meet and interact (p.120) and that "tavern going" was socially imagined alongside "respectable men and women" (p. 121). The author reiterates that 'respectable' people went to taverns by noting that "Walter and Frank Shanley, professional civil engineers," went to a tavern in "Port Robinson" (p. 123). Furthermore, Roberts notes that Jones bought "good wine, good dinners, and cigars and billiards" which symbolized that he was a 'respectable' individual (p. 125). However, Roberts notes of Jones' requirement for "social separation," demonstrating again that taverns created division between people along class, race, and gender lines (p. 127). In other words, taverns provided "group identification among the respectability

as much as they ever did among 'the rough'" (p. 137), cementing their role in perpetuating colonial identities.

By examining a variety of sources, Roberts effectively reorientates our understanding of how taverns facilitated social mobility as she challenges the notion that taverns were merely places of drink. She claims that "more ladies and working women […] negotiated a respectable place in public space and coped with the stringent new gender norms of the middle of the nineteenth century" (p. 137). What is unique about this chapter is that Roberts denounces "the ideology of separate spheres" as she argues that women took part in the public and private life of taverns (p. 139). While she notes that "travelling ladies […] demanded class- and gender-specific services when they frequented public houses" (p. 143) and that there were specific places for women in taverns – "inside the ladies' parlour" (p. 145) – she also recognizes that women ate with their families, interacted with other tavern-goers, and worked in taverns. For instance, Roberts describes how Mary Reid Strickland, a "gentlewoman," engaged in drink and tavern ritual with a male stranger who had been watching her baby while she was gone to show how women interacted with members of other social orders in taverns (p. 147). Women also comprised much of the domestic tavern life. Although most women did not own taverns, Roberts claims that they were valuable tavern-keepers who played a role in everyday tavern life: "Mrs Reid is an active person and manages the business of the tavern'" (154). In essence, Roberts proves that spaces like the parlour and interactions between women and tavern-goers, whether they were by association or tavern service, illustrate that women shaped the material and social settings of taverns, and that taverns allowed women, in exception to gender barriers, to interact and shape public life.

Despite the fact that In Mixed Company makes a convincing argument that taverns played a central role in the configuration of everyday public life in Upper Canada, the book is not without flaw. First, while Roberts shows how taverns, from various lenses, reflect the diversity of Upper Canada which broke down some barriers, her suggestion that Black people and Indigenous people were included in tavern life is challenged by the fact that taverns did not consistently accept racialized people in the same way that white settler colonials could experience these spaces. However, Roberts still manages to demonstrate that Black and Indigenous people were afforded opportunity to access taverns when taverns rejected social boundaries and norms. Second, the logical progression of the book is at times confusing. The first chapter investigates the material setting of taverns – which is to be expected – but it is not until the fourth chapter that the influence

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[1] While 'in mixed company' can colloquially be understood as a situation with a group where certain behaviour would be especially rude, Roberts and I suggest this term as its original definition of a group of individuals comprising of varied class, sex, profession, education, etc.

of drink in the social interactions in public houses is discussed. Yet, the final chapter on the role of women in taverns compensates for these minor hiccups as it offers a refreshing historiographical alternative to the preconception that white men were the only tavern-goers. Her argument that women shaped the material, domestic and public setting of colonial Upper Canada through taverns reveals that women played a more profound role in public life in the colonial era despite the gender boundaries that existed.

Overall, In Mixed Company convincingly argues that taverns in Upper Canada shaped settler colonials' identities based on reinforced (and some rejection) of social divisions and interactions in society. Tavern histories are therefore re-written in this book as playing an important and substantial role in the development of colonial identities in Upper Canada.

Racial and Spatial Dynamics of School Choice

A Critical Analysis of Financialization in Detroit

Sun, Sharon

ABSTRACT

This paper examines how the increasing presence of financialization in the public education sector reshapes the delivery of education to provide investor returns. More specifically, this paper will examine the effects of for-profit charter schooling on racial segregation and the spatial dynamics of school choice in Detroit, Michigan, including effects on racialized students, communities, and public education landscapes at large. The analysis underscores the significance of racial and spatial dynamics in shaping Detroit's educational landscape, emphasizing that financial dimensions alone do not provide a comprehensive picture of education infrastructures. Through this analysis, it becomes evident that acknowledging racial and spatial nuances is critical to understanding how financialization reshapes education markets and the urban context of school choice.

OVERVIEW OF SCHOOL CHOICE

Charter schools are publicly funded, independently owned K-12 education providers that have operated since the 1990s (Ladd, 2022). Managed by privately held organizations (charters), schools receive public funding on a per-student enrollment basis. Due to their private ownership, charter schools exercise a heightened degree of control over their educational planning, including the ability to hire non-unionized teachers, integrate special academic offerings, and create autonomous education curricula (Fischler & Claybourn, 2023). Schools are offered tuition-free to students who typically enroll on a lottery basis. Per-pupil funding allows marketized forces, as opposed to centralized state planning, to shape the allocation of funds for public education — causing underperforming schools to close and compelling private charters to open competitors (Jason, 2017). Students are encouraged to exercise the policy of "interdistrict enrollment," allowing them to choose to enroll in a charter over their otherwise assigned neighbourhood public school (Cohen, 2023b). Notably, charters are not required to provide transportation.

Within this free-market structure, public schools experiencing an outflow of students will also lose a portion of their funding if students choose to leave. To assist charter schools with start-up costs when they have zero students enrolled, the federal government provides a $440 million yearly nationwide grant for schools across the country (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, 2023).

Michigan exercises some of the most open free-market charter policies in America, owned by a combination of nonprofits, for-profit companies, and educational management organizations (Cohen, 2023b). Around 10% of Michigan's public school students, about 150,000 students, attend approximately 370 charter schools mainly located in urban centers, such as metropolitan Detroit (Levin, 2023a). Michigan's policies permit students to opt-out of their neighbourhood-assigned public school and enroll in for-profit charter schools utilizing the policy of interdistrict enrollment, predominantly through application-based lottery admissions (Fischler & Claybourn, 2023).

DESCRIPTION OF MARKETIZATION PROCESSES

Originally intended to bridge the gap in education for low income students, charters were created with the purpose of offering alternative education options outside of regionally designated public schools. Many pro-charter advocate groups have described the provision of school choice as a form of justice (Jason, 2017), granting youth access to "higher quality and less segregated school options than their residentially assigned school" (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). Since the 1990s, enrollment in the United States has grown to 7% of all public school students, which encompasses around 3.7 million students nationwide (Fischler & Claybourn, 2023).

Historically, state governments and local school districts share responsibility to fund and operate public schools. Typically, state governments set curriculum frameworks and methods of funding, but delegate local school districts (composed of elected school boards) to allocate expenditures and oversee operations (Ladd, 2022). Charter schools may work with local school boards to develop curriculums, but their expenditures are largely subject to private discretion, bypassing the input of community planners. To maintain funding, charter schools must meet annual standardized testing requirements, often in math and reading; otherwise, underperforming schools may face closure (Fischler & Claybourn, 2023). Charters typically require an application of interest from students, but conduct admissions through a lottery system (Cohen, 2023b). A marketized education structure is purportedly intended to incentivize overall improvements in education through fostering competition between schools for funding, thus ensuring the continual optimization of education delivery.

Private interests also play a role in the expansion and operational aspects of charters. Around 80% of Michigan's charter schools are run by for-profit institutions (Kaminski, 2023). Contrary to other states, some of which only have 1 charter, Michigan has around 45 independently operating charters (Gordon, 2017). While there was an inceptive cap on the number of charters in the state, the limit has since been abolished to authorize additional schools to open in the metropolitan Detroit area (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). Some charters run their own real estate divisions, enabling them to acquire properties and rent buildings to their own schools. In the case of ACCEL Schools, a national charter school management organization, operating schools in Michigan was lucrative enough to garner investment from Safanad Limited, an investment firm with Saudi Arabian ties from Dubai (Kaminski, 2023). Many charters either accept donations or are funded by high net-worth individuals. Betsy DeVos, former U.S. Secretary of Education and described as the "godmother of school choice" (Jason, 2017) has been one of the primary financial contributors to Detroit's charter schools, personally investing millions of dollars through the DeVos family foundation. Due to their private ownership, charter schools are under little obligation to disclose their financial activities.

Within the marketization process, students are effectively traded or "acquired" on the market, with each pupil holding a monetary value in funding inflow. Students themselves are also "shopping" for the commodity of education; each pupil becomes a profit-making

opportunity for private actors, who in turn provide social security.

THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF CHOICE

Detroit's approximate 100,000 public school students are widely dispersed across a combination of charters, conventional neighbourhood schools, and application-based institutions (Levin, 2023b). As of 2023, nearly 50% of Detroit public school students attend charter schools, a significantly higher proportion than other urban centers (Levin, 2023a). Within the Detroit Public Schools Community District, Michigan's largest public education system, nearly 59.1% of students are economically disadvantaged (US News, 2023). The racial geography of Detroit is highly residentially segregated: over 80% of Detroit students living in urban areas are racialized, while 60% of suburban students are White (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022).

Since their inception, charter schools have been steeped in a political (and bipartisan) battleground. Initially driven by Republican advocates, in recent years, Republican and Democratic parties alike have swayed in both directions on the federal and state level (Levin, 2023a). The nexus of the debate revolves around the role of financialization in balancing the dual forces of public accountability and private efficiency in education (Jason, 2017). Charter schools, being independent and privately held, are believed to innovate and adapt more effectively than bureaucratic public governance, encouraging overall improvement in education services through market competition — in essence, proving the need to replace a "bureaucratic quasi monopoly with a competitive marketplace" (Jason, 2017). Proponents argue that charter schools reduce existing inequalities by providing interdistrict mobility as an alternative to otherwise underperforming public neighborhood schools, serving a self-selected pathway out of a "one-size-fits-all" education (Levin, 2023a). Advocates cite financialization as a key factor in improving educational access and fostering sustainable competition.

Financialization, which encompasses the increasing prevalence of financial motives and market mechanisms within the public school sector, including market actors such as private equity and venture capital firms, has immense capacity to bring all-around educational benefits (Investopedia, 2021). Financialization can enable charter schools to access capital inflows more readily through avenues of private investment, which can subsequently be mobilized towards facility improvement, technology infrastructure, or program expansion, potentially leading to improved educational outcomes (Fischler & Claybourn, 2023). Quality of education is partially characterized by continual evolution and responsiveness to societal changes; therefore, financialization provides schools with the necessary capital and autonomy to adapt their curricula in accordance with shifting societal norms. The need for profit-making may incentivize charters to allocate resources more efficiently and innovate their pedagogy in order to attract further rounds of investment; this, of course, relies on the assumption that financially optimized education processes are simultaneously the most beneficial to students.

There are certainly concerns that arise about the influence of profit motives reshaping the education sector. Historically, numerous pro-charter politicians have also had significant personal investments in charter organizations, raising concerns about conflicts of interest. Pro-charter organizations engaging in debates often receive funding from private sources; for example, the 2016 Massachusetts battle between anti-charter expansion groups and pro-charter group "Great Schools (Yes on 2)," which was funded by the Walton Family and former New York mayor Michael Bloomberg (Jason, 2017). Yes on 2 contended that students should have the "ability to choose their education, and teachers should have the freedom to innovate" (Jason, 2017). Both parties collectively invested $33 million in one of the most substantial ballot-item campaigns in the state's history (Jason, 2017). The National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, one of the largest American pro-charter advocacy groups, is supported by the Walton Foundation, Doris & Donald Fisher Fund, and the Bill & Melinda Gates foundation (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, 2023).

Detroit anti-charter advocates, including teacher's unions, parental committees, and local school boards, argue that when free market policies spur students to leave their neighbourhoods in favour of privatized charters, the funding that is subsequently removed from community investment spurs a further cycle of decline (Jason, 2017). Charters typically do not provide transportation, free lunches, or other transitory accommodations; as a result, social reproductive activities are largely placed on families, further reinforcing existing spatial constraints (Cohen, 2023a). When students equipped with sufficient resources leave for better schools, the most vulnerable youth unable to leave are trapped in failing schools, actively deepening a perpetual cycle of poverty. Wealthier students leave for higher performing schools, while economically disadvantaged youth are left behind (Ladd, 2022). The "backpack funding" policy in Michigan, where attendance in charter schools comes at the direct expense of traditional neighbourhood public schools, particularly disadvantages economically vulnerable (and overwhelmingly racialized) students.

Given Detroit's segregated racial geography, anti-charter advocates assert these policies contribute to increased racial segregation and urban isolation. Racialized urban youth leaving for schools in predominantly White suburbs can lead to further cycles of disin-

vestment and racial separation in urban centers (Ladd, 2022). Additionally, critics point out that for-profit motives not only actively de-incentivize charters from providing transportation, but drive them to avoid accepting "higher cost" pupils, such as students with special needs, non-English speaking students, or those hailing from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, all of which are more expensive to educate (Levin, 2023b). Josh Cowen, professor of education policy at Michigan State University, stated that "there are substantial amounts of money being made, and it's being made almost entirely within our disproportionately at-risk and vulnerable communities" (Kaminski, 2023).

Anti-charter advocates also raise the issues of test scores being the primary accountability standard when charters "live or die" by test scores, depending on performance within standardized testing frameworks to remain open (Fischler & Claybourn, 2023). Charter schools prioritize math and reading (relevant testing subjects) over other topics such as science, economics, music, history, and other subjects de-prioritized by testing frameworks, dramatically altering the delivery of education and allocation of resources to generate investor cash flows (Ladd, 2022). This monolithic metric of success may result in the homogenization of learning, as the increasing emphasis on profitability underscores primary learning incentives (Cohen, 2023a). Due to the emphasis on testing, charter schools have also been accused of having higher suspension and expulsion rates from no-tolerance policies for students who fail to meet schooling requirements (Ladd, 2022).

Lastly, critics take issue with the lack of transparency; despite being funded by public dollars, charters have little obligation to disclose their financial spending to public stakeholders (Kaminski, 2023). Charters are able to bypass normal regulatory constraints, such as negotiations with the teacher's union, to hire and lay off teachers regardless of potential disruptions to student learning.

Currently, there are numerous legislative arguments both for and against charter proliferation. In 2022, President Biden's government attempted to unsuccessfully pass the "Build Back Better" plan, which aimed to decrease federal funding for profit-oriented charters (Ladd, 2022). In 2023, Senator Rosemary Bayer of Michigan introduced a bill to increase transparency requirements for charters spending public dollars (Kaminski, 2023). While there is a push for transparency, there seems to be no cuts to charter funding in sight. In the year of 2023, the Michigan legislature reversed a 20% cut to virtual charter schools (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, 2023). Michigan's charter schools will collect up to $1.5 billion in overall public funding in 2023 (Kaminski, 2023).

ANALYSIS OF MARKETIZATION

School choice is fundamentally denominated by socio-spatial factors. Detroit is characterized by complex racial geography connected to an intricate history of racial segregation, suburbanization, and school district redlining (Nickson, 2020). Suburbanization, referring to the process by which people and businesses have migrated from the city's urban core into surrounding suburban areas, holds particular significance. Factors such as the availability of affordable housing, expansion of the automobile industry, and racial tensions contributed to the outward migration of residents from the city to the suburbs; historically, discriminatory housing practices such as redlining and restrictive covenants prevented racialized residents from purchasing homes in suburban areas, leading to the concentration of poverty and racial segregation in the city (Nickson, 2020). All of these aspects are affected by financialization.

Charters operate under the basis of neoliberal education reforms, which emphasize free-market principles and market-driven allocation to address underperforming schools. Neoliberalism, as a core economic and political ideology, relies on the key assumptions of perfect information, individual rationality, and unobstructed access to schooling markets (Nickson, 2020). Within the racially and spatially stratified environment of Detroit, a strictly neoliberalist framework overlooks the reality of socio-spatial constraints, predominantly affecting racialized communities, and subsequent distortions to market dynamics.

The Racial and Spatial Geography of School Choice

According to a study conducted at Wayne State University, Detroit parents choose schools in a landscape that is denominated by "political economy, geography, and policy — each of which are racialized" (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). Racial minorities are more likely to reside in impoverished and racially segregated schooling districts, with comparatively limited access to transportation and socioeconomic opportunities (Bierbaum et al., 2020). For Detroit's 80% racialized urban students, this concept has strong implications. Charter schools may design a system promoting free choice, but they seldom provide adequate resources to fully access the market (ex. transportation) (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). For many economically disadvantaged (or racialized) students seeking to enroll, this choice is logistically impossible.

A 2022 study found that Detroit public district schools had disproportionately more students in "deep poverty" (less than $15,000 in family income) (Levin, 2023b). Overall, 49% of students attending Detroit neighbourhood schools were experiencing "deep poverty," as opposed to 31% of Detroit charter school students (Levin, 2023b). One study of National Heritage

Academies, a for-profit charter association in Detroit, found that students who benefited most from attending their schools had higher incomes, stronger parental support, and lived outside urban centers (Levin, 2023b). As a result of discriminatory policies and historically uneven economic development, school choice policies have the potential to "create educational marketplaces in racially and spatially unequal contexts" (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022), further exacerbating areas of urban isolation.

Signaling Whiteness as Social Capital

Chartered schools are driven by financialization to strategically compete for student enrollment and maintain financial solvency. According to two 2016 studies published in the Peabody Journal of Education, charter schools may engage in racialized recruitment processes (Hernandez, 2016; Wilson & Carlsen, 2016). Certain language and images in adverts may "implicitly (or explicitly) signal which racial groups they (schools) are seeking to attract" (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022), such as through the provision of English-only informational sessions, emphasizing a lack of infrastructure for economically disadvantaged students, lack of advertising in non-target areas, or an intentional choice to withhold transportation (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). Due to these functional barriers, charter schools enroll less than their proportional share of high-needs students; subsequently, traditional public schools are forced to serve greater concentrations of them, many of whom require specialized accommodations (Ladd, 2022). Coupled with the loss of funding associated with the outflow of students, the outcome is likely to be an overall reduced quality of education (Ladd, 2022). All of these factors skew towards advancing economically stable, opportunistic students who are also less expensive to educate; oftentimes, hailing from non-racialized backgrounds.

In a racially stratified selection space, Whiteness is viewed as a form of social capital, contributing to the racial construction of place. Families engage in racialized placemaking on the basis of Whiteness as a social indicator. Policy discussion surrounding charters tends to focus on the migration of racialized students, overlooking the simultaneous migration of White families within chartered geographies.

In reality, studies indicate that racialized and economically disadvantaged students disproportionately enroll in charters, accompanied by an increasing outflow of White students into other open enrollment districts (Ladd, 2022). White families may use racial composition, socio economic indicators, and other racialized signifiers to identify school quality, leading to biases where schools with higher proportions of Black and Hispanic students are perceived as lower quality (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). Much of ongoing racial clustering is driven by White parents moving their children to even Whiter schools, rather than urban racialized youth integrating into White charter districts. Simultaneously, racialized parents may potentially fear racial discrimination at less racially integrated schools, thus choosing to self-select out of the charter system (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). Families' schooling choices are fundamentally influenced by existing racial geographies.

Effects on Racial Segregation and Racial Isolation

When racialized students seek to leverage school choice, they become financial sites of accumulation for profit-making charters. Each year, an estimated $110 million in revenue flows out from predominantly Black urban centers into majority-white suburban charters (Cohen, 2023b). As students enroll in charter schools, they move funding away from their home districts, while remaining largely constrained to racially segregated options, albeit in different schooling districts (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022).

A 2022 study (Figure 1) illustrates how the enrollment choices of Detroit charter students are differentiated by racial demographics. With an already segregated residential population, the large majority of Detroit residents leaving for charters reflect Black students' exit into suburban schooling areas, while patterns for students of other demographics mirror the racial clustering initially present in their neighbourhood of origin. The enrollment patterns of students highlight the influence of racial geography upon circumscribing school choice. Black students in particular are highly concentrated in a limited number of suburban districts; they also face the greatest level of racial isolation and lowest level of school quality (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022).

Non-Black students overwhelmingly exit to suburban districts close to where they live in Detroit, which largely contain same-race residential populations (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). As indicated by the bar graph below, students on average typically exit to schools which have a larger proportion of same-race students (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). A handful of suburban charter schools attract students from specific racial or socio-economic backgrounds; in doing so, the movement of students caused by charter policies potentially contributes to increased levels of racial homogeneity.

Suburban schools near Detroit financially profit off the enrollment of charter students that are largely bound by spatial constraints; meanwhile, students engaging in interdistrict enrollment may not receive the benefits of racial integration, broader social networks, nor diverse learning environments (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022). A 2017 Associated Press report found that charter schools were among the "nation's most segregated," with over-representation among schools where "minorities study in the most extreme racial isolation" (1,000+ of the nation's ~7,000) (Moreno et al.). On a national level, a 20-year study indicated that charter schools contrib-
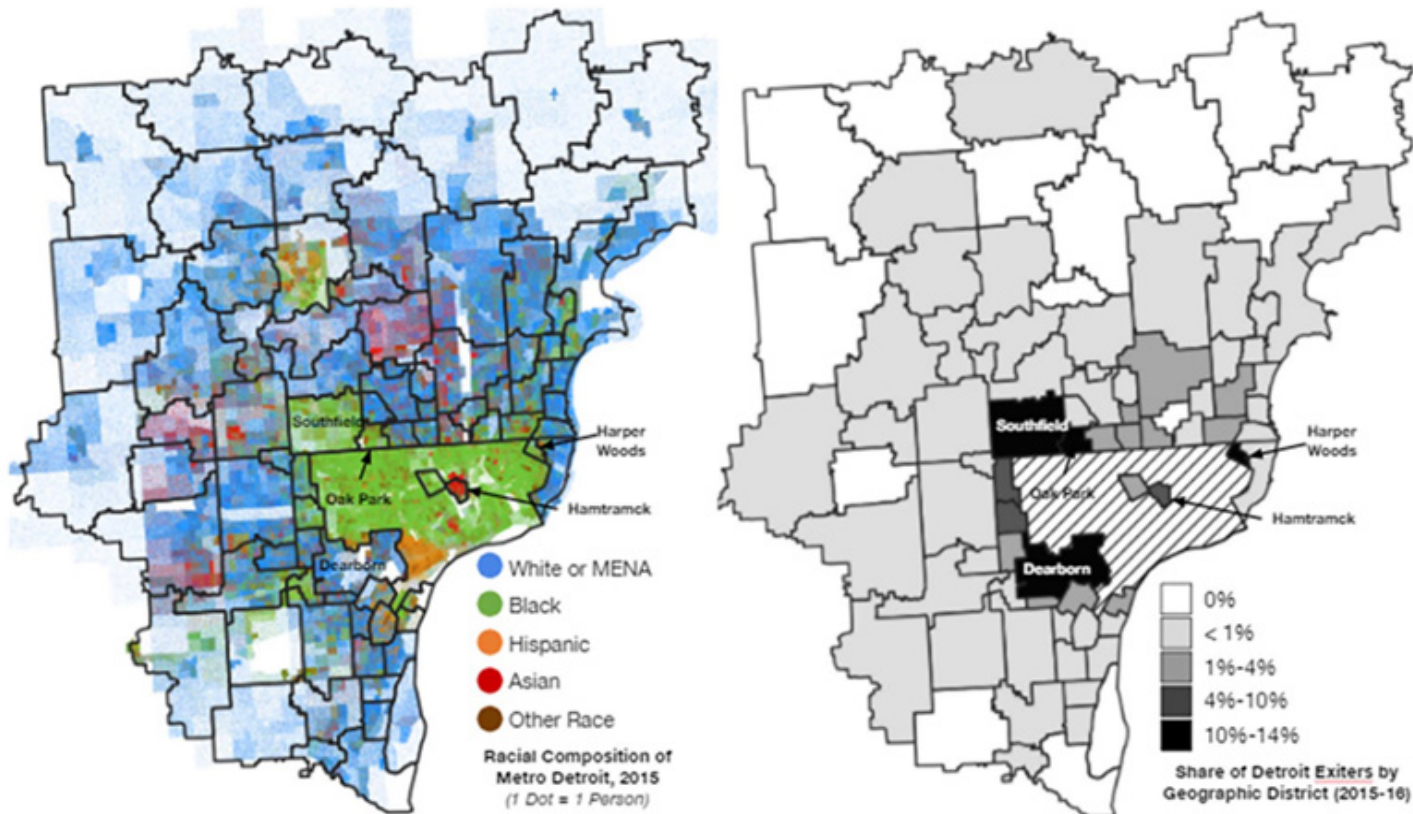
Figure 1. Racial composition of metropolitan Detroit and concentration of Detroit Exiters. Reprinted from "Race, Geography, and School Choice Policy: A Critical Analysis of Detroit Students' Suburban School Choices," by J. Singer and S. Lenhoff, 2022, AERA Open, Volume 8, pp. 7. Copyright 2022 by J. Singer and S. Lenhoff.

uted about 6% to the level of school segregation in the average district. (Ladd, 2022).

Contradictory Dynamics of Financialization

When financialization comes to dominate education providers, schools are actively encouraged to operate in a manner which may fundamentally contradict the best interests of the community (Ladd, 2022). With the absence of transportation or other accommodations to support the needs of racialized students, social reproduction activities are passed onto families (Cohen, 2023a). This cycle creates a troubling loop of disinvestment in communities, particularly affecting racialized students who often lack the necessary financial capital and time to navigate alternative education options. Merely offering school choice does not adequately address the socio-spatial challenges associated with Detroit's racial stratification.

With students transformed into sites for financial speculation, charters have little incentive to cater to the needs of those who are less profitable, or engage in other activities which may derail their profits, such as enrolling special needs students, cooperating with one another, or re-investing sources into traditional public schools (Ladd, 2022). In many ways, it can be argued the operation of Detroit's for-profit charter schools is a classic example of racial capitalism: charter schools profit off of existing racial and spatial inequalities that drive students to partake in their services, while actively

worsening the aforementioned inequities by absorbing regional funding (Cohen, 2023b).

In the broader context, charters fundamentally operate with a neoliberal policy framework that places both choices and responsibilities into the hands of students and their families rather than institutions. Advocacy for charter schools as a solution to systemic inequality can divert political attention and resources from the fundamental challenge of ensuring quality education for all students, particularly those who are racialized and economically disadvantaged (Ladd, 2022). The lack of financial incentives for collaboration among individual charter schools or with district policy makers further results in an oversupply of school facilities, closures, and the loss of community gathering spaces (Ladd, 2022).

Neoliberalism, as reflected in the charter school model, places a disproportionate burden on students and their families, framing education as a personal investment rather than a societal obligation. This perspective not only overlooks the systemic barriers that exist within Detroit's urban panorama, but an emphasis on individual responsibility obscures the critical role that policymakers play in shaping the educational landscape. Charters can cause significant disruption towards education policymakers in terms of their ability to strategize long-term improvements, such as teacher allocations, program development, and facility enhance-

ments (Ladd, 2022). Due to the constant influx and outflow of students, policymakers are hard-pressed to plan accordingly with unstable student populations.

Schools play multifaceted roles in communities, extending beyond their primary functions as educational institutions. They often serve as essential community hubs, acting as cultural centers, places of connection, and catalysts for civic engagement (Cohen, 2023a). Financialization, influenced by the underlying principles of neoliberal education reform, can fracture the social fabric traditionally woven by schools. The erosion of communal gathering spaces within educational institutions poses significant challenges for community members seeking avenues of connection and engagement, being reparticularly detrimental in areas already grappling with economic challenges and racial obstruction (Cohen, 2023a).

CONCLUSION

Free market policies introduce a layer of competition rather than collaboration amongst schools; instead of fostering collaboration to address systemic issues, schools may be forced to prioritize individual success (Ladd, 2022). This not only disrupts the delivery of social reproductive activities in the form of education, but also hampers the broad social functions that schools traditionally fulfill (Cohen, 2023a). Instead of addressing the root causes of educational inequality, the promotion of charter schools as a panacea can inadvertently reproduce existing gaps through the interaction of "supply" and "demand" dynamics (Singer & Lenhoff, 2022).

Financialization and market forces may accelerate the stratification between schools as marginalized children become avenues of financial accumulation. (Cohen, 2023a). The interplay between financialization and racial disparities in Detroit public education underscores the need for comprehensive policy reforms. The primary goal of this commentary is to elucidate the importance of understanding racial and spatial disparities in the broader holistic landscape and far-reaching impact of education markets. As education increasingly becomes a site of financial speculation, further investigation is needed to prioritize community interests and prevent a cycle of continued disinvestment in Detroit's urban centers.
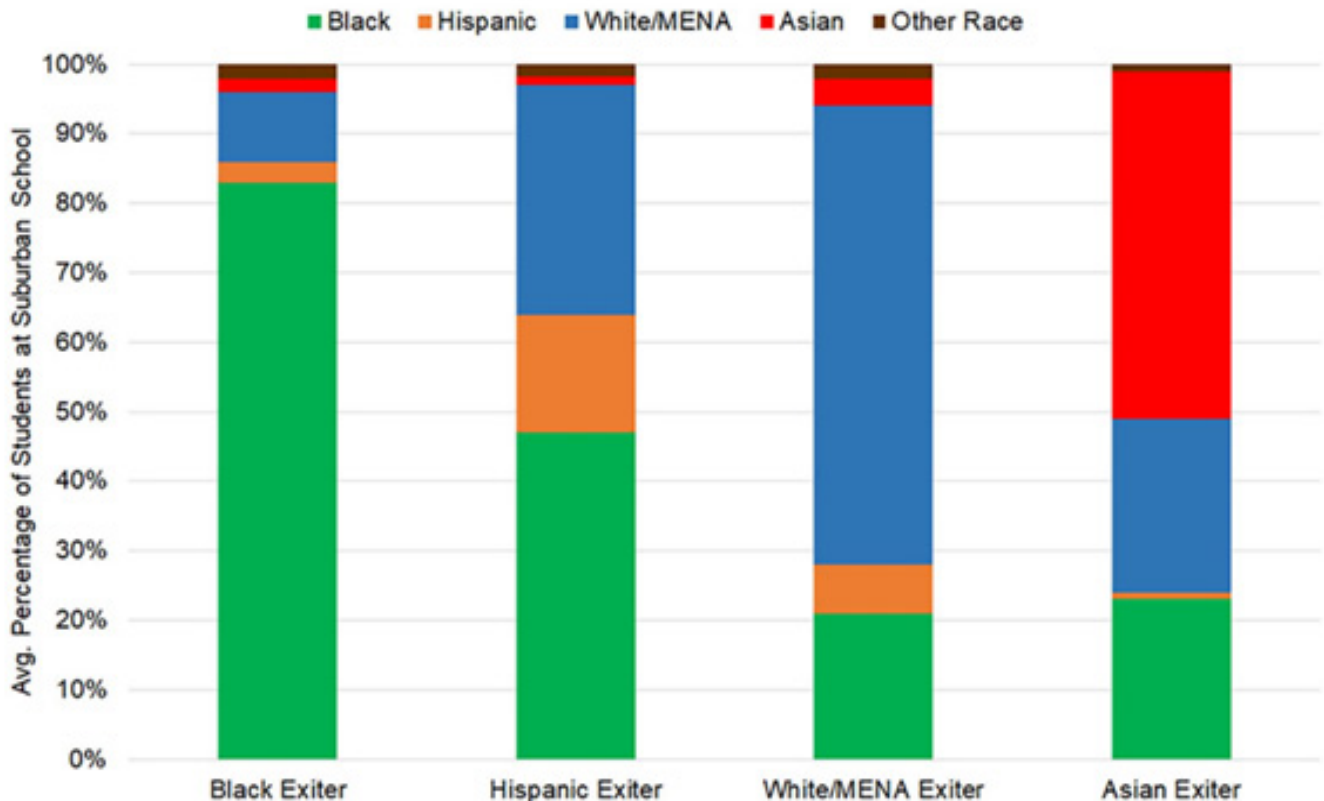
Figure 2. School characteristics of Detroit exiters by student race. Reprinted from "Race, Geography, and School Choice Policy: A Critical Analysis of Detroit Students' Suburban School Choices," by J. Singer and S. Lenhoff, 2022, AERA Open, Volume 8, pp. 12. Copyright 2022 by J. Singer and S. Lenhoff.

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Hidden in Plain Site

How Physical Absence Spurs Virtual Remembrance of the Tiananmen Square Massacre

Zhao, Elise

ABSTRACT

What monuments and memorials a state allows to exist reflect the official memory it wishes to maintain. Subsequently, attending to what is not visible is of equal importance when analyzing how a landscape shapes collective memory. This essay, therefore, analyzes Tiananmen Square, which is subject to state-enforced suppression of commemorations, to demonstrate how physical absences shape memory. Interestingly, despite a concerted effort to censor the existence of the Tiananmen Square Massacre, Chinese netizens continue to share vernacular memories of the event on their respective social platforms. Indeed, this essay looks at their response to absences in the physical landscape of Tiananmen Square, and how they reveal bans on commemoration can have an unintended effect of fortifying counter-memory of an event by invigorating powerful acts of counter-commemoration virtually. As social media sites continue to grow in popularity, examining how everyday individuals may wield these apps to challenge state suppression has never been so relevant.

My father was looking for his bike when a tank rammed into protestors atop a bus being used to barricade the road. It was the spring of 1989, when a series of student-led protests calling for political and economic reforms seized China, except now, troops impervious to the student demonstrators were steamrolling through Beijing. My father remembers hiding in an alley shop's doorway as the chaos of the Tiananmen Square Massacre ensued and then, later, stepping through a hospital morgue of bloated bodies. Yet, he watched the next day as media coverage framed the demonstrators as insurgents and omitted much of the state's violence. This difference between his personal and the official memory would eventually spur him to emigrate.

I begin with this anecdotal account to highlight the power which absences in official memory can have in shaping vernacular memory. In my father's case, his memory of Tiananmen Square became so haunting it compelled him to leave everybody and everything he had ever known. The story also shows how, due to Chinese state suppression, attention must be paid to what is not materialized in addition to what is when analyzing the ways the landscape of Tiananmen Square shapes and reflects collective memory. This case study, therefore, looks at Tiananmen Square as an example of how state-enforced absence of commemorations may only fortify counter-memory of the event by invigorating powerful acts of counter-commemoration virtually. The essay begins by outlining Tiananmen Square's transformation into a political public space, emphasizing how the landscape facilitates the production of collective memory. Then, a brief recount of the Tiananmen Square Massacre (henceforth referred to as the Massacre) and the official memory propagated will be given. The next portion discusses why the state is so involved in suppressing counter-memory and how their focus on maintaining certain absences in the collective memory of Chinese citizens reveals the power commemorations, official or otherwise, have in configuring collective memory. Subsequently, the essay details how ongoing invisibilization of the Massacre has resulted in the use of social media apps TikTok and Weibo to produce counter-memory. It concludes by articulating how these apps enable more vernacular control over collective memory.

Before examining how the landscape of Tiananmen Square following the 1989 massacre shapes collective memory, how the square came to possess such manipulative power must be discussed. First, the space was used in the 1919 May Fourth movement, where everyday people protested the ceding of Qingdao to Japan following World War I (Lee, 2009, p. 32). This event was the first time such a mass public display of resistance occurred at Tiananmen Square and would spur the formation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Given this newfound significance, the Square was used throughout the 20th century as a site for protest by common people, even as the government

sought to claim their "sacred [birth]place" (Lee, 2009, p. 39). The CCP did this by marking it physically. Although it was already adjacent to the Forbidden City, the former Chinese Imperial Palace, it has since been surrounded by other key state buildings, such as the Mausoleum of Mao Ze Dong, The Great Hall of the People, and the National Museum of China (Hornsby, 2009). The square was also renovated in the 1950s to add the Monument to the People's Heroes, commemorating those martyred in China's modern history, and increase the square's capacity to half a million people (Hornsby, 2009). This space is, therefore, literally at the heart of China's centralized government and represents the struggle between official and vernacular interests.

In April 1989, the Square's capacity would be utilized for a large-scale funerary ceremony following the death of Hu Yaobang, the CCP's former general secretary who was forced to resign for resisting then paramount leader Deng Xiaoping (Wortzel & Scobell 2005, p. 58). Hu had advocated during his career serious state reforms, and so what began as a gathering for mass mourning soon became a series of protests to echo Hu's desire for political liberalization, an objective perhaps befitting Tiananmen's literal meaning, "Gate of Heavenly Peace" (Lee, 2009, p. 32; Wortzel & Scobell, 2005, p. 59). Hundreds of thousands for over a month demanded reforms, resisting martial law and blocking military forces who attempted to reach the Square (Wortzel & Scobell, 2005, p. 70). However, on the evening of June 3, the government resolved to quell the protests and military forces fired on demonstrators while tanks advanced toward Tiananmen, running over bus barricades (Wortzel & Scobell, 2005, p. 75). Officially, the civilian death toll is said to be 300, but some sources estimate several thousand were killed (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 326).

Such a discrepancy exists due to the conflicting narratives between the official and vernacular memory of the Tiananmen Massacre. In the immediate aftermath, the state maintained that violence had been necessary to stop political turmoil that would have destabilized the country (Human Rights Watch, 2009). Media outlets that sympathized with student protestors were censored, and the state began to control more tightly what the press could publish (Abbott, 2019, p. 163). Then, several years later, the state shifted towards tactics to induce public secrecy or amnesia. Textbooks bear little mention of the event, and Baidu, the most used search engine in China, shows no recollection of the Massacre when users type in "Tiananmen Square" (Hillenbrand, 2017, p. 130). In contrast, the same research using Google presents many iterations of the notorious "tankman" photograph (Hillenbrand, 2017, p. 130). Public displays of commemoration are also banned, with this strictly enforced through the threat of incarceration and state violence. Significantly, the 1998 vigil in Hong Kong became the first time a grassroots

memorial for the event was allowed to take place on Chinese soil; however, the annual gathering has been banned since 2020, testifying to the ongoing nature of official and vernacular contestation (BBC, 2020).

It is evident why the CCP has gone to such lengths to suppress remembrance of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre when considering the role official memory has in maintaining state legitimacy. For a successful nation-state, there must be some sense of social cohesion amongst the citizenry, or in other words, collective memories that form a national identity (Osborne, 2001, p. 41). These shared memories are at the core of any imagined community that calls itself a nation, for without them, there is no bond between citizens, or to the ruling body. Thus, nation-states are greatly invested in curating not only collective memories but ones that specifically construct a national metanarrative that validates the state and invokes a sense of patriotism (Osborne, 2001, p. 42). Therefore, CCP censorship can be understood as a government's recognition that the vernacular memory of their actions is unreconcilable with the national metanarrative they seek to preserve. In response, they must continually peddle an official memory by controlling certain presences and absences in the physical landscape.

Importantly, part of the CCP's undertaking is the banning of commemorative acts and monuments for the Massacre, revealing the editorial power commemorations have in shaping both official and vernacular memory. This is because people gain part of their identity from the physical landscape, influenced by what narratives are highlighted through monuments and memorials (Osborne, 2001, p. 42). Subsequently, who and what are allowed to inhabit a space, and (perhaps even more significantly) who and what are not allowed, political—each holding equal capacity to shape collective memory. The absence of commemorations at Tiananmen Square then may be just as effective as anything material in maintaining social cohesion and reflecting and shaping collective memory. Moreover, the suppression of acts of counter-commemorations works to extinguish the potential for affective participation, when impactful engagement with a cause increases people's empathy towards the issue (John & Carlson, 2016, p. 993). In sum, by banning commemorations, many Chinese citizens born after 1989 have no knowledge of the Tiananmen Square Massacre at all, maintaining the national metanarrative (Seet and Tandoc, 2023, p. 6).

Despite the suppression of the collective memory of the Tiananmen Square Massacre, however, the state was not wholly successful in its mission for collective secrecy or amnesia. Those old enough to remember the incident have at least a tacit understanding of what happened and have sought to challenge the official memory (Hillenbrand, 2020, p. 180). As mentioned earlier, this has been met with state retaliation, which calls into question Tiananmen Square's integrity as a public space, if defined as "space to which all citizens have a right of access" (Gregory, 2009, p. 602). However, with the advent of social media comes spaces of contestation not as easily policed as the physical realm. Users can express vernacular memories that contradict official memory, and indeed, many have taken to sites like TikTok and Weibo to remember the Tiananmen Massacre and fill the void of official commemorations. As will be discussed below, this has facilitated new and powerful ways for everyday Chinese people to shape and engage in the collective memory of the Massacre.

One way the collective memory is being influenced is on TikTok, where videos uploaded each anniversary may commemorate the event by describing the context of the protests, as well as the Massacre itself, spreading knowledge of the incident (Seet & Tandoc, 2023). This is already fundamentally at odds with a state that wishes to erase the collective memory of the massacre. Some videos also go further and explicitly criticize the CCP's response, directly contradicting the official memory of the Massacre as a necessary intervention to an insurgency. Other posts connect the Massacre to other events, and so it is commemorated not as an isolated injustice but as part of a global anti-fascist pursuit (Seet & Tandoc, 2023, p. 11). Through these uploads, the collective memory of Tiananmen Square is altered, as those who had no prior knowledge of the Massacre may have their memory of the space rewritten. Even the memory of those with some prior knowledge may be impacted, as they are presented with new perspectives such as the Massacre's connection to democracy and human rights worldwide. Notably, many of these viewers are younger due to the nature of TikTok's user base, so the contestations here can shape collective memory intergenerationally (Seet & Tandoc, 2023, p. 16). This is particularly significant given the fact that many Chinese youth are not educated on the Massacre, so by "recruit[ing them] into the 'community of memory,'" (Lee & Chan, 2013, p. 968) the collective memory can be sustained, even when the original generation passes away. Even if unapparent presently, these posts may sow seeds of resistance in the future, by shaping the collective memory of youth.

Unfortunately, perhaps recognizing TikTok's ability to expose Chinese people to counter-memory, the app has been made unavailable for those without a virtual private network. Recognizing that the efficacy of TikTok as a site of contestation can be argued given its lack of accessibility in Mainland China, Weibo, widely regarded as Twitter for Chinese citizens, has also been used for vernacular public memory. Posts here vary in breadth and depth, with many posting about their personal memories of the Massacre (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 324). Users spread their own recounts to combat official memory, embarking on their own journalistic endeavours in the face of state-controlled mass media.

Some of these testimonies involve memories of friends who died in the Massacre, challenging several dimensions of the state's official history (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 324). The invisibilized dead are not only made viewable, but are humanized in contrast to demonizing state narratives. As Zhao and Liu (2015) put it when writing about Weibo's role in challenging the official memory of "the Great Famine," these posts introduce "concrete human beings and their suffering into the vague official statements" (47). Additionally, some posts, like on TikTok, circulate alternative reports of the Massacre from abroad or outright condemn the CCP (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 229). All of these posts shape Weibo viewers' collective memory of the Massacre, as they are prompted to reflect on official memory while being invited to become participants themselves in proliferating counter-memory.

Notably, there are several dimensions to the above engagements with collective memory that are only possible by using social media sites like TikTok and Weibo. First, there is a level of anonymity and safety, important qualities given the Chinese state's use of fear to dissuade public commemoration. Resisters can operate more covertly, transcending the physical realm (Sebeelo, 2021, p. 99). The state's hegemony on widely disseminated narratives can suddenly be challenged, as social media enables the vernacular distribution of discourses (Loader & Mercea, 2011, p. 759). Although the Chinese government is still able to ban the accounts of those were perpetuate counter-memory, virtuality also gives creators the ability to infinitely reincarnate (Hillenbrand, 2017, p. 137). Thus, resisters can often evade the death and incarceration possible in non-virtual contexts and be empowered to engage in creative acts of vernacular public memory (Seet and Tandoc, 2023, p. 5). Coopting social media into a virtual public space is additionally powerful as TikTok and Weibo are Chinese apps, so it can be argued these counter-commemorations take place in the Chinese domain. In this way, posts that tell counter-memory circumvent the state ban on public displays of commemoration for the Tiananmen Massacre, creating a virtual public space in the absence of a physical one.

However, even if such sites enable counter-commemorations, taking advantage of this ability is still considered unlawful by the state (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 333). Social media apps remain sites of contestation between public and vernacular memory, with the state rendering words like "candle," "today," and "tomorrow" for example, unsearchable around June 3-4 to reduce the circulation of counter commemoration (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 331). Yet, users have found ways to utilize the nature of state censorship to imbue the iconography of the Massacre, chiefly the "Tank Man," photograph, with a special power. Efforts to bypass censorship have contributed to an ever-expanding number of remakes or parodies of the picture, the most famous of which re-

places the tanks with yellow rubber ducks (Hillenbrand, 2020, p. 192). The state is subsequently forced to decide whether to censor these often ludicrous reproductions, with every decision to do so signalling the equal laughability inherent to their choice (Hillenbrand, 2020, p. 192). Put differently, although posts that dispense counter-memory of the Massacre shape peoples' collective memory of the event, the act of removing those same posts is also very telling. Spectators must wonder why the state would go to such lengths to censor something as seemingly benign as the words "big yellow duck" (Hillenbrand, 2017, p. 145). Censorship makes "the Tank Man" and other associations with the Tiananmen Square Massacre unsearchable, and therefore every chance encounter is a moment of rupture, or intense disruption to space (Hillenbrand, 2017, p. 149; Mahanty et al., 2023, p. 177). Given the risks associated with speaking out about the Massacre, onlookers are also compelled to take these virtual counter-commemorations more seriously, as lying serves no benefit to the original poster (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 334). Through the act of censoring, the state inadvertently acknowledges these posts have power in shaping the collective memory of the Massacre.

Additionally, by offering new ways to commemorate the Tiananmen Square Massacre, social media provides opportunities for feelings of affect stifled by the CCP's ban on counter-commemorations (Makhortykh & González Aguilar, 2020, p. 342). This often occurs through memes, or "cultural units that spread from person to person," which are particularly effective because they invite participation (Shifman, 2013, p. 362). Memes exist through an iterative process of content creation, where people remix visual or auditory symbols based on their individual memory and then share their creation, contributing to the collective memory (Silvestri, 2018, p. 4001). Viewers are then prompted to interact in a myriad of ways including digitally liking, sharing, or saving the meme, if not further remixing it themselves (Silvestri, 2018, p. 3998).

This new public space also shapes the collective memory of the Massacre by helping cultivate a sense of futurity amongst posters. Given ongoing censorship and other injustices committed by the CCP, horizontal solidarity between other participants of vernacular memory dissemination can offset feelings of hopelessness that may be associated with the collective memory of the event. Rather than adopting a doomist perspective due to the lack of state accountability for the Massacre, public remembrance on social media can remind Chinese citizens that they are not alone (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 328). Users may gain hope seeing how the Massacre brings together a number of other dissidents, particularly around June 3-4, who would like to see a new collective memory of the Massacre constituted of counter-memory. The use of candle emoticons to transform Weibo into a virtual vigil space for exam-

ple reminds some users that darkness and injustice will never prevail (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 329). In addition to feelings of hope, these rituals of remembrance can also be outlets for healing. Posting about a lost friend can assuage survivor's guilt by keeping their memory alive, while advocating for the freedom their loved one died fighting for (Chung & Fu, 2022, p. 327).

Although it would be disingenuous to romanticize social media as a utopia for expressions of counter-memory given ongoing censorship and other potential retaliations from the state, it is evident Chinese citizens are successfully dispensing counter-memory of the Tiananmen Square Massacre through apps like TikTok and Weibo. Whether it is through memes or recollections of personal memory, these sites of contestation have been utilized amidst state suppression of counter-commemorations upon the Square's physical landscape. In this way, the enforced absence of commemorations has contributed to virtual alternatives that work to entrench vernacular counter-memory. Indeed, by looking at the determination of Chinese netizens to engage in remembrance despite suppression, this case study demonstrates the significance social media has in empowering everyday citizens to dictate collective memory. State-controlled mass media must now contend with vernacular memories that subvert the official memory in new sites of contestation where information, despite censorship, is highly disseminatable and can provoke affect. Future work may involve examining how the abilities social media may confer to the vernacular dissemination of memory in China can be transferable to other nations where there is state suppression of certain memories. In highlighting the potential of virtual counter-commemorations, opportunities for transnational sharing of resistant techniques may be revealed.

Lastly, it feels appropriate to end by returning to my father's memories once more. I spoke with him recently about his experiences on June 4, 1989, and he recalled wondering throughout that night, his thoughts punctured by gunfire, how the government would explain what they had done to the rest of the nation. He could not fathom how they could answer for any of it. He then recalled the anger he felt the following day as peaceful protestors were remembered as domestic terrorists in the morning news. There was anger over the senseless violence, the injustice of it all, but there was also the anger of betrayal, as he realized that under slightly different circumstances he may have believed the official memory of the Massacre. This moment of rupture is the reason I exist, and can tell his story thirty-five years later, an ocean away. Although my father has never, to my knowledge, virtually commemorated the Tiananmen Square Massacre, sharing this piece of oral history with me (and now to you) exemplifies the importance of vernacular memory and filling absences in official memory ourselves. When contending with a state that wishes to induce selective amnesia, remembering is the most powerful thing we can do.

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