The Meeting Place:

Examining the relationship between colonialism and planning

at The Forks, Winnipeg

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Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between colonialism and planning in a contemporary urban context in Canada. This project is important because colonialism continues to have impacts on the way that cities and city spaces are constructed. Using The Forks, Winnipeg, as an example, it reviews planning documents using a critical, postcolonial, interpretive and reflexive textual analysis. The intent is to gain more understanding of the ways in which colonialism is implicated in contemporary planning practices in settler societies. The analysis shows three main themes: the identity of The Forks is created in opposition to that of the downtown; heritage at The Forks is presented in ways that ignore colonialism and its past and present impacts on the city; and decision-making at The Forks does not reflect Indigenous priorities. The thesis concludes with some implications for planning practice.

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Copyrighted Material

Chapter 1: Introduction

Today's cities are diverse, rapidly changing hubs of human encounter. In North America,

Europe, and Australia and New Zealand/Aotearoa, "people connected by imperial histories

are thrust together in assemblages barely predicted, and often guarded against, during the

inaugural phases of colonialism" (Jacobs 1996, 4). Contemporary North American cities exist

in a context of ongoing colonisation of Indigenous[1] people and lands, of immigration from

'formerly' colonised countries, and simultaneously, of British/Anglo/Anglo-identified

culture which maintains its colonial identity as 'the original Canadian'. Historically, colonial

practices shaped the way these relationships grew and became established in the physical

spaces of the city; ongoing colonial practices today continue to affect the ways in which

spaces in the city are produced and known (Blomley 2004; Yeoh 2001; Stanger-Ross 2008).

Planning plays an essential role in developing cities and city spaces today. As a result, it is

inextricably bound to colonial assumptions about the ways that cities should be. The social

structures that govern society are reflected in planning practices. Sherene Razack (2002)

states that:

> To contest white people's primary claim to the land and to the nation
> requires making visible Aboriginal nations whose lands were stolen and
> whose communities remain imperilled. It entails including in the national
> story those bodies of colour whose labour also developed this land but who
> were not its first occupants. It is to reveal, in other words, the racialized
> structure of citizenship that characterizes contemporary Canada. (5)

Understanding the ways in which planning and colonialism are related requires unveiling

the relationships between settler and Indigenous communities, and the ways that these

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[1] I use the word 'Indigenous' throughout the document when referring to the original inhabitants and
nations of the lands now called North America.

are reflected in cities. Cities can become contested spaces, where different histories and geographies strive to be represented in the physical environment (Blomley 2004; Jacobs 1996; Yeoh 2001). A postcolonial[2] approach, which examines the structural implications of colonialism in planning practice, engages with questions of power to challenge dominant narratives about what cities should or could be.

This thesis examines the relationship between colonialism and planning as it is manifested in contemporary urban spaces in settler countries. A framework is developed through a review of postcolonial literature, particularly focusing on heritage, space and identity in urban areas. An example is employed to illustrate the ways in which the relationship between planning and colonialism is discernible in a particular urban space. Finally, the thesis attempts to offer more general comments on that relationship.

Research Questions

The research focuses on The Forks, Winnipeg, as a particular example of planning in an urban environment. The Forks is a major tourist attraction in Winnipeg. It is a commercial, recreational and cultural space located at the intersection of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. Managed by a tri-level government-owned community development corporation, The Forks is designed around the theme of the 'meeting place', drawing on the imagery of its historic role as a gathering place first for Indigenous nations, and later for Métis people, voyageurs, and non-Indigenous people. For most of the twentieth century, the land at The Forks was inaccessible to the public, as it was used as a rail yard; in the 1980s, The Forks was

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[2] Although I recognize that colonialism has not ended, I have chosen to not bracket the 'post' in postcolonialism (as in (post)colonialism). This is because I am using the term more as a reference to a particular body of academic thought and analysis rather than to a time period (see below for more on postcolonialism).

redeveloped to enable the public access to the riverfront. A portion of the site is a National Historic Site, operated by Parks Canada; the remainder is owned and managed by The Forks North Portage Partnership, and is promoted as Winnipeg's "most popular gathering place" (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2009). Because of the 'meeting place' theme, and its focus on history and heritage, The Forks plays a role in the landscape of Winnipeg as a representation of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Cole Harris states that examining "the sites where colonialism was actually practiced" is the best way to understand how colonialism developed and was implemented (2004, 166). This is, he argues, the best way to understand the material impacts of colonialism. This research assumes that there is an ongoing relationship between colonialism and planning, and so will engage with a postcolonial analysis to consider the impacts which contemporary structures of colonialism have on cities and society. The core of this research focuses on the planning documents that guide the development of The Forks and examines the relationship between colonialism and planning shown in the documents. The research questions begin by looking at the context in which The Forks is found, then considering the texts of the planning documents, and end by asking about the implications for understanding the relationship between colonialism and planning.

Context: What are the recorded histories of The Forks? To what extent is the relationship between Indigenous and settler societies shown in these histories?

Textual: How is The Forks represented in planning documents? How do the planning documents suggest that the space at The Forks is used/intended to be used by settler and Indigenous communities?

Analysis: What does The Forks, through how it has been and is being planned, show about the relationship between colonialism and planning? What are the implications for planners?

Data Sources

For this research, five planning documents relating to The Forks were reviewed using a textual analysis. It can be challenging to identify what counts as a 'planning document'; while a broad range of documents was initially considered, including business plans, annual reports, and background studies, the five documents that were used were chosen for three specific reasons. First, they were part of, or contributed to, the development of the vision, identity, and physical design of the site. Second, they were written by, or on behalf of, the corporation with primary responsibility for the development of The Forks (which has been, at various times, the City of Winnipeg, The Forks Renewal Corporation, and The Forks North Portage Partnership). The third reason for selecting the documents is that they were publicly available.

The selected documents, described below, were written from the mid-1980s to the early 2000s. The earliest documents were written when the site was still a railway yard. They provided a wide range of ideas for how the site might be developed and set the initial tone for the direction and vision for The Forks. Later documents gradually refined this vision, provided more concrete details about certain aspects of the development. As The Forks became more established, the most recent document, published in 2001, moved away from a development proposal and more towards the tone of a management plan.

Purpose, Scope, and Relevance of the Thesis

Although it is impossible to separate issues of colonialism from planning in settler countries[3], there is very little written about colonialism and urban planning in these contexts (Jacobs 1996; Blomley 2004). Understanding the relationship between colonialism and planning is a first step to developing new approaches to planning that will challenge colonial attitudes and processes.

Using a postcolonial analysis to look at an example of a particular urban area will contribute to city planners' understandings of the complex relationships and contexts of the urban spaces in which they work. This research will be of interest to planners and others who are interested in developing cities and spaces that engage with the challenges of shifting power relationships and identities in settler countries.

My interest in this topic stems from my experience as a white first generation Canadian. My family history includes stories from the perspectives of both the coloniser and the colonised, though not in North America. I am interested in understanding how colonialism continues to operate in settler countries, and the ways in which urban environments are shaped by colonial practices and beliefs, and by challenges to these practices and beliefs.

Assumptions and Limitations

This paper assumes that there continues to be a relationship between colonialism and planning practice. It assumes that this relationship is present in visible ways in the city; in

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[3] In this thesis, 'settler countries' refers to the settler countries of Canada, the United States, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. The patterns of British settler colonialism in these four countries are relatively similar, including violent displacement and subjugation of Indigenous populations, and an "ambivalent relationship… with the British metropolitan imperial centre" (Coombes 2006, 3). At the same time, the different relationships of the white settler colonies with the Indigenous people in each place has been a significant factor in the development of national identities (Coombes 2006).

particular, it assumes that this relationship will be discernible in the planning of The Forks. Unless planning intentionally challenges colonialism, this relationship will continue to be embedded in how planning reflects and constitutes social relationships.

This research has a relatively narrow scope; it looks only at written documents, and even then, only at planning documents. To fully understand the relationship between planning and colonialism, a much broader approach would be needed. For example, it is possible that the actual use of The Forks is very different from the intended or implied uses of the site described in the planning documents.

A second limitation is that a dualistic approach to the research is incorporated in the analysis. The relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities is simplified to reduce the complexity on both sides; neither Indigenous nor non-Indigenous communities are monolithic, and there are numerous structures and identities that affect the extent or ways in which voices are heard in planning processes which are not reflected in this thesis.

Theoretical Approaches

A postcolonial approach was taken in this research. Postcolonialism recognises the ongoing impact of colonial structures; this is particularly true in settler countries, where colonialism has not ended for the Indigenous people who live there. In urban centres, negotiations over how heritage and identity are represented in the built environment and spaces of the city illustrate tensions of how relationships among Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are formed and structured. The narratives and stories that are told about a city or about city spaces are continually shifting; however, in settler countries colonialism is a framing construct that shapes how spaces are created and understood.

Although planning is generally understood as a rational practice, it must also be understood as a practice that reflects dominant Western approaches and perspectives, and therefore cannot be considered neutral. The process of colonizing what are now settler countries involved the removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands to make way for settlers; planning was an active participant in creating and enforcing colonial land uses that marginalised Indigenous people and privileged settlers.

Given that planning practice is not neutral, planners must recognise its roots in colonialism and the particular place that Indigenous nations have as the original inhabitants of North America. A number of potential directions have been suggested to make planning more inclusive; these range from a greater reflexivity and consideration of planning's role, to the creation of spaces in governments and organizations for representation from Indigenous groups. Fundamental to all of these suggestions is the understanding of planning as framed within a Western worldview, and that therefore it cannot be a neutral mediator between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Outline of Chapters

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the thesis, and provides an overview of the topics covered in other chapters. Chapter 2 reviews the decision-making processes and research methods used in developing this thesis. Chapter 3 is a literature review, and looks at postcolonial and planning literatures to create a framework for the research. Chapter 4 introduces the example of The Forks, and provides context for the analysis, which is presented in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 sums up the findings and conclusions of the research and provides some recommendations on the implications for planners and for planning theory and practice.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This thesis looks at the relationship between planning and colonialism in settler countries. I chose the example of The Forks, Winnipeg, to examine this relationship in more detail. This examination involves the textual review of a number of planning documents used in the development of The Forks.

My interest in this topic stems from two main areas. First, I have an interest in understanding how identities are constructed, and how privilege and marginalization contribute to identity construction. In particular, I am interested in how colonialism shapes identities. While this thesis does not address identity construction directly, it considers understandings of planning and its role in contexts of settler colonialism. My family inheritances of stories from the perspectives of both the coloniser and the colonised have influenced my understanding and interest in this topic; these stories have also encouraged an awareness of the impact colonialism has had and continues to have on Indigenous nations in settler countries.

The second reason for choosing this topic is that I enjoy visiting The Forks. I live within walking distance, and often walk over and spend an hour or two there, people watching, walking around, or drinking tea. There is always some kind of event or exhibition, and something new to see. Over the last two years, I have become more and more interested in the ways that The Forks seems to represent the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in Winnipeg. The 'historic' or heritage approach taken in creating the space has made an Indigenous presence visible to non-Indigenous people in a way that it rarely is in the rest of the city, both in the built environment and in events that take place there. There is also a wide mix of visitors to the site – it is often busy, particularly on sunny

days. I began to wonder about how The Forks had developed and, given how visible the impacts of colonialism are in the rest of Winnipeg, how colonialism had affected the development of The Forks. [4]

My initial question for this thesis was about the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in settler countries, and how this relationship could or would be reflected in planning processes. As I began to read about planning in settler countries, I realised that the overarching theme that structures the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people continues to be colonialism; this became the focus for my study. Although there is much literature about planning in settler countries, and a fair amount about planning with Indigenous people in settler countries, there is not very much examining the impact of colonialism on planning in settler countries. This seems like a big gap.

In developing The Forks as an example, it is clear that lessons learned about The Forks will not necessarily apply elsewhere. Bent Flyvbjerg (2001) notes that "in the study of human affairs, there exists only context-dependent knowledge, which thus presently rules out the possibility of epistemic theoretical construction" (71). The result is that since there are no generalised rules or predictions that can be absolutely made about humans and human nature, good contextual information becomes essential for decision-making (Flyvbjerg 2001). Colonialism has existed in different ways in different places, and the impacts of colonialism and its relationship to city-building will necessarily be different in each place. Following

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[4] Some examples of the visible impacts of colonialism on Indigenous communities in Winnipeg (and in Canada) are racialised segregation and poverty, high suicide rates (especially among youth), high numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women, and disproportionate representation of Indigenous people in the prison system. These impacts resulted from government policies that intentionally stripped Indigenous peoples of economic, cultural, and social resources (Castellano 2001).

Wendy S. Shaw (2007), rather than focussing on the location of The Forks as the significant feature, I looked at processes at The Forks. These processes connect with the broad themes identified through a literature review of postcolonialism and cities to create a framework for understanding the specific experience of colonialism at The Forks.

The literature review focuses on a number of areas. The first section develops an understanding of colonialism and postcolonialism in settler countries, to frame the approach for the thesis. The second section reviews the ways in which heritage, space and identity can be understood in postcolonial contexts. How history, heritage and culture are represented in cities in the built environment both reflect and shape the relationships among different groups in the city; the representations of these will also illustrate the ways in which power relations are structured. Colonialism continues to shape identities and relationships for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in settler countries; it is no surprise that it would also affect how city planning is understood and carried out. Historically, planning has been used by colonial governments to dispossess Indigenous people of their lands, and to maintain ownership and management of colonised lands; the literature on the relationship between planning and colonialism is reviewed in the third section of the literature review. Although it is widely considered to be a rational and neutral practice, it is framed by Western cultural norms and values, and as planning is a function of the settler government, it is unlikely to act as a neutral arbiter in conflicts over land and resources. The last section of the literature review focuses on how to undermine colonialism in planning. Recommendations range from a greater inclusivity of Indigenous people in municipal governance and planning processes, to the need for planning to engage in a more reflexive approach to identify its own biases and to create new approaches and opportunities to identify and eliminate instances of colonialism in planning.

The understanding I developed, through the literature review, of the issues relating to colonialism and planning helped me to frame the study of The Forks. To narrow the scope of the project, I decided to look only at planning documents. I asked a number of research questions about these documents. These dealt with the context of The Forks, textual analysis of the documents themselves, and analysis of the findings. The contextual questions were "What are the histories of The Forks? How is the relationship between Indigenous and settler societies presented in these histories? How has this representation changed over time?", the textual questions were "How is The Forks represented in planning and other documents? How is the space at The Forks used/intended to be used by settler and Indigenous communities?", and the analysis questions were "What does The Forks, through how it has been and is being planned, show about the relationship between colonialism and planning? What are the implications for planners?"

As the research progressed, I refined these questions slightly, and some of the questions became more important than others. The histories of The Forks shared through the planning documents were somewhat limited; in addition, over time, the themes did not change very much. There was little in the documents about how The Forks was intended to be used by settler or Indigenous populations specifically. The revised questions focused more explicitly on the planning documents and the representations of The Forks in the documents. The revised questions are:

Context: What are the recorded histories of The Forks? To what extent is the relationship between Indigenous and settler societies shown in these histories?

Textual: How is The Forks represented in planning documents? How do the planning documents suggest that the space at The Forks is used/intended to be used by settler and Indigenous communities?

Analysis: What does The Forks, through how it has been and is being planned, show about the relationship between colonialism and planning? What are the implications for planners?

In developing a method to address these questions, I chose to use textual analysis for a few reasons. There are generally three components to a text: the sender, the message and the audience (Berg 2001). However, one cannot analyse the sender or the audience in any great depth; the focus must instead be on the message itself (Berg 2001). Focusing on texts can seem somewhat limiting, because relationships between people, between groups of people, and between people and spaces are, in 'real life', often different from what may be visible on paper. It can sometimes be difficult to identify content that responds specifically to the questions posed (Berg 2001). However, the purpose of the study is to examine the relationships between planning and colonialism, and the documents guiding development of The Forks would be a good place to find these relationships. Even with only one example, this is a large topic; choosing a textual analysis of planning documents was a good way to narrow the focus and still engage concretely with planning and planning processes.

Initially, I looked at a wide range of planning documents relating to The Forks, including background studies, promotional materials, annual reports and business plans. I compiled an initial list of documents through The Forks' website, which has an extensive bibliography of Forks-related references, many of which are available online. I found additional documents through the University of Manitoba library, at the Institute of Urban Studies and University of Winnipeg libraries, and from The Forks North Portage Partnership. In the end, I selected

five documents to be used in this study, on the basis that all five were major planning documents for The Forks, and so contributed to the vision for the site. They were written by or on behalf of The Forks, and were all publicly available. The earliest document was written in 1986; the most recent in 2001. Four of the documents were written in the first decade of redevelopment, when most of the visioning and design of the site was done. The fifth document is more of a management document and outlined plans for maintaining the site as it is and refining the vision.

The five documents are the 1986 *East Yard Task Force Report to Winnipeg Core Area Initiative* (*EYTF Report*), the 1987 *Phase I Concept and Financial Plan: Report to Shareholders by Board of Directors* (*Phase I Plan*), the 1993 *The Forks Heritage Interpretive Plan* (*Interpretive Plan*), the *Phase II Planning and Development Guidelines* (*Phase II Plan*), which was written in the early 1990s, and the 2001 *Focus on the Future Concept and Financial Plan 2001-2010* (*Focus on the Future Plan*).

The *EYTF Report* (1986) is an initial report which suggests possibilities for how The Forks could be developed, and lays out a comprehensive development plan for the transition for the site from a rail yard to a recreational destination. With this initial framework in place, the *Phase I Plan* (1987) expands on the vision for The Forks and proposes a number of projects for the site. It also includes comments from public consultations. The *Interpretive Plan* (1993) provides a comprehensive overview of the historic and heritage resources available at The Forks, outlines a thematic framework for heritage interpretation at The Forks, and develops principles and guidelines for site development and steps to operationalise the plan. The *Phase II Plan* (date unknown) is a guide for the second phase of development at The Forks. It establishes a new focus on 'Making Connections' and provides design and architectural guidelines for the site. Finally, within the overall vision for The Forks (and North Portage),

the *Focus on the Future Plan* (2001) suggests different development foci for "precincts" within The Forks. Since most of the initial direction setting has been done, this is more of a management plan.

There were two additional documents that I considered including, but in the end chose not to. These are the 1997 *South Point Vision Document* and the 2007 *The Forks National Historic Site Management Plan*. The *South Point Visioning Document* is the only text I found that was written by The Forks Aboriginal Advisory Committee; it provides a vision for how the South Point area of The Forks could be developed to reflect Indigenous heritages and histories. Although it has an interesting perspective on The Forks, I decided not to include it because it focuses on this one particular sub-area. Similarly, *The Forks National Historic Site Management Plan* focuses on the historic site area of The Forks, which is managed by Parks Canada. Neither of these documents contributes to the broader vision for the whole of The Forks.

I reviewed the documents in a number of stages, which corresponded with Strauss' three levels of coding: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (described in Neuman 2003). The initial review was a scan of the documents. This was intended to ensure that I had looked at the subjects covered in the documents as evenly as possible and to help me to retrieve common subject areas in the texts (Mason 2000). It was also intended to find key themes and terms within the documents (Neuman 2003).

Next, I used the themes found through the initial scan to identify broad areas to look at within the documents. I also went back to my literature review and compiled a list of categories that could be used in the analysis. As knowledge and action are interdependent and cannot be separated, the ways in which problems are defined will affect the solutions or policies developed from the research (Innes 1990). In the axial coding process described by

Neuman (2003), the researcher looks for the relationships among the categories and potential data. I wrote each of the categories on a sticky note and laid them out in a variety of different ways on the wall, to consider all the different ways that the data might fit together, and to ensure that my consideration of the research problem did not become static. At first the categories and their relationships to one another were framed through the three strategies Libby Porter (2007) identified as having been used in the colonization of Australia: naming and boundary definition; surveying and mapping; and selection and zoning (469). As the research proceeded the relationships among the different categories shifted and changed; some data fit into more than one category, and some categories had very little data (see Appendix A for a list and review of how the categories changed through this process).

I then began a second review of the documents. This stage was an interpretive review, and looked for trends and concepts in the documents which reflected themes found in the literature. This process was intended to help me gain a broader picture of each text in relation to the others, and to compare the texts to each other (Mason 2000). The relationships between different data were considered and I began to make very preliminary connections between the literature and the data. This second review did not go very well, because the categories being used were not very useful – some were too broad, some too specific, and some were not visible at all in the texts. I reviewed and refined the categories, and established a final set of categories. Some were the same as in the first set, but some categories were added and a few were removed.

I then reviewed the documents again, using the new set of established categories, as in Neuman's selective coding stage (2003). I took notes using a spreadsheet; the notes were first compiled for each document, and then a new spreadsheet was created that compiled the

notes by theme. This enabled me to see the connections among the documents better. As I reviewed the documents I reflected on the implications or possible interpretations of each piece of data in relation to the others; I took notes when particular ideas struck me (Berg 2001, following Strauss). Once I had completed the review, I went through the notes and the categories to see what the relationships were between different categories; in many cases the data were applicable to more than one category. I reviewed the notes numerous times, thinking about the various relationships between the data, the documents, and The Forks, as well as how I had identified and interpreted the data as I reviewed the documents.

The broad methodological approach to this research project is postcolonial, interpretive, and reflexive. A postcolonial approach assumes that, even though the formal structures of colonization may have been dismantled, the colonial contexts and frameworks are still present (Said 1994). As such, colonialism and colonial approaches continue to affect structures of knowledge and power. These structures are what Neuman (2003) describes as structures lying beneath surface reality; they cannot be seen, but signs of their presence can be identified. A postcolonial approach assumes that methodologies and knowledge are inherently connected to the assumptions and beliefs of the researcher, as well as to the broader epistemologies and ideologies of the context in which the researcher finds her/himself (Westwood 2004). In this study, examining the structures within which planning finds itself will provide an entry point to better understanding the processes involved in planning practice.

Since the intent of this study was to "develop an understanding of social life and how people construct meaning in natural settings" (Neuman 1997, 68-69), in this case about colonialism and planning, the study is framed through an interpretive social science approach. An

interpretive approach is useful in helping to understand "how people create and maintain their social worlds", and it assumes that there are many ways of understanding the world (Neumann 1997). At the same time, it recognises that the researcher cannot be independent of her/his research (Innes 1990; Mason 2000). In developing plans, urban planners create what James A. Throgmorton (1996) calls 'metatexts': the plans and studies that are used in defining and designing urban spaces which are then re-interpreted by those who read them in conjunction with their own understandings of what a city might be. These metatexts both influence and are influenced by the planning of the built environment and the identities of those who plan it and live it. As people understand urban environments in different ways, their identities are shaped differently by their experiences within these environments. Planners are no different, and their worldviews will be reflected in their work; my research will also reflect my own worldview and perspectives.

While I read the data gathered in an interpretive way to construct an analysis, my analysis is reflexive, to enable me to be aware of the discourses within and surrounding the texts and the research area, to avoid unthinkingly internalizing and reflecting these discourses (Innes 1990). As well, a reflexive approach will help me to recognise the ways in which my own perspectives are implicated in the research (Mason 2000). As a researcher, I recognise that my own experiences will impact how I understand urban spaces; these experiences will also affect not only the way I have structured the study, but also the way that I have analysed and interpreted the results; thus, I am "inevitably and inextricably implicated in the data generation and interpretation processes" (Mason 2000, 149). As I worked through the process of reading and coding and thinking about the relationship between colonialism and planning, I kept a journal of notes and reflections on the experience of doing the research, and of my own implications in the research. I write from the position of a white, anglophone

first generation Canadian woman who grew up in Toronto. Following Michael D. Smith's (1996) observation "that pleasures often are predicated upon privileges, as well as upon exploitation and oppression, and need to be interrogated as such" (505), I realise that my understandings of colonialism and settler countries has been profoundly shaped by the privilege I have as an academic White woman in North America; the ways in which I do research are shaped by this privilege, as is my analysis.

The research is also framed by a critical social science approach which is based in realism. It assumes that there is a common reality that is formed by a wide range of factors, which is experienced differently by different people; and that the structures that form this common reality are hidden or difficult to see (Neumann 1997). A concern is raised by some authors that postcolonial discourse and research can be formulated in colonial ways by non-Indigenous academics that ignore or elide the realities and knowledges of Indigenous people (Smith 1999; Westwood 2004). In attempting to see the structures that form this common reality, there is a danger that colonial configurations can be replicated in work that is attempting to undo these structures.

Porter (2004) has argued that reflection on one's own attitudes and actions, while important, is not enough to change colonial structures because self-reflection focuses on a personal approach, rather than a systemic approach. She argues that in addition to awareness of one's own worldview, planners must seek out "moments within institutional rules and parameters where real and lasting change can be achieved" (Porter 2004, 109). In this research, I have attempted to mitigate these concerns by recognizing my own perspective and the ways in which this influences my research, and by suggesting specific ways that planners can affect the structures that frame their work. I have also tried to ground my reflection and analysis

firmly in postcolonial literature, to ensure that I have a good understanding of the relevant issues. This literature is reviewed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

The literature review will begin with an overview of postcolonialism, and what postcolonialism means in settler countries. It will then discuss the relationship between colonialism, heritage, space and identity, and the relationship between colonialism and planning. Finally, it will review some conceptions of how to undermine colonialism in planning, and draw these ideas together into a theoretical framework to inform this thesis.

Postcolonialism

Colonialism is the "establishment and maintenance of domination over a separate group of people...and their territories" (Jacobs 1996, 17). It also includes the theories and practices of "culture and associated procedures of knowledge generation", among other forms of colonial powers that are used to justify colonization (Harris 2004, 165). It is distinct from imperialism in that while imperialism refers to the theory and practice of colonization from the core of the empire, colonialism is the more specific expression of imperialism in the colonised land itself (Jacobs 1996, following Said 1993). Formal colonialism ended in the 1950s and 1960s as colonies around the world gained independence from their European colonisers. This resulted in a new ordering of the world with new forms of relations between European and Latin American, African and Asian countries (Childs and Williams 1997), but colonial and imperial structures persist.

Challenging this persistence, postcolonialism is a field of study which encompasses a variety of disciplines. It is an approach which critically examines structures of power. While postmodernism's approach often "stresses the disappearance of the grand narratives of emancipation and enlightenment", postcolonialism argues that the "grand narratives remain, even though their implementation and realization are at present in abeyance, deferred or

circumvented" (Said 1994, 349). However, it is important to note that postcolonialism is not a monolithic concept, since there was no monolithic colonialism; as Peter Childs and Patrick Williams note, "we are dealing with different empires, different needs, different strategies, different trajectories of expansion or contraction, different levels of territorial penetration, control and exploitation" (1997, 10). Experiences of settler colonialism in Australia, Canada, New Zealand/Aotearoa and the United States, as well as the place these countries occupy in current global economic power relations mean that they are not necessarily included in the postcolonial world (Williams and Chrisman 1994).

In these settler countries, the categories of colonial and postcolonial are blurred depending on one's location. For Indigenous peoples, the colonial governments are still present; for British-descended/identified settlers, the government is no longer the British colonial presence. A growing number of inhabitants come from formerly colonised countries, bringing their own (yet different) experiences of colonialism (Jacobs 1996). Following the distinction, above, between imperialism and colonialism, the formerly colonial approaches to acquisition and definition of lands and spaces become imperial as colonies become settler countries and take over the control of lands and spaces within their boundaries. [5]

Furthermore, in some ways the term 'postcolonial' is a misnomer. There are still examples of colonialism present in the world, and in most 'decolonised' countries the relations of colonialism have been replaced by neo-colonialism, a system of control of the former colonies by former colonizing countries (Childs and Williams 1997). Even the term postcolonialism maintains the dominance of European colonization, by using colonialism as "the determining marker of history" (McClintock 1994, 293). Reflecting this perspective,

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[5] For the sake of simplicity, the term colonialism will be used throughout this paper.

Jane M. Jacobs states that "colonial constructs not only belong to a past that is being worked against in the present, but also to a past that is being nostalgically reworked and inevitably adapted in the present" (1996, 14). These challenges speak to the tensions and uncertainties present in and among the many different contexts of colonialism and postcolonialism.

Despite these critiques, postcolonialism continues as a field of analysis that reflects "anti-colonial cultural practices" (Childs and Williams 1997, 3). Colonialism was based in part on the destruction of cultures and histories in colonised countries; therefore, one aspect of postcolonialism has been the "painful experience of confronting the desire to recover 'lost' pre-colonial identities, the impossibility of doing so, and the task of constructing some new identity on the basis of that impossibility" (Childs and Williams 1997, 14). A large portion of these analyses is concerned with social/cultural decolonising methodologies: "a reading strategy and discursive practice that seeks to unmask colonial epistemological frameworks, unravel Eurocentric logics, and interrogate stereotypical cultural representations" (Kwok 2005, 2). Rather than being a study of a particular time period, postcolonialism is an approach which deconstructs and critically analyses colonialism and its impacts (Yeoh 2001, following Crush).

Postcolonial Spaces and Postcolonial Identities

The relationship between colonialism, space, and identity is complex and variable. Mythologies and narratives about how a nation develops tell much about entitlement to the land and resources (Razack 2002). These narratives reflect the ways in which spaces and identities are imagined and constructed. The kinds of narratives, stories or descriptions told about a space do more than literally explain the space; the way that the space is represented

in the story "serves as an organizing schema for communication, which permits a (spatial) orientation and thus co-determines activity at the same time" (Schmid 2008, 37).

Following Lefebvre, Christian Schmid (2008) argues that space is socially produced, not "an independent material reality existing 'in itself'" (Schmid 2008, 28). This means that space only exists as it is produced and understood by users of the space. He offers Lefebvre's three-dimensional explanation for how spaces are produced: spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation. The first refers to the material aspects of space; the second to the ways in which spaces are represented in images, texts, etc; and the third to the symbolic dimensions of space, which reference other ideas and concepts, creating a significance for the materiality of the space (Schmid 2008, 37). These three methods of spatial production result in three forms of space: perceived, conceived and lived space. Perceived space is that which is observed by the senses; conceived space is the "act of thought" that brings all the sensations together to create a sense of space; and lived space is the experience of space in everyday life (Schmid 2008, 39-40). In turn, when spatial production is combined with the forms of space produced, the result is "three moments of production: first, material production; second, the production of knowledge; and, third, the production of meaning" (Schmid 2008, 41). These three triumvirates are all produced as part of a continual spiralling process, where each directly influences and creates the other (Milgrom 2008, 270).

In the contested spaces of settler countries, particularly in cities, negotiations of identity and place become visual representations of the postcolonial while carrying forward colonial inheritances of "'race' and 'culture' as markers of difference and bases for interaction" (Yeoh 2007, 460). Catherine Hall (1996) says that in Britain (and I would add in Canada and other

settler countries) the physical reminders and presences of an imperial past are omnipresent. These physical reminders reflect the broader realities of life in what Leonie Sandercock (2003) describes as "already-racialized liberal democracies, countries in which there is a history of regarding the cultural/racial/ethnic Other as inferior, less civilized" (23). In these countries, questions of what kind of history is made visible, what kind of heritage is presented, and to whose benefit, are ongoing negotiations; in developing a national identity, "urban 'heritage' landscapes" can offer a glimpse of the relationships between different groups of people who live in postcolonial cities (Yeoh 2001, 461).

Heritage or memorial sites are created by society as part of a negotiation and process of what to remember or forget (Johnson 2002, following Samuel). Through these processes, representations of heritage "form the intersection between official and vernacular cultures" (Johnson 2002, 294). At the same time, social structures governing society both empower and constrain people's ability to "formulate and represent their own memories" (Johnson 2002, 295). Heritage preservation has tended to focus on landmarks and memorials important to the dominant group, ignoring contributions by many other groups, including racialised people and women (Dubrow 1998). These "silences" or omissions of presentations of history "have a cumulative effect" (Furniss 1999, 76). In a context where a particular version of history is dominant, to not include alternative perspectives reinforces this version. Brenda Yeoh (2001) notes that "who controls (and benefits from) the whole process of transforming 'history' into tangible presences (and hence also absences) on the landscape and for what purposes (such as nationalism and tourism)" is a question that is difficult to answer, and which becomes highly relevant in the contested space of the city (461).

How history is defined and presented, and by whom, is key to understanding how identities are created and maintained, and how national narratives are constituted (Yeoh 2001). These identities are always racialised, gendered and classed, among other systems of oppression (Razack 2002). However, dominant identities and perspectives are "continually being challenged by alternative systems of meaning and belief" (Furniss 1999, 15). Identities, and the narratives that shape them, are not universal, or universally accepted – they are contested, shifting, and constantly being negotiated (Mawani 2004, following Said).

Structures of power can be seen in the physical spaces of settler countries (Ellemor 2003). The ways in which heritage and/or history are embedded and made visible in urban landscapes are complex, and it is impossible to completely separate out that which is colonial or postcolonial (Yeoh 2001). As Jacobs (1996) writes,

> [t]he relations of power and difference established in nineteenth century British imperialism linger on and are frequently reactivated in many contemporary First World cities. Yet in these cities there are also various challenges made to imperialism by way of what might be thought of as postcolonial formations. These expressions and negotiations do not just occur *in* space. This is a politics of identity and power that articulates itself *through* space and is, fundamentally, *about* space. (1)

According to Jacobs (1996), the above-mentioned 'negotiations of identity and place' are not only about the physical components of the city, but are also about the relationships between identity and 'home' (2). The experiences of the diverse groups that live in cities in settler countries are mediated by "a broader history and geography of colonial inheritances, imperialist presents and postcolonial possibilities" (Jacobs 1996, 2). In addition, while many groups are, as Jacobs argues, concerned with this politics, some groups are deeply affected but unaware of the ways in which this 'history and geography' has impacted them.

For example, writing about white Australians' reactions to 'The Block', Wendy Shaw (2007) notes that The Block is considered by some to be "anti-heritage" (82) because the ideals of the preservation of Victorian heritage buildings are not being upheld. The Block is an Indigenous mini-neighbourhood within a non-Indigenous neighbourhood in Sydney, Australia. Shaw (2007) argues that the protection of Victorian heritage buildings, which in Sydney represent Australia's colonial heritage, "have become an escape from everyday realities, which include overt Aboriginal poverty and dispossession" (95). Also in Australia, Tony Bennett (1993) describes The Rocks, a historical neighbourhood and tourist attraction in Sydney as a place where the histories and stories told about the site portray "a history that has nowhere to go because it has realised its goal" (230). It is a space which creates Indigenous heritage as "ancient and exotic" while settler culture maintains its "temporal fluidity" (Shaw 2007, 88). By romanticizing heritage, and establishing it as firmly located in the past, non-Indigenous Australians are able to distance themselves from their contemporary experiences of colonialism.

In Canada, Renisa Mawani (2004) explores how the totem poles in Stanley Park, Vancouver, act as a reminder of the presence of Indigenous peoples in British Columbia, and at the same time serve to erase "the City's encroachment on Coast Salish territory and the government's appropriation of cultural property" (37). She argues that while the totem poles were previously intended as symbols of the past, of disappearing Indigenous people, today they represent Canada's new identity as a multicultural country. By not including an analysis of the role of colonialism in mediating the relationships between Indigenous nations and Canada, the totem poles symbolise an imagined relationship, suggesting that colonialism is a relic of the past and ignoring its contemporary manifestations (Mawani 2004). In each of

these cases, non-Indigenous settler cultures are privileged by their experiences of colonialism, and continue to exert colonial pressures on Indigenous people.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) writes that in settler societies, "imperialism frames the indigenous experience" (19). Many Indigenous people's identities are shaped as much, or more, by their experiences of colonialism and imperialism as by 'traditional' Indigenous cultures; as identities change and shift over time, so should ways of understanding indigeneity to include new relations and new institutions (Barcham 2000). Roger Maaka and Augie Fleras (2000) argue that indigeneity is the "politicisation of 'original occupancy' as a basis for entitlement and engagement" (89). Following Taiaiake Alfred (1995), they suggest that the key theme in politics of indigeneity is "a rejection of colonialist arrangements in exchange for indigenous models of self-determination that sharply curtail the legitimacy and jurisdiction of the state while bolstering indigenous jurisdiction over land, identity and political voice" (2000, 89). Looking towards future models of self-determination, Bonita Lawrence (2004) suggests that indigeneity "refers less to precolonial states of existence and identity than to a future, postcolonial refashioning of Indigenous identities that are truer to Indigenous histories and cultures than those identities shaped by the colonial realities that continue to surround Native people at present" (22). While indigeneity can be initially understood as the state of being Indigenous, to distinguish between those who are Indigenous to a given area and those who are not (Barman 2007), it is a far more politically charged concept that reflects a challenge to colonial ways of thinking about Indigenous issues; Jacobs notes that "the claim of being indigenous, *not a settler of any sort*" has become a central argument in the claiming of a distinct space in the context of multiculturalism in settler countries (1996, 23; italics in original). At the same time, while the concept of indigeneity was originally created as a way of challenging a particular type of discrimination,

it can too easily be essentialised and limited, and so should not be relied on (Barcham 2000).

As a post- or anti-colonial identity, then, it is important that indigeneity be defined and

reshaped by Indigenous people to reflect changes emerging through decolonisation, as

imposed definitions of identity and indigeneity would be a form of, and reflect, ongoing

colonisation.

In Canada, mythologies of *terra nullius*, of Europeans as original inhabitants, continue to

influence how non-Indigenous identities are created. Ideas of *terra nullius* relate to the image

of Canada as a land empty and available to Europeans, and which was 'civilised' through

European government and infrastructure (Castellano 2001). Reserves for First Nations

people were created as a means of depopulating large areas of land in preparation for the

arrival of European settlers, effectively creating empty spaces; this "was one of the spatial

manifestations of the labeling of First Nations peoples" (Wilson and Peters 2005, 398). The

process of creating the reserves designated certain areas for Indigenous people, while the rest

was designated for settlers, or non-Indigenous people (Wilson and Peters 2005, following

Harris 2002). This enforced separation both created and emphasised a dualism between

"'primitive' spaces of First Nations culture and the 'modern' space of urban Canadians"

(Wilson and Peters 2005, 399). In part this dichotomy was reinforced by the very small

numbers of Indigenous people living in urban centres during the first half of the twentieth

century; however, the stereotype has persisted, despite the fact that over 50 percent of

Indigenous people in Canada now live in urban areas (Statistics Canada 2006).

This relatively peaceful account of Canada's beginnings is also supported by the concept of

"conquest through benevolence", which reinforces Canada's identity as 'good' while hiding

its racist and oppressive history (Furniss 2006, 182; Furniss 1999). Mawani (2004) argues that

non-Indigenous Canadian identities are in part based on Canada's identity as a modern

nation, but also on Canada's "ancient past", drawn from Indigenous peoples' cultures, which

are defined as premodern in contrast to Canada (44). John Ralston Saul (2008) writes that

> It wasn't surprising then that the idea of First Nations civilization as inferior
> and therefore destined to disappear ran parallel to the apparently
> contradictory view that we newcomers were the logical successors to this
> great old civilization. As successors we were to inherit their natural
> relationship to this place – the mythological aspect of what we call
> ownership. (30)

These identities, even as they evolve, "involve the selective retrieval and appropriation of

indigenous and colonial cultures" (Yeoh 2001, 459) and reflect a tension of simultaneous

uncritical acceptance and rejection of colonial culture (Yeoh 2001, following Kusno). This

searching for identity and history grounded in the land becomes part of Canada's national

narrative, as does the shifting relationship between settler and Indigenous communities.

As these identities are shaped by national narratives projected onto physical spaces, so do

they shape the ways that spaces are constructed and understood. Representations of history

and identity by settler communities can illustrate the tensions within settler identity between

the desire to establish the self as belonging in the new place, while simultaneously reflecting

the sense of not belonging (Bell 2006). In the creation of heritage sites, there is a tension in

how to represent Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures, particularly in relationship with

each other. Kay Anderson and Jane M. Jacobs (1997) question "these engagements with

Aboriginality" (19):

> Are they the result of a new phase of non-Aboriginal enthrallment with the
> nation's Aboriginal inheritance? Are they simply new expressions of
> imperialism, with urban developers and planners cleverly appropriating
> Aboriginal imagery to produce an inclusionary, legitimating skin for their
> developments? (1997, 19)

They go on to argue that simply representing Indigenous presence is not enough; it is essential that Indigenous people "actively participate in the making of urban space" as part of the institutional structure of control of the space (Anderson and Jacobs 1997, 19). The question of who has "authority to speak" is important in retelling stories and in creating spaces that represent Indigenous heritage (Phillips 2006, 124). While representations of Indigenous presence in urban areas are not the same as land rights and self-determination, "they can and do unsettle the colonial authority of cities" (Anderson and Jacobs 1997, 19). Writing about New Zealand, Nicholas Thomas (2006) suggests that there is a desire "to see the rupture between white settlers and native people as resolvable – and as prospectively resolved" (153). An unwillingness on the part of non-Indigenous people to recognise conflict between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people can result in a silencing of Indigenous stories, and an erasure of Indigenous presences in urban settings.

In urban areas, there are any number of stories and histories associated with a space. Examining which stories are privileged in a given space is more important than simply recognising that there are many stories (Ellemor 2003); it is in the act and processes of identifying a place as a heritage space that identities and social orders are revealed (Jacobs 1996, following Karp). How these stories are recognised and represented in cities and city spaces is part of the role of urban planning.

Planning and Colonialism

City planning is based on concepts such as rationalism and utilitarianism, and so is often described as modern (Allmendinger 2002). It is seen "a heroic, progressive narrative, part of the Western or Enlightenment project of modernization" (Sandercock 1998, 3). However, in examining the histories told of city planning, Sandercock (1998) argues that the 'official'

histories are only one side of the story; she describes what she calls "insurgent planning histories" and suggests that these alternative histories are a way of not only re-interpreting the official stories of planning in the past, but also envisioning new possibilities for planning in the future (2). She argues that "professions (like nations) keep their shape by molding their members' (citizens') understanding of the past, causing them to forget those events that do not accord with a righteous image, while keeping alive those memories that do" (Sandercock 1998, 1). Interpretations of the present are coloured by the histories planners tell, of themselves and of planning practice, as well as by desires to present planning in a good way.

Although there is a fair amount of writing about postcolonialism and cities in the majority world, there is not much written about postcolonial cities in the West (Blomley 2004; Jacobs 1996) or the experiences of cities "as sites where colonialism was expressed and experienced" (Stanger-Ross 2008, 544). While ethnic diversity in cities may be discussed, it is rare that the presence/absence of Indigenous people, on whose lands the cities are built, is included (Blomley 2004). The pattern of 'resettling' rather than settling city lands, as cities were often built on land important to the Indigenous nations of the area (Blomley 2004, following Harris), with its simultaneous dispossession of Indigenous peoples, resulted in the creation of particular local colonial histories and geographies (Jacobs 1996).

In settler countries, including Canada, "the process of establishing settler societies was accompanied by varying levels of physical and cultural genocide, alienation of indigenous land, disruption of indigenous societies, economies and governance, and movements of indigenous resistance" (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995, 7). Establishing separate spaces for Indigenous and settler communities, as part of the dispossession of Indigenous people from

their land and the establishment of colonial governments was also key (Wilson and Peters 2005). Writing about Australia, Porter (2007) argues that "the methods of statecraft ... by which we now define state-based planning practice, were the mechanisms by which Victoria was produced as a colonial (non-Aboriginal) place" (469, following Scott). Jacobs (1996) makes a similar point, noting that in colonial cities "town planning became the mechanism by which colonial adjudications of cleanliness, civility and modernity were realised quite literally on the ground" (20). Porter (2007) names three strategies that were used to produce and regulate space in Victoria, Australia:

1. Naming and boundary definition – defining and ordering space.
2. Surveying and mapping – the production of knowledge about space.
3. Selection and zoning – assigning value to space for active use. (469)

Porter argues that these three ideas were used as land dispossession strategies in the colonization of Australia (2007). In Canada, establishment of reserves for Indigenous people "was one of the spatial manifestations of the labelling of First Nations peoples" (Wilson and Peters 2005, 398). The creation and enforcement of these separate spaces was a systemic tactic of Canadian governments, from municipal to federal levels (Peters 2005). In British Columbia, the creation by Europeans of maps that erased Indigenous presence from the land by containing Indigenous people in villages served to demarcate certain spaces as empty and available (Grek-Martin 2007, following Braun). Although the lands were not actually empty, the maps located the lands and people of British Columbia within a bureaucracy that could then manage and allocate property accordingly (Harris 2004); even if the presence of Indigenous peoples challenged this image, the myth of the "Vanishing Indian" provided evidence for "an ostensibly natural, inevitable and, above all, 'legitimate' transition" from Indigenous to settler space (Grek-Martin 2007, 395).

Similarly, Sandercock (2003) states that "the dominant settler culture's land-based interests were represented by the emerging planning practices of the colonial era, practices which asserted non-indigenous control over aboriginal domains and concepts of space and place" (24). These strategies are still "at the heart of contemporary planning practice, and thus the actual practices and technologies of planning are seen as not only derived from colonially rooted cultural perceptions of place but constitute how the state continues its (post)colonial 'struggle for control over territory' (Said 1995, 332) in Victoria" (Porter 2007, 469). In Australia, Indigenous rights to land are predicated on the ability to demonstrate "an undisputed traditional way of life and association with the land" (Jacobs 1996, 111); Indigenous peoples who have been most affected by colonialism and contemporary colonial realities are less likely to be able to demonstrate this (Jacobs 1988; 1996). Despite ongoing Indigenous land (re)claims, assumptions of the dominant cultural group in settler societies are rarely questioned: "planning never has to ask about its own cultural view of place or question its own knowledge" (Porter 2007, 475). In other words, some of today's core ideas about planning are based in European assumptions about the use and value of land and space, and are thus assumed to be value neutral.

In settler societies, planning is a government function. As such it "is one of many social technologies of power available to ruling elites, and has primarily been used to support the power and privileges of dominant classes and cultures" (Sandercock 2003, 128). Porter (2006) states that "the very objectives, values, processes and knowledge that constitute the daily practices of state-based planning are themselves complicit with the ongoing colonial domination of place" (394). To address this, planning must be recognised as "an ontological and epistemological practice that is defined by colonial processes" (Porter 2006, 394). The practices and processes which shaped early colonial centres in settler countries, including

planning, must be identified, as must contemporary practices of colonialism. Following

Porter, then planners will be able to examine their own contexts, both personal and

institutional, to find spaces for interventions that challenge these structures.

Sandercock (2003) suggests that in Canada, as in other settler countries, "the invisibility of

aboriginal aspirations from contemporary land use plans… raises the question of whether

planning's practices have ever been decolonized, in this supposed age of postcolonialism"

(25). Porter (2007) argues that planning's 'inclusive' approach does not challenge the

fundamental inequities in planning processes, and that instead it recreates colonial

relationships. However, it has also been argued that as a government function, planning is an

important part of negotiations and relationships between settler and Indigenous

communities. Marcus B. Lane (2006), for example, states that planning has three roles in

working with Indigenous communities in settler countries, which are

    i.   protecting indigenous interests by participation in the planning
        activities of the state,
    ii.   helping indigenous communities (re-) acquire custodial lands through
        legal land claim processes, and resolving the conflicts that frequently
        accompany these processes, and
    iii.   realizing indigenous community development objectives through
        community-based planning (385).

He suggests that the rights of Indigenous peoples to land in settler countries have been

recognised, and that the discussion should now shift to "how, in a practical sense, productive

resources and lands might be shared by indigenous claimants and others" (Lane 2006, 389).

He argues that planning is a crucial tool for land justice for Indigenous groups, and suggests

that planning "has considerable potential for resolving land conflicts involving indigenous

peoples", even as he acknowledges that colonization, state policies and planning have all had

negative impacts, both in the past and present, for Indigenous peoples in settler countries (Lane 2006, 385).

Lane (2006) argues that there are many factors that impede participation of Indigenous people in planning processes, including the marginalization of Indigenous perspectives and various social factors that reduce the capacity of Indigenous peoples to participate in these processes. While stating that planning has not proven to be an effective tool for Indigenous peoples because it is a tool of the state, he argues that for planning to be a useful tool for Indigenous people, transformation of the state is required (Lane 2006). He also argues that for planning to work for Indigenous people, there needs to be not only "indigenous mobilization" but also "state transformation" (Lane 2006, 388), and that Indigenous organizations should take action through planning processes "to demand a certain standard of acknowledgement of indigenous issues" (2006, 389). As state and society "simultaneously constitute and transform one another" (Lane 2006, 392, following Migdal), Lane argues that this can be achieved through Indigenous participation in planning practices. However, it is unlikely that planning would act as a neutral participant in such conflicts; without recognition of, and active commitment to undoing, colonialism and its impacts by settler governments and by planning departments and practitioners, planning will continue to be ineffective and to reinforce colonial patterns.

Undermining Colonialism in Planning

While there is much attention paid to how planning interacts with Indigenous people and concerns, not enough is paid to the ways that planning is itself formulated in colonial ways (Porter 2006). Planning is not an objective mediator. If this is not understood, it can define when and how Indigenous voices are heard in planning (Porter 2006). Porter (2006) notes

that the "ordering of space, determination of who is an Indigene, and the limitation of what

constitutes acceptable practice – all of it authored by planning practices at the inception of

colonial rule in Victoria – continues to be the modus operandi of planning practice today"

(393), and argues that planners need to understand planning as "a culturally-bounded

position" that is framed by colonial processes (394).

Sandercock (2004) writes about the ongoing tendency by planners (and the wider public) to

not recognise Indigenous knowledge, or to assume that it has been lost completely through

colonialism. She argues that knowledge and power are closely interrelated, and that although

formally colonialism has ended, planning is complicit in a broader colonial system which

"has lingered on in other forms" (Sandercock 2004, 119). Porter (2006) also challenges

planning's supposed neutrality, by pointing out that planning's epistemological and

ontological roots are inherently colonial, and that these roots have never been fully

acknowledged or deconstructed. As a result, she argues, "the very objectives, values,

processes and knowledge that constitute the daily practices of state-based planning are

themselves complicit with the ongoing colonial domination of place" (Porter 2006, 394). In

his examination of how multiculturalism and planning are related, Qadeer (1997) points to

numerous examples of cultural preferences that differ from the presumed norm, and states

that "the overall effect of multiculturalism is to reveal the cultural biases embedded in the

so-called universal standards" (491). He also notes that participation can be used by

neighbourhood groups as "the tools of NIMBYism and ethno-racism" (Qadeer 1997, 491).

While this is true for Indigenous communities as well as racialised and immigrant

communities as local communities may reproduce the unequal structures that govern

broader society (Lane 2003), simply including Indigenous people in planning processes does

not recognise the rights that Indigenous people hold as a result of the fundamentally different place they occupy in Canada as original peoples (Porter 2004).

Evelyn Peters and Ryan Walker suggest that planning must adapt to create spaces for, and incorporate the voices of, Indigenous peoples. In their writings, they do not discuss colonialism and planning explicitly, but they recognise the ongoing marginalization of Indigenous people and suggest that the solution lies in self-determination/governance. As "tribal or land-based political communities" are often seen as the only 'authentic' spaces for Indigenous self-determination, Indigenous people in urban areas have a kind of invisibility (Walker 2006, 2347). Self-determination will necessarily be expressed differently in urban areas: there may be multiple Indigenous nations present in one urban area, and creating structures to reflect Indigenous self-determination may be more complex (Peters and Walker 2005).

Peters (2005) argues that governments should build connections and relationships between urban and rural/reserve spaces to be able to respond better to urban Indigenous needs. The urbanisation of Indigenous people in Canada is different from that of other people, as it has been directly related to dispossession of lands and control of movement through government policies (Peters 2004). Further, Peters (2005) argues that the expectation that Indigenous people have, when moving to urban areas, that their place as original inhabitants of the land will "make a difference…must feed into the interpretation of the situation of Aboriginal people in cities" (393). She notes that as planning's approach is universalised in that it claims to treat all urban residents the same, it is a challenge for planners to recognise the particular needs and rights of Indigenous people in today's urban, multicultural cities (Peters 2005).

Peters (2005) suggests two key approaches municipalities can take to respond to indigeneity and marginalization: partnership with other levels of government, and explicit incorporation of Indigenous people and communities into municipal planning activities. She also suggests that including visible reminders of original occupancy of Indigenous peoples in urban areas, increasing Indigenous government staff, and "critically evaluat[ing] cultural assumptions underlying bylaws and design standards" would raise awareness of contemporary Indigenous presence and challenges in urban areas (Peters 2005, 395). Although small, these shifts in direction would encourage non-Indigenous planners to think in new ways about the current colonial challenges facing Indigenous populations.

Walker (2008) acknowledges that planning is not value neutral, and that it needs to be transformative in order to eradicate "structures of oppression" (23). These structures are subtle, rather than overt, and are based in "privileg[ing] the momentum of western place conceptions and processes over others, such as those of Aboriginal peoples" (Walker 2008, 23). Walker (2003) emphasises that Indigenous people are not merely another part of the multicultural mosaic, but "constitute a national minority group that is central to the cultural and economic landscapes of Canadian cities" (113). When Indigenous communities do not see their priorities and ideas reflected in planning processes and outcomes, they may be more likely to resist being 'included' in mainstream processes (Walker 2008, following Rahder and Milgrom 2004). Walker (2008) notes that it is essential that planners incorporate a "recognition of the Aboriginal right and community aspirations for meaningful measures of self-determination" as a basis for planning with Indigenous communities (24).

Although not focusing explicitly on colonialism in planning, Walker and Peters nevertheless elaborate some systemic problems in the implementation of planning in urban areas. They

assume that Indigenous communities are self-determining, and so rather than attempting to describe what Indigenous planning should be, they focus their analysis on how non-Indigenous planners and governments can support planning led by Indigenous people. Similarly, in describing planning as a Western practice, with inherent biases and presumptions, Porter and Sandercock open it up to challenge, and argue that while Indigenous people have been able to use rational planning for their own ends, colonialism and western bias within planning continue to be ongoing concerns.

Approaching planning from a different perspective, Theodore Jojola (1998) challenges the notion of planning as a uniquely Western and modern idea, and notes that Indigenous people have always planned their own communities. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Indigenous nations had structures and processes, including confederations among nations, for planning purposes; these structures have persisted to today (Jojola 1998). Unlike Western planning, which is focused on land use, Indigenous planning focuses on land tenure and inheritance, and collective rights, enabling long-term sustainability and care of the land (Jojola 2008). Colonization changed this self-sufficient system, and created a system that depended on irregular and inconsistent government funding and regulations (Jojola 2008). While not addressing questions of indigeneity or colonialism directly, Jojola (2000) offers a number of tenets for Indigenous planning. These tenets are:

- "Indigenous people are not minorities" – in their traditional territories they are majorities;
- "The essence of indigenous scholarship is native self" – ideas are adapted and grown through the experiences of Indigenous scholars and activists;
- "Indigenous voices need no translation" – Indigenous people are well-versed in both traditional and Western communication and education; and

- "The indigenous planning process is informed by the indigenous world-view" – a worldview based in concepts of land and stewardship, and that balances past, present, and future needs (14).

Noting that Indigenous communities have always practiced various kinds of planning, Jojola (2000) suggests that contemporary Indigenous planning is not an entirely new idea, but instead a "reformulation of practices that have been used by 'traditional' communities for millennia" (4). These tenets assume a sense of control and engagement in planning and self-determination for Indigenous communities, and challenge colonial stereotypes and normative assumptions by requiring that Indigenous peoples be recognised as fundamentally capable of, and engaged in, determining their own needs and planning for their futures.

A further challenge to planning put forward by Vanessa Watson (2003) is that of conflicting rationalities. Although planning has begun to broaden its rationalist base to include perspectives on difference and diversity, Watson (2003) argues that it still fundamentally believes in and seeks a common vision or consensus among different groups. Instead, she suggests, differences in worldview or rationality can be so deep as to be incompatible with each other, and ethical questions are raised about how to address conflicts that may arise from these different rationalities (Watson 2003). However, as planners are often unaware of the different rationalities at play, Watson (2003) suggests that planning needs to consider the specific context of its practice more concretely. Although not writing explicitly about colonialism or colonial contexts, Watson's approach emphasises the need for planners to examine the contexts in which they are working, and to recognise planning as a particular cultural practice.

As there are few Indigenous planners working in North America, much of the planning in Indigenous communities, or in communities with Indigenous populations, is done by non-

Indigenous planners (Walker 2008). Negotiating the implications of colonialism in contemporary cities is complicated by the multiple nationalities and ethnicities, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, represented there. Western planners must be able to recognise their own worldview and biases, as well as to see the wider systems in which they work (Sandercock 2004). Hall (1996) has suggested that a broader understanding of British history, with greater emphasis on "inter-dependence and mutuality as well as on the patterns of domination and subordination which are always inscribed in the relations between coloniser and colonised" would provide impetus for a shift in British identities (70); the same might be true for planning in settler countries. Without recognition of the rights that Indigenous people hold in settler countries, planning's attempts to be inclusive will be unable to change the legacies of colonialism (Porter 2004). To effectively challenge colonialism, in other words, requires more than 'inclusivity'; it requires a shift in how understandings of Indigenous-settler relations are negotiated and played out in contemporary cities.

Conclusion

June Manning Thomas (1998) notes that it would seem ridiculous to describe South Africa's planning history without reference to apartheid; she argues in the United States "racial separation" is "still entrenched enough to cause major social and economic problems" and so cannot be separated from planning history (200). The same argument can be made about colonialism in settler countries – the implications of colonial planning in cities are still being felt, and so must be included in histories and analyses.

There is a tension in urban planning, in that planners want to plan ideal cities that are beautiful and functional and yet that reflect and respond to the actual realities of the city's inhabitants. As planning does not take into account past colonialism and ongoing

imperialism in its research and work, it replicates these patterns and "continues to re/imagine the colonial map through its own technological and epistemological canon" (Porter 2007, 475). The ways in which these realities are represented (or not) in the planning documents that guide development tends to reflect dominant power structures. Further, by making invisible the processes through which planning structures are developed and organised, the normative processes of the dominant society are maintained. Planning thus upholds and advances an agenda that marginalises certain groups to the benefit of others.

It has already been suggested that colonial attitudes and perceptions continue to influence planning; one example of how this happens will be examined in the following chapters. The next chapter will provide an overview of The Forks and the following chapter will examine planning documents for The Forks to consider how The Forks is represented in these documents, and what this might show about the relationship between colonialism and planning.

Chapter 4: The Forks – An Overview

The Forks is located in downtown Winnipeg, at the intersection of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers (see Fig. 1). It has, over the last 25 years, become a major attraction for Winnipeggers and tourists. This chapter will provide some context to present-day Winnipeg, and a brief overview of the history of The Forks and the area it occupies, focusing particularly on the post-contact era.

Fig. 1. The Forks' location in downtown Winnipeg (circled in red by S. Cooper) (image: Google Earth™).
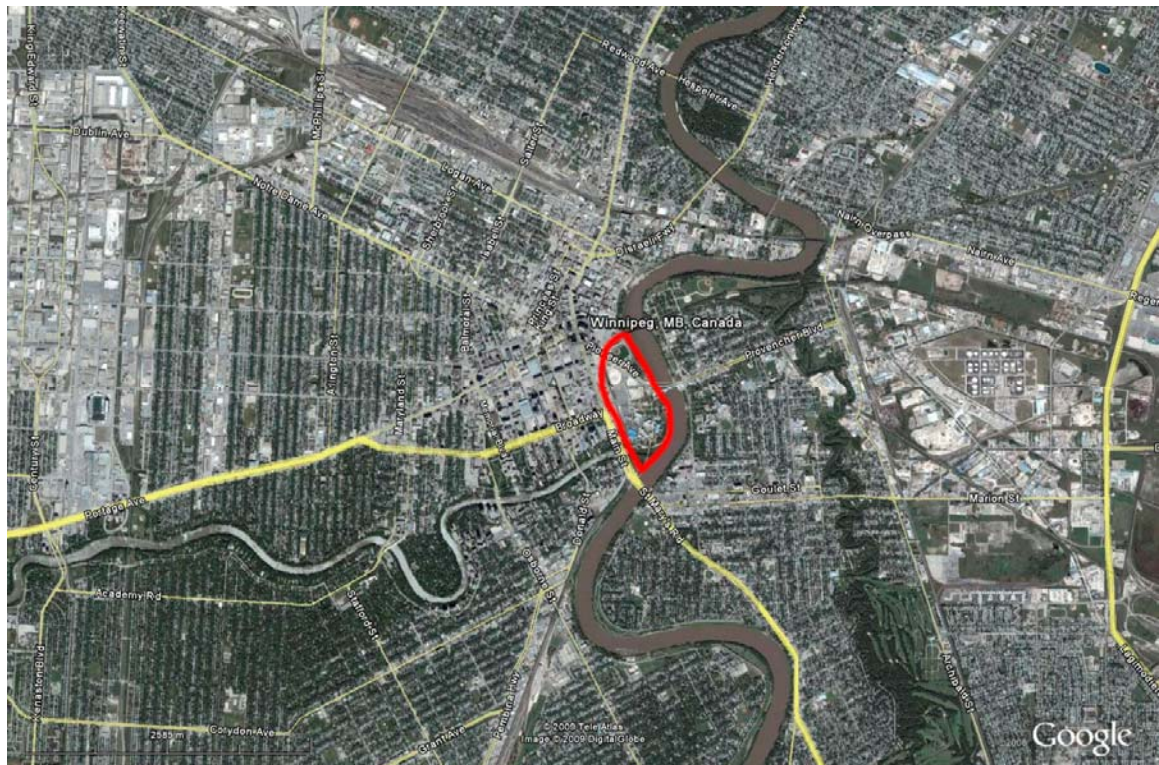
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

Winnipeg, Manitoba, is a city of 633,451 people (City of Winnipeg 2009). It celebrates its location in the middle of Canada, east to west, and the centre of the North American continent, on the signs that welcome visitors to Winnipeg, the "Heart of the Continent"

(City of Winnipeg 2008). Manitoba is becoming home to large numbers of recent immigrants. Almost 11,000 immigrants moved to Manitoba in 2007, and for the next ten years, the provincial government has set a target of attracting 20,000 new immigrants per year (Government of Manitoba 2007). Over 75 percent of these newcomers settle in Winnipeg; the majority come from non-European countries (Government of Manitoba 2007).

Winnipeg is also known as the city with the largest number of Indigenous people in Canada, with ten percent of the population, or 68,380 people, identifying themselves as Aboriginal (CBC News 2008). As the largest city in the province and surrounding area with many reserves and Indigenous communities, it has become the hub for many Indigenous organizations and governments. In Winnipeg, as in Canada, legacies and structures of colonialism continue to be visible. Legislation, including the *Indian Act* and land management policies developed by European and Canadian governments, as well as policies of integration and assimilation of Indigenous people, such as residential schools, have had extremely detrimental effects on Indigenous people in Canada, and particularly on Indigenous women (Eberts and Jacobs 2004; Cornet and Lendor 2002). Although Canada has been ranked highly in the United Nations Human Development Index, this would change dramatically if the ranking applied only to Registered Indians – in fact, Canada's ranking in 2003 would have dropped from 8th place to 48th (Cardinal 2006, following the United Nations Commission on Human Rights). Violence, poverty, and inadequate access to housing, education and employment continue to marginalise Indigenous people (Native Women's Association of Canada 2006).

After World War II, Winnipeg's downtown began to decline, as wealthier populations moved to the suburbs, followed by businesses (Comack and Silver 2006). Housing in inner city areas in and around the downtown core became more affordable, and so became desirable destinations for the Indigenous people who began to move to Winnipeg in greater numbers in the 1960s, and later for refugees and immigrants who moved to Winnipeg in the 1990s (Comack and Silver 2006). Quality of housing deteriorated as many landlords did not maintain their properties, nor did the City maintain its public facilities in the downtown and North End of the city (Comack and Silver 2006). Drug and gang related violence and crime followed (Comack and Silver 2006). As a result of a number of factors, including "globalization, suburbanization, internal migration, and immigration", a racialised form of poverty has become concentrated in the inner city areas (Comack and Silver 2006, 8).

By the 1980s, when the development of The Forks was first proposed, downtown Winnipeg was struggling to maintain itself. The downtown was neglected, and had developed a reputation for poverty and crime, a reputation which has persisted over the years. A recent survey showed that among people who work downtown, concerns about safety are high. Twenty percent of respondents said that they felt unsafe downtown during the day, while close to 70 percent said they felt unsafe downtown at night (Downtown Biz 2008).

To address the poverty and decline in Winnipeg's core, a downtown regeneration project, the Core Area Initiative, was begun in Winnipeg in 1981 as a partnership between all three levels of government (Layne 2000). Spending over $196 million over a decade, its "substantive mandate combined the themes of economic development, employment and training, and physical revitalisation of inner city neighbourhoods" (Layne 2000, 258-9). The

redevelopment of The Forks became part of the Core Area Initiative's responsibilities (Leo and Pyl 2007).

The Forks

There are a variety of histories told about the area around the intersection of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Different peoples have different experiences of the area, have been in the area for different amounts of time, and lay different claims to the site. The 'official' histories of the area, which are typically included in planning documents, usually begin with the Indigenous peoples who lived and travelled in the area prior to the arrival of Europeans. Oral histories tell of events that happened at the site hundreds of years ago (Flynn and Huck 2003). A number of archaeological studies have been conducted in the area, and provide evidence of different groups using the site throughout the last 6000 years (Downie 2002). According to the first Europeans in the area, in the 1700s Assiniboine, Ojibway (Saulteaux), Cree and Dakota (Sioux) peoples were all present at different times and used the land and resources of the area seasonally (Parks Canada 2007, 3; Downie 2002, 8).

The first Europeans to visit the area were fur traders and explorers, in the 1730s. A fort was established by Sieur de la Vérendrye in 1738, beginning relationships of trade and commerce between the First Nations and European/EuroCanadians (Parks Canada 2007, 3). The Hudson Bay Company and the North West Company later built other forts as commerce between First Nations and European/EuroCanadians became more established; the area became a hub for goods travelling both east and west (Downie 2002, 8). Métis families settled in the area around the intersection of the two rivers, and by the 1830s the majority of the population was Métis (Stardom 2003).

The Hudson Bay Company had been 'granted' territorial rights to Rupert's Land, the whole of the Hudson Bay watershed, by the English King Charles II in 1670 (Stardom 2003). In the 1860s, decisions were made to bring the Red River Colony into the newly formed Canada; neither the Métis nor the Indigenous people of Manitoba were consulted (Stardom 2003). The Métis concerns were taken up in the 1870 Red River Rebellion, led by Louis Riel. After Manitoba joined Confederation in 1870, immigration from eastern Canada and Europe jumped dramatically. Between 1874 and 1880, the town of Fort Garry, population 200, grew into the city of Winnipeg, population 66,000 people (Gillies 2003). Many Métis lost their land, and the francophone majority was reduced, by 1890 to only 10 percent of Manitoba's population (Jaenen 1994). Many of the immigrants were very poor, and had few resources; the European immigrants often spoke no English or French, and so had trouble finding housing and employment (Gillies 2003). For a few decades in the late 1800s, the land at the forks was the hub through which all immigrants to Western Canada passed (Gillies 2003). In the early 1870s, immigration sheds were built there by the federal Department of Public Works to accommodate the recent arrivals; many of them built small shacks on 'The Flats' nearby, which eventually became known as a red-light district (Gillies 2003).

When the railway was built in the 1880s, the economy began to shift away from fur exports to agriculture (Parks Canada 2007, 4). While Winnipeg's population grew, the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railroad Company bought land at the forks and established rail yards there (Parks Canada 2007). The rail yards were used until the 1960s; new facilities were then built on Winnipeg's periphery (Parks Canada 2007). At that point, the downtown yards were no longer used, and conversations began about the rail yards and what might happen to them.

The Past 25 Years at The Forks

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, discussions began about how the land could be used in a way that would benefit more Winnipeggers (St. John 2003). In the 1970s, the federal government announced the Agreements for Recreation and Culture program, which provided funding for the commemoration of historic routes in Canada, of which the Red River was one (St. John 2003). Seventeen sites were developed along the Red River, and in the spring of 1986, a 5.5 hectare park was created along the Red River at the forks (St. John 2003). This was to be a national historic site, and would be run by Parks Canada (St. John 2003).

The rest of the site was still a rail yard, though, so in 1986, the East Yard Task Force was established to develop recommendations and a plan for implementation of the redevelopment of the rail yards (East Yard Task Force 1986). In December 1986, the Task Force put forward a detailed proposal which laid the groundwork for next steps. Soon thereafter, The Forks Renewal Corporation was established as a public agency by the City of Winnipeg, the Province of Manitoba, and the Government of Canada, with a mandate to "own and redevelop a large, historic, riverfront site at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in the heart of Winnipeg", as well as to coordinate the development of the larger East Yard site, parts of which are owned by other corporations (The Forks Renewal Corporation 1987, 11).

In 1988, an agreement was reached between Canadian National Railways Real Estate (CN Rail - then the owner of the land at The Forks), and the Government of Canada to transfer the land to The Forks Renewal Corporation (Parks Canada, 2007; East Yard Task Force 1986, 1).The Forks National Historic Site was opened to the public in 1989, while clearing of

the rail yards was still in progress (St. John 2003). In 1989 construction began at The Forks, and over the next few years The Forks developed into the space it is today (see Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. The Forks, seen from the air (circled in red by S. Cooper) (image: Google Earth™).
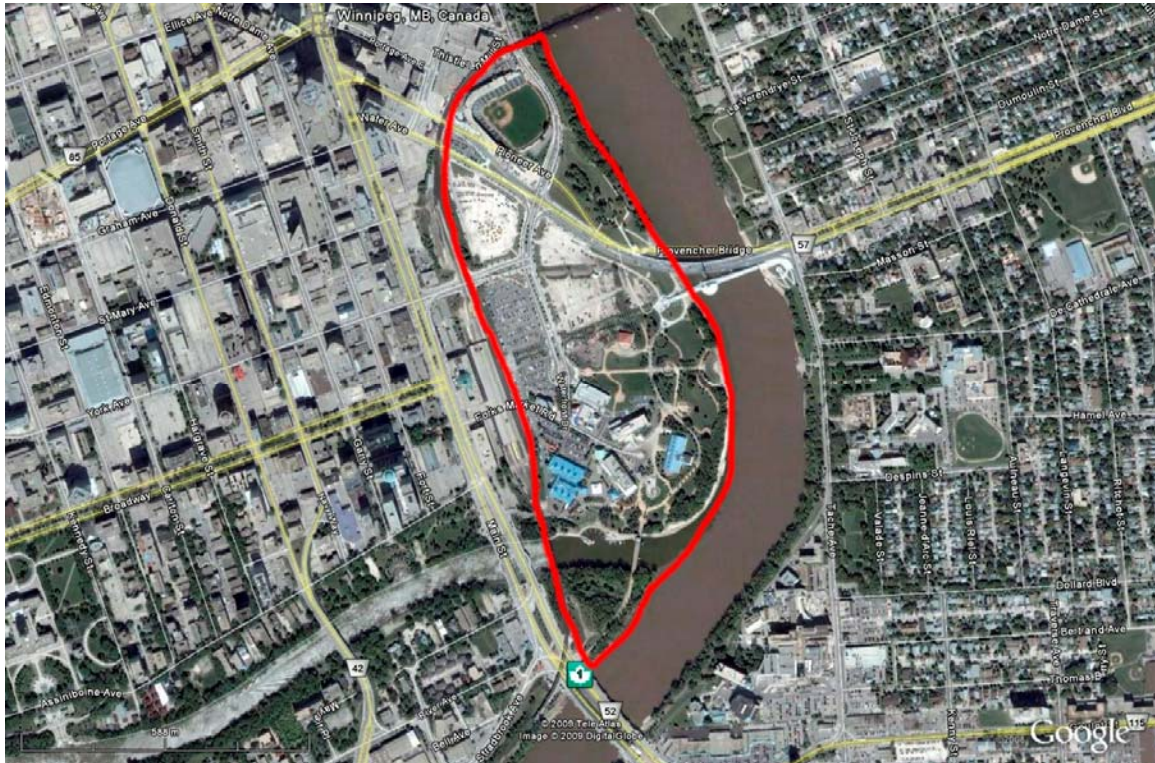
In 1994, The Forks Renewal Corporation merged with the North Portage Development Corporation to form The Forks North Portage Partnership (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2009). The mission of The Forks North Portage Partnership is "to act as a catalyst, encouraging activities for people in the downtown area through public and private partnerships, revitalization strategies; and to work to ensure financial self-sufficiency" (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2009, http://www.theforks.com/140 first paragraph). Since that time, The Forks has become a major landmark, and Winnipeg's most popular attraction (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2009). There are museums, restaurants, theatres, offices, a hotel, parks and parking lots at The Forks, following the 1996 Mission

Statement to develop along a "a mixed use approach including recreational, historical and cultural, residential and supportive commercial uses" (The Forks North Portage Partnership 1996, 2). Many events are held throughout the year at The Forks, including Canada Day and National Aboriginal Day celebrations, a variety of festivals, and numerous concerts, exhibitions, and presentations. These can range from major events with thousands of participants to relatively small gatherings; most of these events are free (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2009). Some events are coordinated by The Forks, while others are coordinated by external partners. These events contribute to The Forks' self-described reputation as "the city's most popular gathering place" (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2009).

Concluding Comments

As a gathering place for the city, where many major celebrations are held, The Forks occupies an important place in Winnipeg's landscape. As downtown Winnipeg continues to struggle socially and economically, The Forks continues to be seen as a major player in its revitalisation. Because of its location in an urban centre in a settler country, and because of its character as a heritage site, the planning documents that have guided The Forks through its development offer a window into the relationship between planning and colonialism.

Three major themes emerged from the review of The Forks planning documents. The first is the identity of The Forks created through the planning documents; the second is how the heritage and histories of The Forks reinforce colonial structures; and the third is the way in which decision-making about The Forks and its development does not support partnerships between The Forks North Portage Partnership and Indigenous organizations. The next

chapter will look at these three themes in detail, and will consider their implications in

illustrating how The Forks is perceived and represented in the planning documents.

Chapter 5: Analysis

As the 'Meeting Place', The Forks is intended as a site that represents the relationship of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. However, there are three problematic aspects of how it is represented in the planning documents. First, an identity for The Forks is created that imagines it as being both connected to, and yet apart from, Winnipeg itself. Second, while there is effort being made to include representations of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritages in the built environment and programming of the site, the descriptions of these heritages in the planning documents reinforce colonial structures. Finally, the structures of decision-making described in the planning documents externalise Indigenous people and priorities. These three aspects have a persistent and direct impact on how decisions are made about The Forks, and so on the development of The Forks itself.

The Identity Created for The Forks

The statement that The Forks is a particularly significant place is repeated throughout the planning documents, as is the theme that its development should be grounded in the distinct context of Winnipeg. But even as The Forks is intended to contribute to the revitalisation of Winnipeg's downtown, its identity is produced in contrast to the downtown.

The Forks is described as "a gathering place of national importance" (The Forks Renewal Corporation 1987, 18), "one of Canada's foremost historic sites" (The Forks Heritage Interpretive Plan Sub-Committee 1993, 70), and "a special and distinct, all season gathering and recreational place at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers..." (Mission Statement, quoted in The Forks North Portage Partnership 2001, 11). Since The Forks is portrayed as a special and unique place, any development that takes place there must also be special, and must reflect its location in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Canada: "The Forks

demands a distinctive response to its environment and culture" (The Forks Renewal Corporation 1987, 7). The *Phase I Concept and Financial Plan* (*Phase I Plan*) also states that "the result [of the development] must express Winnipeg's climate, with its dramatic change of seasons and colours; the geography, with the meeting of rivers, prairie and expansive sky; and the cultural traditions that have grown out of this special place located in the midst of Canada" (1987, 7). Throughout the planning documents, the development of The Forks is intended to create a sense of place that is distinct from similar types of places in other cities. Further effort is made to situate The Forks within Winnipeg's downtown area. The *East Yard Task Force Report to Winnipeg Core Area Initiative* (*EYTF Report*) suggests that one of the objectives of The Forks would be to "encourage developments in the East Yard that complement existing activities and initiatives in the remainder of downtown Winnipeg" (East Yard Task Force 1986, 11); the *Phase I Plan* recommends that "strong links should be created between The Forks and the adjacent Broadway, Fort Rouge, St. Boniface and Exchange Districts" (The Forks Renewal Corporation 1987, 8).

While The Forks' identity is built around its location as an important site in Winnipeg, and local history, heritage, climate, and the natural features of the city are all reflected in the design of the site, its identity as a "special place" sets it apart from the city. Even as The Forks is intended as a core part of the downtown area and its revitalisation, there is also a strong desire to keep The Forks visually and physically separated from the downtown; its identity is in part built in opposition to the downtown. From the beginning, the *EYTF Report* suggested that

> rather than attempting to hide or negate [the berm], it is recommended that a major landscape feature be developed to provide an immediate definition of the East Yard precinct...the East Yard can be pictured as a walled precinct with special entrances. (1986, 27)

The *Phase I Plan* reinforces this by setting out an objective of The Forks as a "Separate and Special Place", by "us[ing] the CN rail line and berm to celebrate and reinforce the 'sense of place' and 'special identity' of the area" (1987, 17). The berm, combined with the rivers to the south and east, serves to create a physical barrier around much of The Forks. This physical separation of The Forks from the downtown area also creates a sense of distance, which is emphasised in the documents by the celebration of the views of the downtown skyline and of St. Boniface from The Forks. The *EYTF Report* recommends a number of principles for site planning, including the principle that "views, site lines [sic] and axes of major site features (e.g. Union Station, St. Boniface Basilica, Portage/Main skyline, The Forks area) should be important axial elements in the layout of the site" (1986, 12) (see Fig. 3). It emphasises the role of the South Point area as "the most advantageous place within the entire area to sense the heart of The Forks. It is here that one can see the actual joining of the rivers, look over the sites of historic forts across the Assiniboine River, and see the backdrop of the skyline of the modern city" (East Yard Task Force 1986, 23). It also recommended that "visual and physical linkages to adjacent downtown urban areas, including St. Boniface, Portage/Main, Broadway, the Exchange District and adjacent waterfront parks" be developed (East Yard Task Force 1986, 12). While the accessibility of the rest of the city to the site by "car, bus, rail and boat from each area of Winnipeg" is celebrated (East Yard Task Force 1986, 10), the boundaries established by the rivers and the railway berm still ensure a sense of difference: "the strengthening of these transitional elements reinforces the sense of arrival at a special place" (East Yard Task Force 1986, 27). These themes are repeated in the *Phase I Plan*, and in both of these cases, the focus is not on integrating The Forks into downtown and Winnipeg, but maintaining it as a special place separate from Winnipeg.

Fig. 3. View of downtown from a lookout at The Forks (image: S. Cooper)

The *Phase II Planning and Development Guidelines* (*Phase II Plan*), and the *Focus on the Future Concept and Financial Plan 2001-2010* (*Focus on the Future*) take a slightly different tone, but still maintain The Forks as a distinct place within Winnipeg. In the early 1990s, the overarching theme for the second phase of development at The Forks was "Making Connections" (The

Forks North Portage Partnership date unknown, 1). However, the sense of The Forks as being separate from the whole of the city remains. It is described as "a special place within the overall city fabric" (The Forks North Portage Partnership date unknown, 8). Rather than being smoothly woven into the fabric of the city, though, "a planned system of arrival gateways at various entry points to the site is to emphasise the specific and unique sense of place. Gateways are to celebrate the connections between the site and the city, and add coherence to The Forks" (The Forks North Portage Partnership date unknown, 8) (see Fig. 4). By 2001, the tone had shifted slightly, to say that "The Forks functions as a special place and destination, yet it is an integral part of downtown Winnipeg" (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2001, 16). The *Focus on the Future Plan* describes The Forks as located in a downtown which is changing, and frames The Forks North Portage Partnership's (The Partnership) work "within the context of a renewed commitment to the downtown" (2001, 2). Despite its greater contextualisation of The Forks within the downtown, the *Focus on the Future Plan* describes The Forks as "a place which is safe, clean, green, affordable, diverse, connected, and attractive. In short, a pleasant and accessible place..." (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2001, 11). This suggests that The Forks is closer to integrating itself into the downtown, although it remains disconnected.

Fig. 4. Gateway to The Forks and railway berm (image: S. Cooper).

The intent is to keep The Forks separate from the rest of Winnipeg, to create a distinctive sense of place apart from, and in contrast to, the rest of Winnipeg. Because of the ways in which downtown Winnipeg is understood to be a racialised space of poverty and violence, the impact of the emphasis in the planning documents on the peaceful, recreational nature of The Forks, framed by the railway berm and contrasted with the distant skyline of the downtown which Winnipeggers 'know' to be dangerous, is to reinforce and contribute to concerns about safety and the downtown. Contributing to this idea of The Forks as an oasis of calm in the midst of a racialised and violent downtown, the heritages presented at The Forks shape a story of peaceful encounter that locates Indigenous heritage in the past, while non-Indigenous heritage has progressed and continues to evolve.

Representations of Heritage at The Forks

From the beginning, the heritages and histories associated with and embedded in The Forks have been identified as a key theme that should shape the development of The Forks. In 1986, the East Yard Task Force stated that "the primary importance of the historical theme is recognised for the East Yard site, particularly with respect to the area at the junction of the two rivers" (East Yard Task Force 1986, 23). The historical theme grew to include a wide range of interpretive possibilities; although this has been a continuous theme throughout the visions of The Forks, after the railway was removed, the East Yard was initially conceptualised as a blank slate, ready for development.

In 1993, The Forks Renewal Corporation published *The Forks Heritage Interpretive Plan (Interpretive Plan).* The *Interpretive Plan* was written by The Forks Heritage Interpretive Plan Sub-Committee of The Forks Heritage Advisory Committee. It states that the heritage interpretation at The Forks should focus on Forks-related themes, and should not attempt to duplicate themes interpreted elsewhere; instead, it should focus on that which is unique about The Forks, and strive to complement other heritage programming and sites. The *Interpretive Plan* was developed over a few years, and includes research on the histories of The Forks and area, and comments from consultations with a number of organizations and individuals throughout Winnipeg and Manitoba. It is the core document which describes the policies relating to heritage and historic resource preservation and presentation at The Forks, and documents produced after 1993 refer to the *Interpretive Plan* for guidance in programmatic and physical development relating to heritage on the site.

Throughout the five documents surveyed, the theme of heritage was paramount in imagining the site's development. However, despite the weight of this heritage and history on the site,

when the redevelopment of The Forks was first being considered in the 1980s, the space was seen as a blank slate for redevelopment. The *Interpretive Plan* notes that "when the rail yards were cleared in 1988, most of The Forks Renewal Corporation's lands were reduced to a flat, featureless gravel expanse" (1993, 43). The *EYTF Report* suggests that the redevelopment should take into account a number of factors – the size of the site, the potential uses, accessibility and servicing of the site, and its potential identities as a distinct and separate district and a historic place (1986). Combined, these features emphasise the "unique opportunity" for the creation of "an overall plan to redevelop the entire East Yard" (East Yard Task Force 1986, 9-10). It is unusual, in a city, to have such a large tract of land available for development; there was great excitement about what could be done with the space. Even as the space was understood to be important within the context of downtown Winnipeg and because of its important heritage features, it was also open to all possible uses and developments. It was decided relatively quickly that it should be a "Special Public Place that Complements the Downtown" (East Yard Task Force 1986, x). Although many different ideas of what to do with the space were proposed, most revolved around themes of parkland, commercial/office space, residential buildings, and/or some kind of heritage designation.

This idea that the rail yards were empty space, free of claims to them and with all possibilities open, resembles very closely the concept of *terra nullius*, the idea that the land is empty and available for 'development' by settlers. The histories presented through The Forks suggest an understanding of the site as *terra nullius* can be traced back to the first European explorers in the area. Then, and since that time, The Forks have been described as having been a seasonal camp site, or as a meeting place for First Nations people. Cree, Assiniboine, and Ojibway nations were all described by Europeans as being present in the

area, and there were occasional conflicts among nations over the area. However, no one nation was dominant in the area, and for all the nations it was a place of transiency. Although it was not empty land, since the First Nations in the area were only present at certain times of the year, the European and Canadian newcomers perceived the land as available for use and settlement, and did not see themselves as encroaching populations. This interpretation, though not explicitly stated, is reinforced through emphasis on the seasonal use of the site by Indigenous groups.

Although it does not use the term *terra nullius*, the *Interpretive Plan* acknowledges that The Forks was seen as a blank slate when redevelopment was proposed: "Cut off from the rest of the city by the rail berm and with a minimum of physical features remaining, the area had no obvious pattern or urban structure" (1993, 43). Although development had started by the time the *Interpretive Plan* was released, in its recommendations for future development of the site, the *Interpretive Plan* states that "it is therefore important to understand the historical development of the land patterns in and around The Forks in order to provide an historical perspective on possible future land patterns" (1993, 43). It goes on to describe four historic patterns of land use: Land Patterns of the Native Precontact and Early Euro-Canadian Exploration Eras, Red River Colony Settlement Patterns, the City of Winnipeg Land Survey and Street Patterns, and the Railway Development Pattern (1993, 43-48). Examples of how these could be integrated into the development are suggested. In this way, the *Interpretive Plan* attempts to ground development at The Forks in the land use patterns of the past, emphasizing that the histories and heritages at The Forks are ever-present, and so implying that the land is not the blank slate it may appear to be.

Once the initial development framework for The Forks was established, the history and heritage theme continued throughout the site planning, and is found at the core of the Meeting Place concept, which frames the development of The Forks. Most clearly elaborated in the earlier documents, the idea describes a number of different types of meetings:

- The Forks as Canada's cross-roads
- the meeting of old and new
- the meeting of diverse peoples
- a place for people to meet, work and play throughout the year (The Forks Renewal Corporation 1987, 7).

Early on, the importance of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritages at The Forks was recognised. In describing the meeting place theme, the *Phase I Plan* notes that The Forks has been the site for

> the meeting of diverse peoples, including native groups, the French and British, and the mosaic of other ethnic groups who settled the west through an entry port at Winnipeg and now constitute a strong presence in modern Canada.... the meeting of people for major public functions as in the past when Upper Fort Garry was the administrative heart of the Red River settlement and The Forks was a focus for trade and encampments of Metis [sic] and Indians. (The Forks Renewal Corporation 1987, 18)

Within this meeting place idea, the *Interpretive Plan* suggests a number of different heritage themes for interpretation: Native Lifeways Prior to Contact; Native Lifeways: The Proto- and Post-Contact Era; Fur Trade to Province; Immigration and the Emerging Metropolis; Railway Era; and The Forks and the Future (1993, 31). Examples of historical events or trends in each category are included, and all the themes revolve around the shared theme of natural heritage, which includes flora, fauna, the rivers, and other environmental features and factors.

Throughout the planning documents, the heritages and histories at The Forks are presented as non-group specific, except when referring to Indigenous people or recently arrived immigrants who, once assimilated to Canadian society, are no longer specifically named and become part of the general heritage of the site. Indigenous heritage continues to be specifically named, locating it outside the main trajectory of history at The Forks. The histories begin with the presence of the Indigenous peoples, move on to the fur trade, and then to a seeming inevitability of railways and immigration of non-Indigenous people, with a minimum of conflict throughout (The Forks Heritage Interpretive Plan Sub-Committee 1993, 30-41). Told from a primarily European or Euro-Canadian perspective, the histories shared at The Forks serve to contain and channel the ways in which colonialism is discussed, if it discussed at all.

While the initial list of historical themes is fairly broad and includes a range of topics within each theme, The Forks draws on mythologies of Canadian history as a series of peaceful encounters between European and Indigenous peoples, particularly in reflecting the theme of the Meeting Place. Although there are some examples of Indigenous history outside of the first two themes (which are Native Lifeways Prior to Contact and Native Lifeways: The Proto- and Post-Contact Era), and the *Interpretive Plan* was careful to note that the themes should not be prioritised in any particular way, "in order to present an integrated, holistic overview of the history of Western Canada, with emphasis on filling the gaps in interpretation" (The Forks Heritage Interpretative Plan Sub-Committee 1993, 42), overall there is a sense that Indigenous history is primarily concentrated in the pre-contact and fur trade eras. The 2001 *Focus on the Future Plan* describes The Forks as "a place that... emphasizes its Aboriginal history and its cultural heritage", clearly locating Indigenous heritage in the past and even in contrast to The Forks' more contemporary cultural heritage

(The Forks North Portage Partnership 2001, 12). The impact of trapping the histories and heritages of Indigenous people in earlier eras, and as separate from the overarching progress of history, is to make their more recent contributions to Winnipeg invisible (see Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. An interpretation and commemoration of a meeting of First Nations more than 500 years ago (image: S. Cooper).

Throughout the documents, the ways in which Winnipeg developed, and the relationship of the city to the land on which it sits are not visible. The Forks is intended "to instill in Winnipeggers and Manitobans a sense of 'pride of place' through an awareness of the accomplishments of their forebears" (The Forks Heritage Interpretive Plan Sub-Committee 1993, 72), which suggests that accomplishments, or representations of accomplishments in ways, that might not be so deserving of pride would not be mentioned. The more painful or shameful elements of colonial history, such as the smallpox and flu epidemics, the residential

schools, and dispossession of land, are ignored or minimised. Other than a brief mention in the *Interpretive Plan* of "Native loss of land and the reserve system" and "Métis loss of land" (1993, 37), there is no hint that Indigenous people were dispossessed of their land to make way for Winnipeg; instead, The Forks is intended "to emphasize to the visitor the concept of Winnipeg as being the 'Gateway to the West'" (The Forks Heritage Interpretive Plan Sub-Committee 1993, 72). Colonial histories are hidden, and in a way, by incorporating Indigenous histories and heritage at The Forks, Winnipeg's history is retold in a way that appropriates Indigenous heritage as part of the heritage of Winnipeg.

Situating Indigenous peoples' heritage and history as having happened in the past, while incorporating Indigenous heritage as part of Winnipeg's and The Forks' history, narrows the view of history and interpretation that is possible at The Forks. Framing the heritage of The Forks through the lens of the dominant, non-Indigenous culture and ignoring the impact that Winnipeg's and Canada's existence and growth has had on Indigenous people contributes to a problematic institutional structure for decision-making about development at The Forks.

Decision-making About The Forks

The Forks Renewal Corporation and later The Forks-North Portage Partnership are the primary decision-makers at The Forks. The Forks Renewal Corporation's mandate "is to own and redevelop the Forks' lands on behalf of the three governments" (The Forks Renewal Corporation 1987, 14)[6], while The Partnership's role is to be "responsible for the continuing renewal and stewardship of two sites in Winnipeg's downtown: North Portage

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[6] In older documents, before The Forks was established as a destination, the capitalization of "The Forks" was somewhat inconsistent.

and The Forks" (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2001, 1). The City of Winnipeg has final say over development proposals at The Forks, and all proposals must conform to City regulations, as with any other landowner. The Partnership is a tri-level government agency representing the interests of Canadians; since The Forks is a space that commemorates history and heritage, both of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, one would expect to find representation of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in the decision-making processes.

The bulk of the documents is written from a non-Indigenous perspective, representing the dominant interests in the development of The Forks. The documents clearly state that consultation and engagement with Indigenous organizations and people are critical in developing heritage themes relating to Indigenous history and culture. It is clear throughout the planning documents that The Partnership recognises that it cannot speak for Indigenous peoples and organizations in deciding how to present Indigenous heritage. The *Phase I Plan* identifies the desirability of including some kind of "centre for the local and/or national native community" (1987, 24). At this early stage of planning, the document outlines a few potential options for what the centre might look like, and states that "envisaging a project of national significance, the Board looks forward to intensive consultation with the appropriate Indian, Metis [sic] and government groups" (1987, 24). However, despite the clear identification of Indigenous themes and of the desire for a strong representation of Indigenous history and presence on the site, this relatively strong early statement becomes vague and later documents give no clear descriptions of how this might happen.

In its description of the planning structures of The Forks Renewal Corporation, the *Interpretive Plan* names four committees that contribute to the development of The Forks,

including the Heritage Advisory Committee and the Aboriginal Planning Committee (1993). However, there are no other mentions of the Aboriginal Planning Committee, nor are any hints as to their role provided in any of the planning documents. The Heritage Advisory Committee, in contrast, clearly defines its own role as advisory to The Forks Renewal Corporation "with regard to heritage resources" (The Forks Heritage Interpretive Plan Sub-Committee 1993, 6). While it is not necessary that the Aboriginal Planning Committee define itself in the same way, the Heritage Advisory Committee has created an institutional presence for itself that is lacking in the planning documents for the Aboriginal Planning Committee.

The lack of commitment to co-operation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in developing The Forks becomes particularly clear in looking at the South Point area of The Forks (see Fig. 6). This area is recognised in the *EYTF Report* as being "the most advantageous place within the entire area to sense the heart of the Forks" (1986, 23). It is separated from the main areas of The Forks by the Assiniboine River, and is connected to these areas by the Low Line Bridge. In 2001, the *Focus on the Future Plan* notes that "since 1987 the area known as South Point has been notionally allocated to the Aboriginal community for development" (2001, 28). There is no mention of this "notional allocation" in the intermediary documents. It is important that an area of land has been allocated for development by Indigenous people along Indigenous themes, and the *Interpretive Plan* notes that development of "an Aboriginal centre at The Forks by the local Native community [should happen] according to their own timetable and priorities" (1993, 10). Nevertheless, the use of the word 'notionally', in this context, suggests a certain unwillingness to give up control over the land and process of development. Instead, it sounds as if The Partnership is

trying to maintain control of the process, extending an offer of partnership but without firm

commitment to partnership with the Indigenous community.

Fig. 6. View of (a) the main areas of The Forks and (b) the South Point from the Low Line Bridge (images: S. Cooper).

(a)

(b)

As noted above, the heritage associated with The Forks is non-specific, in that it is not identified with any particular cultural group, except when referring to recently arrived immigrant or Indigenous heritages. The same happens with the decision-making processes, where decisions about the development of The Forks are made by The Partnership. The Partnership and, before it, The Forks Renewal Corporation were mandated by the federal,

provincial, and municipal governments, "on behalf of the citizens of Canada, Manitoba, Winnipeg" (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2001, inside cover). However, throughout the documents, The Forks Renewal Corporation and The Partnership explicitly refer to Indigenous groups as external to themselves. In the *Phase I Plan*, The Forks Renewal Corporation Board "recognize[d] the special contribution of Indian and Metis [sic] people at the Forks, and will explore the possibilities of enabling these groups to develop a centre for the local and/or national native community" (The Forks Renewal Corporation 1987, 24), and in 2001, the *Focus on the Future Plan* states that "Future enhancements within the South Point will:

- be planned in partnership with Aboriginal groups;
- include limited building with emphasis on the site's natural features;
- include strong Aboriginal themes;
- emphasize Aboriginal heritage interpretation;
- provide for trails, bicycle routes, docking;
- create opportunities for Aboriginal artisans" (2001, 28).

There is clear acknowledgement by The Partnership that partnership with Indigenous groups is necessary. However, by not explaining why this partnership is important, or whose interests are represented by The Partnership, the sense that Indigenous people are not represented in the organizational structures is reinforced. The implication of this is that The Partnership does not represent Indigenous interests in the development of The Forks, and the power relationships embedded in the structures are obscured. The result is to place settler or non-Indigenous Canadians into a seemingly neutral position, while Indigenous people are constructed as a special interest group, or 'Other', in relation to this neutrality. This constrains the limits of potential partnering to specific areas, such as Indigenous

heritage themes or the South Point, and reduces The Partnership's ability to develop The Forks as a heritage site that is truly representative of The Forks' histories.

In addition, the vagueness of phrasing in the documents, and the lack of concrete details about how or when partnering with Indigenous groups and organizations might happen, suggest that this is not a priority for The Partnership. A concept plan for the South Point area was proposed in 1997 by The Forks Aboriginal Planning Committee. While there are many reasons why this proposal may not have been accepted, unless some form of partnership between The Partnership and Indigenous organizations and groups is expressly embedded in the decision-making and development structures for The Forks, the possibilities of developing any areas of The Forks along Indigenous themes will depend on the goodwill of the individuals working there at the time.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated three themes that are present throughout the planning documents for The Forks, although in different ways in different documents. The first theme is that The Forks has created an identity for itself as a peaceful oasis in the centre of Winnipeg, which is in contrast to the more common racialised stereotype of downtown Winnipeg as a dangerous place. By separating itself from the downtown area, The Forks is able to recreate itself as an idealised space next to a troubled core. The actual realities of the rest of the city – of segregation and economic disparities among new immigrant, Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, of losses of Indigenous culture and language, and of increasing suburbanization and suburban fears of engagement with the downtown core – are hidden, and a 'safe' place to learn about heritage is created for visitors.

The second theme is that the heritage of The Forks is presented throughout the planning documents in a way that establishes The Forks as available for development, and that locates Indigenous history and heritage in the past, while eliding the site's colonial history. This creates a harmonious vision of the past where Indigenous and non-Indigenous people encountered each other and lived peacefully together, obscuring the realities of colonialism both in the past and today; it also sets up non-Indigenous society and organizations as having the contemporary claim to the space of The Forks.

The third theme is that The Partnership does not represent the interests of Indigenous people in its decision-making, and while it recognises that partnership with Indigenous groups and organizations is important to appropriately represent Indigenous heritage at The Forks, structures to enable this kind of partnership are not present in the planning documents. This strongly suggests that working with Indigenous groups to create The Forks as a space that truly represents the meeting of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is not a priority for The Forks, and reinforces the marginalization of Indigenous heritage at The Forks.

These themes illustrate three ways in which colonialism continues to impact the planning and development of an important site in Winnipeg. The final chapter will consider what the implications of these three themes might be for planning practice, and will suggest some directions for further study.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to examine the relationship between colonialism and planning. Using postcolonialism, postcolonial identities and understandings of heritage, and the ways in which colonialism and colonial relationships are presented in the planning literature as a grounding framework, planning documents from The Forks, Winnipeg, were analysed to see if and how colonial relationships are visible. The conclusion reached was that colonial relationships are present and visible in the planning documents, particularly in terms of the heritage and identity of the site, and in the decision-making processes that guide development of the site. The implication is that these colonial relationships will also affect the social and built environment of The Forks that is based on these planning documents.

As I have worked through the process of reading for, researching and writing this thesis, questions kept coming up about what it means to challenge colonial structures. So many of the immigrants who came to Canada (and many who come today as well) came to escape persecution and oppression elsewhere; so many struggled so hard to make lives for themselves and for their families here. How are these histories represented in planning? And how do we still understand the impact that these immigrants, and the policies that shaped their lives, had on the lives of the Indigenous peoples who had lived in North America since time immemorial? How are the histories of Indigenous people, up to the present and into the future, represented in planning?

There is a tendency in Western thought to look for 'the answer', rather than a path, as an ongoing process of change. There is no one solution to the challenge of how to deconstruct colonialism; it is, and will be, an ongoing challenge. The impacts of colonialism continue to be felt, both in privilege and in marginalization, but the causes are often concealed. Multiple

approaches are needed, from multiple directions and levels, to address the many different ways that colonialism is manifested and hidden in societal structures and institutions.

Learnings from The Forks: Implications for Planning Practice

Developing clear links between colonialism and planning in contemporary western cities is challenging. Colonialism and its associated power relationships are irregular and changing; there are no absolutes, and the multi-faceted presences and different power orbits of the multitude of different groups and interests result in a constantly shifting landscape of desires and images projected onto the urban fabric. Brenda Yeoh (2001) states that

> Drawn into the postcolonial urban crucible are a multitude of different interests groups and alliances alongside the postcolonial state and commercial ventures, each staking a different claim on the city's heritage, and a right over what it should not 'forget to remember', as well as what it should 'remember to forget', where both remembering and forgetting are not accidental acts but 'structural necessities'" (461, quoting Devan 1999).

Identifying which kinds of heritage and whose histories should be presented or commemorated in an urban area, and how, are complicated questions. Since planning practice is at the frontlines of the analysis and determination of how space should be used and allocated in cities, the research, interpretations and recommendations carried out and put forward by planners will influence the way the city will develop. In settler societies, part of the work of planners must be to figure out ways to understand and address the various histories and lasting colonial impacts present in the city. Planners, like everyone else, live within a complex system of power structures and social structures. Inevitably, planners interpret the context in which they are creating reports and plans, and their interpretations will affect the documents that they produce. This challenge is multi-layered; it requires a

response that is both individual and systemic, and requires a different approach to planning than has been used so far.

In examining the planning documents for The Forks, I have attempted to focus on the processes, rather than the impacts, of colonialism. The impacts of colonialism and colonial processes are relatively clear – it serves to retrench European and Euro-Canadian power structures, while marginalizing non-European perspectives and worldviews. The ways in which this happens, however, are less clear, and are often hidden. The planning documents of The Forks, Winnipeg, demonstrate that colonial structures and attitudes are still present in policies and plans that guide development at this site. The identity for The Forks that establishes it as a site distinct from the downtown, which is perceived as a racialised and dangerous space; the locating of Indigenous history in the past, while non-Indigenous history continues to the present and elides Indigenous contributions to contemporary Winnipeg; and the lack of representation of Indigenous interests in the decision-making processes at The Forks, combine to create a structure where Indigenous interests are marginalised and non-Indigenous interests are prioritised, thus reinforcing and reframing colonial and dominant interests at The Forks.

Part of the challenge of living in a postcolonial country, which still maintains colonial relationships towards internal populations, is to find ways to recognise and understand the colonial past and present, and to build equitable relationships and futures for all people. The first step is to become aware that colonialism is an ongoing factor in Canadian policies and systems. The second step is to understand that these policies and systems can be changed. In creating these documents, planners present particular images and structures; the ways in which The Forks is represented in the planning documents, the identities created for The

Forks, and the decision-making processes in place at The Forks reflect ideas about the roles and places of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in the histories and futures of The Forks.

The histories and spatial identities of The Forks reflect what are, in Canada, powerful narratives that also shape Canadian histories and identities. The Forks cannot be separated from the rest of the city and the realities of contemporary colonial life in Winnipeg cannot be hidden in The Forks. Writing about Vancouver, Jean Barman (2007) notes that first, Indigenous people were removed from city lands to create space for settler populations, and then the representation of Indigenous people, in the form of the totem poles in Stanley Park, provided "the means for the young city to assert that sense of rootedness that is at the heart of Indigeneity" (4). She argues that the erasure of Indigenous people from the city, combined with the creation of "a sanitized Indigeneity" through the totem poles, enabled Vancouver to present itself as "indigenous-friendly, even as it rid itself of the real thing" (Barman 2007, 4). In Winnipeg, the realities of colonialism are visible in the downtown and North End; by celebrating the heritages of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people while ignoring the structures of colonialism that continue to marginalise Indigenous people and privilege non-Indigenous people, The Forks embeds itself in, and reinforces these colonial structures.

This analysis of the planning documents for The Forks has shown that The Forks North Portage Partnership (The Partnership) and its predecessors are not clear about whom they are meant to represent; they are also unclear about how partnerships with Indigenous organizations and groups might work. While The Partnership recognises that it cannot speak for Indigenous people, and that it must partner with Indigenous groups to develop heritage

resources and programming relating to Indigenous themes, this raises the question of where

the voices of Indigenous people are in the development of other, non-specific resources and

programming. The implication is that they are not included; this is not an equal partnership.

Unless partnerships with Indigenous organizations are more concretely embedded in the

planning documents, planning will continue to reflect dominant approaches and will not

actually challenge colonial practices.

Kay Anderson and Jane M. Jacobs (1997) suggest that

> It is tempting to return to a familiar critique which aligns such formations
> with colonialism: pointing perhaps to the way they appropriate and
> commodify Aboriginal imagery, or to the way they feed non-Aboriginal
> desires, or to the way these gestures of inclusion are regularly built around
> primitivist stereotypes. Yet it is also important to see that such developments
> may give rise to formations which are far more radically postcolonial than
> might be first thought. (19)

This is undoubtedly true; the very visible Indigenous presence at The Forks can unsettle

colonial notions about Winnipeg's histories (see Fig. 7). However, Sandercock's (2003)

question about the invisibility of Indigenous priorities in planning, and the extent to which

colonialism continues to affect planning practices is also paramount. Anderson (2000) writes

that "reconciliation might lie less in invoking the separatisms of identity and nation than in

foregrounding the histories and politics of the nation-building process itself" (388).

Understanding and not hiding the ways in which Indigenous people have been and continue

to be marginalised, while non-Indigenous people and priorities have been centred, through

planning, are key to developing new ways of planning cities that reflect both Indigenous and

non-Indigenous dreams and desires. Planners need to think critically about whom they are

planning with and for, and whose voices need to be heard and represented in planning

documents and processes. This involves not just listing 'stakeholders', but actively thinking

about how structures of privilege and marginalization operate to enable or constrain both people's participation in planning processes, and the ability of planners and others to hear their perspectives.

Fig 7. Unsettling colonial histories at The Forks? (image: S. Cooper).

In planning, there is a tension between creating an idealised process and places that represent a society's goals and future hopes, and the need to acknowledge and question the power relationships and realities of that society. It is important and necessary that Indigenous and non-Indigenous people work collaboratively, proactively, and concretely together, if the goal

is to find a future that enables respectful relationships. In the past, activists and analysts have understood that the non-Indigenous capability to relate to self-determination of Indigenous people has been at the federal level. Increasingly, however, municipal governments have the opportunity and the power to develop and improve relationships with urban Indigenous communities (Walker 2008). Understanding what self-determination for Indigenous people means in urban areas can be challenging; while on reserves there are structures in place that facilitate self-determination, this is less true in urban areas. In urban areas, the idea of self-determination is equally present (Walker 2006) but the structures may be less clearly defined.

In planning for urban areas in settler countries, governments and other organizations need to think through how they do or do not represent Indigenous people, what partnership with Indigenous groups and organizations means, and what mechanisms they could use to develop this partnership. If non-Indigenous governments and other organizations are to take Indigenous assertions of self-determination seriously, more understanding of the structures of colonialism is needed, to avoid replicating them. Partnership must be structurally integrated in institutional processes. James A. Throgmorton (1996) says that "...planning stories and storytellers exist and relate to one another in an interconnected web, a web of partial truths" (38). If the planning profession is not willing to begin to unravel and reweave this web in a way that makes planning more accountable for the past and aware of the systemic injustices and misappropriations of the present, then planners will not contribute to a future that includes respectful relationships and partnerships.

Directions for Future Study

There are two important limitations to this study that would be useful to look at in future research. The first is that this study only considered the planning documents at The Forks;

there is much more to The Forks story than the written documents. The planning documents reflect the 'official' approach of planning at The Forks, and what actually happens on a daily basis in the planning may be different. It may well be more inclusive of Indigenous people, and model a new form of partnership and sharing with Indigenous organizations, in a way not reflected in the planning documents. However, unless the values guiding the planning are reflected in the planning documents and policies, they will depend on the individuals working at The Forks, and will not be structurally present in the organization itself. Future research might consider incorporating conversations with planners and with stakeholders at The Forks to develop a broader understanding of the ways in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives are incorporated into the planning of the site. This may also enable a more complete reading of how the site is perceived and used by the public.

The second major limitation to this study is that it has incorporated a dichotomy of Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives. The reality in Winnipeg, as in most (post)colonial cities, is that there are multiple forms of identity and neither Indigenous nor non-Indigenous people constitute monolithic categories. Further, there are multiple forms of marginalization present in addition to colonial formations; access to power and decision-making structures are affected by a range of factors beyond a simplistic Indigenous/non-Indigenous dualism. This thesis has also bracketed identities and forms of privilege/marginalization such as gender, ability, sexual orientation, age, class, etc, in order to focus more explicitly on colonialism and colonial privileges/marginalization. Future research could examine the broader context of colonialism in diverse societal contexts, to develop a more nuanced reading of how the structures of colonialism are reflected in planning practices.

One additional area of research that would be helpful is an examination of the role of partnership in planning in colonial contexts. A deeper understanding of self-determination for Indigenous nations, particularly in urban areas, and what partnership might mean in such a context, would enable governments and planning organizations to better incorporate Indigenous planning priorities into their work.

Conclusion

This examination of planning documents for The Forks, Winnipeg, has shown that although The Forks is intended to be "a vital centre for Winnipeg, where people from all corners of the city – and Manitoba – come to meet and celebrate", it reproduces colonial structures throughout its planning documents (The Forks North Portage Partnership date unknown, 16). The relationships between different peoples are reflected in the spaces that are created in urban areas. A postcolonial approach to planning requires a recognition of the ongoing colonial patterns and structures that circumscribe the ways in which planning for these urban spaces happens in settler countries. Innes (1990) argues that myths and stories are created to connect knowledge and policy. These myths are deeply entrenched, with the result that research does not need to question them and can assume them to be underlying knowledge. Myths define how the problem is constructed, and what solutions are available to solve the problem (Innes 1990). The narratives and mythologies that shape identities and spaces are often taken for granted, and complicity with colonial narratives is rarely questioned in planning practice.

As bell hooks has noted, "mutual recognition of racism, its impact both on those who are dominated and those who dominate, is the only standpoint that makes possible an encounter between races that is not based on denial and fantasy" (hooks, 1992, 28; quoted in Smith

1996, 522). A realistic understanding of history and how The Forks, Winnipeg and Canada have arrived at this place will enable a clearer view of the future and possible future directions. This does not mean replacing the current history and understanding of Winnipeg with a new monolithic interpretation, but instead recognising that there are multiple narratives and interpretations that are possible, and questioning those that are assumed to be somehow truer than others (Ellemor 2003). Cities, and particularly postcolonial cities, can be understood as places "where claims of an identity different from the colonial past are expressed and indexed, and, in some cases, keenly contested" (Yeoh 2001, 458). This contestation and negotiation over what cities and nations can and will be in a postcolonial context will be an ongoing conversation; planners, as urban designers and creators, must be aware of these debates.

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Appendix A: Categories Used in the Textual Analysis

The initial structure of categories:

- naming and boundary definition (defining and ordering space)
  - identities
    - settler identities
    - Indigenous identities
    - who is we? (concepts of ownership, belonging)
  - decision-making
    - who is consulted with – who makes the decisions – how are decisions made
    - stakeholders/partners
  - conceptions of home/homeland
  - self determination for Indigenous groups/people (Indigenous aspirations/hopes/plans)
  - physical markers of identity/culture/history
- Surveying and mapping (the production of knowledge about space)
  - Indigenous/settler histories of place
  - narratives/mythologies
  - Indigenous/settler knowledge
    - How do we know what we know?
    - Archaeology
  - colonial power/presence
  - significance of the site
  - destruction/reconstruction of cultures and histories
  - planning's own cultural perceptions
- selection and zoning (assigning value to space for active use)
  - what projects go ahead?
  - what is the vision for The Forks?
  - physical markers of identity/culture/history
  - visibility and presence
    - of Indigenous people at The Forks
    - of settler people at The Forks
  - who are the visitors?
  - significance of the site

The categories were refined and simplified, and the final categories were:

- relationship of The Forks to other parts of Winnipeg
- relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people
- kinds of heritage portrayed at The Forks
- *terra nullius*
- self-sufficiency of The Forks
- what is the identity for people created at The Forks?
- what is the identity for the space created at The Forks?
- who makes decisions about what happens at The Forks
- language of neutrality
- significance of the site
- future plans