

(Re)Presenting the Living Landscape: Exploring Community Mapping as a Tool for Transformative Learning and Planning

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I explore community mapping as a tool for transformative community learning and planning for sustainability. This inquiry is set within the context of 'grassroots post-modernism' which prioritizes the realm of locally-based knowledge and narrative. The first part of the thesis explores the landscape of discourse and the tension between hegemonic and situated knowledge. Deconstructing the power relations behind colonial and globalized worldviews provides a foundation for examining pedagogy and its relationship to power relations and everyday life. The argument is made for an inclusive community and eco-system-based approach to knowledge production as a cornerstone of healthy and sustainable development. This leads into the second part of the thesis: the exploration of mapping and case study of community mapping as a practical application of this theoretical framework.

As discourse, I look at maps as subjective reflections of the world and the culture of the mapmaker. In this sense they are paradigmatic. They reflect cultural patterns and worldviews and therefore offer a medium for inquiry that reveals the interdependence of worldview, pedagogy and planning.† Maps can help to create a sense of place, provide space for dialogue, and bridge personal knowledge to community learning and planning. Mapping is also a tool for narrative, for 'storied residence,' and, when applied in a community context, it can facilitate creative and engaging expression. Overall, maps have significant spatial power, reflecting social, economic, and ecological relations that influence communities and patterns of development worldwide.

The thesis attempts to show how mapping discourse, grounded in ecological and social narrative, can be tied practically to asset-based community learning, and participatory planning for sustainability. This is accomplished through a case study of the Common Ground Community Mapping Project based in Victoria, British Columbia and through a profile of various approaches to, and examples of, community mapping methodologies and projects.

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Dedicated to Lorenzo, Kieran and Manuel
All my love, all ways

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

Find a way to make beauty necessary, find a way to make necessity beautiful.†

Michaels, 1996, p. 44

“We have come through a great disaster and we are like people in shock. We were almost destroyed.”
Elliott D., Saanich elder, 1983, p. 82

Writing this thesis is a small part of my journey to explore meaning and purpose in my own life and work. It is a gift that I have been offered, a chance to explore and imagine new and old spaces and places that have presented themselves through my experiences. The shadow that informs the thesis and reflects the passion I feel for the subject is loss. This is a loss of life and of hope, embodied spiritual loss and abandonment that leads to fear and the need for certainty and worldly affirmation. Anne Michaels (1996) describes loss as an “edge” that can swell or drain life. I have witnessed great poverty and felt profound despair in my life, on a personal level, in my own community and in countries marred by poverty and war such as the Philippines and El Salvador. As Laurens Van der Post wrote, “we live not only our own lives but the life of our time” (1978, p.iii). These experiences and this time of great upheaval and transformation require for me the creation of oases and spaces for exploring the edge, for the ongoing acknowledgement and grieving of life, of death and of loss. Otherwise, I am overcome and consumed by shadows, by the anguish and passions of the world.

The light that informs the thesis is the great love and beauty, which I have experienced and felt daily in my inner and outer travels and in the ecological and social worlds I am part of. I have been given many gifts, and the most powerful one is the faith and love I have witnessed and received. This is on a personal level, from family and friends, and on a social level from being a part of the movements for basic human rights here and in the “South,” primarily in Latin America and Asia. Love, the healing effect of nature, and the people I have met in my journeys have given me perspective and liberation from some of the trappings of modern life. As one Catholic Brother visiting here from Chiapas said: “The poor give us possibilities for hope; they deepen the solidarity in the heart as they who have nothing, share. The people teach us.” (Pablo Romo, Pers. Comm., 1996). They have taught me that the way of the heart balances the way of the intellect. Without such light and gratitude I could easily have become consumed by loss. Both of these forces, the shadow and the light, seem to exist to make each other possible. Loss and love experienced on life’s fragile edges create a space where my passion and compassion can co-exist.

Despite the university’s rational and ordered culture, the opportunity to return to it seemed also like a gift, a chance to reflect on life, on change and recovery, and on complex concepts like sustainability. Having worked as an activist and educator for many years, I was initially interested in a thesis that explored the theory and methodologies of community economic development (CED) and ecological economics. The richly diverse field of community economic development requires an interdisciplinary perspective. It forces activists to ground themselves in diverse sectors of the community, answering very practical questions about social change and economic structures. I worked for several years in urban CED. However, during this time I felt increasingly disturbed by the power relations, which underlie our society and structures regardless of the ideological context. CED, especially as practiced with the street community, seemed to require a concomitant ability to address fundamental survival needs while paying careful attention to how the poor are involved in decision-making.

My experience was that what began as a partnership initiative between people living in poverty and those with power (social workers, credit union managers, non-profit groups, local government) soon became an institution working on behalf of the poor. What happened? A participatory, flat structure became replaced

by hierarchical, representative structures. I found this troubling. How do we create alternatives that do not mirror the culture of those we disagree with? How do we not put new wine into old wineskins? I began to reflect more deeply on the nature of healthy work and lifestyles, and to examine the underlying role of power in all relations. This search led me full circle back into the sources of my own worldview and values. I asked myself: What really matters? If the means determine the end, if the road is made by walking it, then what road do we walk on, how is the road built, and who gets to build it? What about the children? What about beauty and the natural world? I asked myself: How can I re-inhabit my own life, and not be consumed by the passions in and around me? How can I live in a more balanced and loving way? My activism became humbled and tempered by these questions.

During this process of discernment, my work was taking me back to the role of facilitation and education and away from social movements. I observed that many justice and environmental movements, particularly in the North, seemed to replace creativity and inclusiveness with competitiveness, righteousness and workaholicism. Often the enemy was the rival non-governmental organization (NGO) or, in the more serious case of revolutionary movements, a rival faction which required a side-battle. Monty Python's satirical views on power and people in movies such as *Life of Brian*, where hypocrisy and hierarchy mediate leftist and religious power relations, seemed all too true in real life. What was represented as a political issue was more often cultural and power issues between people. We seemed to be recreating our dysfunctional families in groups that mirrored a leader-follower and the obedient if you aren't with us, you are against us mentality. I saw this within revolutionary groups in Central America and within social justice and church groups here in Canada. Passion often led to compulsive, addictive behavior. On a personal level, I saw in others and myself the sacrificing of one's life energy to social change and the loss of health and families in the process. It was and still is a difficult balance, an edge.

This journey of observation carried me further into the realm of relationship and values. I continued to explore alternative ways of seeing and being while trying to keep faith with the heart of the matter. Marcel Proust is attributed with the saying the real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes.¹ Some clues were indeed before my eyes; learning to be child-like and with children, especially my own joyful sons, learning to experience and welcome silence, slowing down and caring for myself enough to allow others in. This included allowing myself to be embraced by my husband and his family, in the very close-knit and child-centered culture of Mayan Guatemala. They are people who care greatly for me, and less so for what I do or represent, perhaps because they, in their interdependent agricultural way-of-life, do not define themselves that way. There are no words in my husband's language, Cakchiquel, for history and culture. Abstraction is rare. How are you? translates as, how are your eyes? Or how is your seeing? The heart of the matter revealed itself as the thread running through my life that taught me humility and gratitude. I remembered the people I had met, from labour activists in the slums of Manila to refugees returning to a Salvadoran war zone. Despite the ongoing presence of the army and helicopters overhead, the Salvadorans had put roofs on their homes and seeds in the same soil that phosphorous bombs, supplied by the US, had razed years earlier. In these compelling situations, love and hope were embodied; necessity was beautiful and beauty necessary.

Overall, the change in my heart had little to do with meaning and ideals and everything to do with affirming relationships and experiences of different places. That people in relative material poverty were so welcoming and kind despite their great hardships; that they easily laughed and expressed emotion about daily life, were great lessons. They had less bitterness and more hope and faith in love than most people I met in daily life

in affluent Canada. Being with people with a strong attachment to one another and their home places had and continues to have a transformative effect.

Love makes you see a place differently, just as you hold differently an object that belongs to someone you love. If you know one landscape well, you will look at all landscapes differently. And, if you learn to love one place, sometimes you can also learn to love another.

Michaels, 1996, p. 82

During this shift from activism to learning based on relationships and experience of places, I became enamored with the work of mapping. (Until this time I had little interest in what I saw as a technology tied to such pursuits as traveling, resource management and even colonial expansion). I worked on a project involving community forestry initiatives in Indonesia and British Columbia in 1995-1997 that offered many rich experiences. I slept in a forest in Gitksan Eagle Clan territory in Northern British Columbia with my two bear-cubish sons, and saw how those who had survived the loss of their language and residential schools were now re-discovering and rebuilding old food caches and underground sweatshops along the Skeena River. I learned how to map and track grizzly bears and I heard Calvin Hizyms, the hereditary chief, sing the special thank-you hunting song, sung outside the snowy dens of hibernating bears when extreme hunger drove the people to kill them. I sat in an East Kalimantan longhouse in Indonesia with Calvin and the Dayak hereditary chief as they found that they faced similar threats to their forests and way of life. All these moments meant to me an acknowledgment of loss, a recovery of one's own voice and a way of seeing the world that honored the self, the earth and one another. This was a different kind of activism, not based primarily on ideology and resistance, and one that I found complemented my own inward personal journey. And, beyond the affirmation of diverse worldviews and land rights, the mapping process was being used by indigenous peoples in both Indonesia and British Columbia as a key tool for socio-economic recovery and sovereignty.

When I went on to further explore the practice of community mapping in other local and global contexts, I became enchanted by the inclusive nature of the practice and the open-ended approach to learning which it provided. In the spatial language of mapping, the people and the land both had a voice. This mirrored many indigenous traditions where the language of the land and the local people are intimately inter-twined. Indeed, oral knowledge and mapping are tied into the literal isinging of the land. For me, this type of work went far beyond meetings and issues, which were always there, to a historically embodied process of recovery and learning. Embodied to me means located in physical being, in the concrete and practical actions of everyday life. The mapping work seemed to be a practical and visionary way to approach local and global sustainability work. This spatial discourse could also be tied into the affirmation and empowerment of the individual and the group learning process.

In order to pilot mapping in the urban context as a practical tool to bridge participatory learning to planning, and ecological to social issues, I worked with others to create the Common Ground Community Mapping Project. Here in Greater Victoria, Common Ground was particularly inspired by the local Tsartlip Saanich (Wsanec) indigenous 'Saltwater People's' Map, in particular the place names and oral history that accompanied the map. The late Tsartlip elder Dave Elliott Sr. (died 1985), who developed the map, was one of the last elders to fluently speak the local language. Mr. Elliott's son, John, attended our mapping days and shared stories behind the map. In the booklet, Saltwater People, reflecting on the great loss of land and culture his people had suffered in the territory (that today people in Greater Victoria call home), Dave Elliott Sr. described the context for their mapping project:

I think our people have to realize that they've become lost somewhere. We have come through a great disaster and we are like people in shock. We were almost destroyed. We are living in the wreckage of what was once our way of life. We have to look at this and try to do something about it. Now we are very much like the people who we say brought this upon us. This is a state of shock really - our memories have left us. Many of the young people don't know where they're coming from and where they are going. It's their future. We need to give them their past by telling them their history and we need to give them a future.
Elliott D., 1983, p. 82

I believe that this historical amnesia that Elliott speaks of, the shock of a way of life almost destroyed, relates to many cultures worldwide. His oral knowledge and feeling for the land seems more relevant than most disembodied abstract knowledge, which is often inaccessible to most people. To return to the subject of loss as an edge, and to acknowledge those losses of inconceivable magnitude that have and do destroy cultural and ecological beauty and diversity, once again a discussion of power and culture is inevitable. It is in our own self-interest to understand the processes of destruction and creation that affect human culture and ecosystems.

My journey of inquiry then, which stemmed from an anti-poverty community economics perspective, led me back to focus on the underlying processes that can alienate or engage people in their lives and their worlds, beginning with my own. To move from loss to hope on a personal level requires seeing oneself in an affirming and life-giving relation to other people and places. In a parallel way, community economic development relies on the engagement of many sectors of the society, particularly the marginalized, in being able to vision and plan concrete alternatives connected to others and the place they live in. Thus, on both a personal and social level, the focus becomes less on figuring out the ultimate theory, argument or answer, and more on creating engaging processes and spaces for people to discover their own solutions. Taking an asset-based approach to development, which focuses first on "what is," (also called "prosperity consciousness" as opposed to "scarcity thinking"), is fundamental to getting people involved in finding their own way. John McKnight (1993), one of the architects of asset-based and capacity-focused development, believes that we must build communities of hope and spirit "from the inside-out." For McKnight, the fundamental belief that each of us have capacities, abilities and gifts, and that we can use these capacities to strengthen the community, is key to the recovery and awakening of human potential.

Asset-based development became a unifying theoretical framework within which I placed community mapping. It was similar to popular education approach to development in Latin America, Africa and Asia that inspired many others and myself. This dialogue-based and people-centered approach to learning and societal transformation was and is a primary foundation for social change and empowerment. Civil rights and feminist struggles in the North also drew from these fundamental tenets. As Paolo Freire, the popular education theorist said: "Dialogue requires an intense faith in human beings; their power to make and remake, to create and recreate; faith that the vocation to be fully human is the birthright of all people, not the privilege of an elite" (1986, p.62). To Freire and many other adherents to this strategy, people could not be reduced to issues; a new way of being based on dialogue was key to transforming society. Common to this approach is an overall belief in the potential of each human being. Mapping community capacity, values and assets "personal, social, cultural, economic and ecological" is a cornerstone for engaging people in their community and visioning alternatives. The ongoing challenge is to link this dialogue and asset-based mapping and learning to the dominant institutions and culture, without losing the fundamental integrity and transformative power of community assets and values.

Throughout this thesis, I use the term 'community' to define where and with whom one identifies with and/ or feels they belong. A community can therefore be geographic (e.g. local, national, regional, neighborhood and global), ecological (e.g. bioregional, plant and animal, biosphere), socio-cultural (e.g. ethnic, gay, men, youth, women, disabled), or special interest (e.g. church, sports, business, public health).

In various types and scales of communities worldwide, I learned that mapping was being used as a foundation for community development strategies to inventory local assets and to address economic, cultural or social concerns. In the partnership work with forest communities in Indonesia, a foundation for re-presenting their land claims and ancestral rights was the re-mapping of their territories. As Calvin Hyzims, the Gitksan Chief from Northern B.C. said: 'The government won't recognize anyone without a map. It has been essential for the reclamation of our territory' (Lydon, 2000, p.27). Their maps and processes in effect seemed to be forces for both personal and cultural decolonization and cultural recovery. Here in Victoria, through workshops with hundreds of school and community groups of all ages, mapping revealed itself as a unique and effective learning tool to empower local citizens to express themselves and to transform local planning processes on a neighborhood or regional level.

Why does mapping hold such transformative power and potential? Mapping is spatial discourse that literally and metaphorically represents fundamental social and cultural constructs. First, mapping reveals worldview: Whose and what spaces and home places are acknowledged or marginalized by the mapping process and products? We can re-present worldviews through maps which acknowledge cultural and ecological diversity. Second, mapping reveals and links knowledge, learning and power. Mapping and maps represent power and reality. Community mapping can assist in transforming power relations from exclusive and elitist to inclusive and community-based ways of knowing and learning. Third, mapping is a practical tool for sustainable and community-based planning. Mapping acknowledges the visible and invisible layers that make up a place; existing and forgotten values, voices, place names, species and history. This can be used as the basis for visioning the future. Seeing the landscape with new eyes supports both the recovery and re-discovery of the place we call home, whether we are colonizers or the colonized.

Finally, maps have both symbolic and material power, and both myth-making and utilitarian functions. Mapping can harmonize cultural needs such as myths and the spiritual need for belonging, with practical daily life. In colonized places like Canada, mapping can aid in creating new cultural spaces for living in a more respectful way. To Robin Wright, a passionate writer on the history of colonial and indigenous relations in the Americas, to recover and reclaim power effectively, indigenous and non-indigenous peoples alike need to oppose and transform the discovery myth of the conqueror. Myths, he believes,

are so fraught with meaning that we live and die by them. They are the maps through which cultures navigate through time—while Western myths are triumphalist, those of the losers have to explain and overcome catastrophe. If the vanquished culture is to survive at all, its myths must provide a rugged terrain in which to resist the invader and do battle with his myths.

Wright, 1991, p. 5

This thesis navigates through this 'mythical' territory of knowledge and representation. It attempts on the one hand to deconstruct myths behind claims of knowledge and discovery that infect the dominant culture and affect unsustainable patterns of living, and on the other hand, to explore practical alternatives where alternative myths, represented by maps and map-making create healthier people and communities.

1.2 Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of the thesis is to provide an analytical framework and foundation for community-based mapping and its relevance to sustainability, education and planning. The theoretical foundation explores the role of personal and cultural power and pedagogy in learning, planning and development. It is set within the context of hegemony and globalization and is designed to contribute to local efforts to resist, transform and stand up as life-giving examples and alternatives to environmental and social degradation. My hypothesis is simple: mapping our local spaces and home places helps to transform power relations from hegemonic to interdependent relations of caring and attachment.

The other purpose for the thesis is personal, giving me an opportunity to explore my own inner and outer spaces and places, to expand my vision and make my work more creative and effective.

Objectives

To critique worldview and pedagogy as a basis for exploring situated discourse and the transformation of space and place.

To explore community mapping as a vehicle for transforming space and power

To discuss the application of community mapping as a tool for engaging local citizens in community learning and planning for sustainability.

To document local and global examples of community mapping.

To analyse the Common Ground Community Mapping Project and its role as a catalyst for embedding community mapping in to the local learning and planning environment.

1.3 Methodology

This thesis is based on theoretical and qualitative research interwoven with personal narrative and experience. This includes scholarly and popular research and participant observation from community education and mapping work. There are also interviews from key community informants for the data collection. The case study is of the Victoria-based Common Ground Community Mapping Project, a community initiative within which I am presently working.

1.4 Thesis Organization

The thesis is divided into two parts: After the Chapter One Introduction explaining the background for the thesis, Part One explores the theory behind and impetus for transformative learning and situated discourse within the context of power and knowledge. Part Two introduces mapping discourse and applies theory to a case study of community mapping and Common Ground.

In Chapter Two, I explore modern paradigms and the spaces between hegemonic and situated discourse. I ultimately ask, what kinds of patterns of knowledge and power, have led to social and ecological devastation and alienation? And inversely, what new patterns or ways of being will help us to recover and empower ourselves to create positive action for sustainability? To answer these questions I explore the transformation of power, space and place and the centrality of narrative.

I argue that we are still experiencing the detrimental effects of the Cartesian split and the cultural myths of certainty and control. This argument is linked to a comparison of totalizing as opposed to situated discourse within the context of post-modernism and globalization. Chapter Three extends the discussion of worldview through the lens of pedagogy. Harmful pedagogy is presented as the logical extension of the Cartesian paradigm and the foundation for social and ecological oppression. Juxtaposed with this is the concept of transformative pedagogy based on the recovery of personal power and narrative and the storied residence of local spaces and places. Chapter Four places the previous chapters into the social and political realm through identifying planning currents and examples of community-based planning for sustainability.

In Part Two I situate the theory in the world of maps and stories of community mapping. Chapter Five, begins with an exploration of mapping and mapping discourse, based on the theoretical and historical framework offered in Part One. Maps and mapping are described as having both myth-making and utilitarian functions. The argument is presented that mapping discourse provides a broad spatial and cultural vision to understand and transform our realities. Mapping discourse moves beyond abstract notions and arguments and presents the visible and invisible assets and worldviews of a given community or place. Historic and present day indigenous mapping offers examples of the encounter and difference between contrasting worldviews, worldviews which continue to collide in this new space between hegemonic and situated discourse.

The case study of Common Ground is Chapter 6. It analyses Common Ground as a vehicle, and community mapping as tools for transformative worldview, pedagogy and sustainable development. The viability of Common Ground and community mapping is discussed, along with the practical and theoretical challenges that they face. The case study hopefully offers fresh insights and a local reality check on the theoretical case made for situated discourse and ecological and social narrative as the learning foundations for sustainable development and planning.

Chapter 7 is the conclusion of the thesis.

Part I. Exploring the Landscape: Worldview, Pedagogy and Planning

“The present, like a landscape, is only a small part of a mysterious narrative.”
Anne Michaels, *Fugitive Pieces*, p. 48

Introduction

An inquiry into mysterious narrative of personal and natural landscapes illuminates the questions, what is real? Whose realities count? Collectively, these landscapes awaken the historical imagination, and illuminate destructive and creative patterns of being and living. I interpret landscape as an ideologically mediated way of seeing,¹ and as an integral part of political, social and cultural processes. Landscapes can be seen, therefore, as text or metaphor embodying a narrative whose interpretation and representation is dependent on the worldview of the interpreter. Landscape may reveal those unreliable and unsustainable patterns of thought and behavior that have resulted in great ecological and social suffering.

How indeed have we arrived at the point where, according to ecologist E. O. Wilson (1986), the current reduction of diversity is approaching that of the great natural catastrophes of the Paleozoic eras, the most extreme for 65 million years? Why is it that the wealthiest quarter of the world's population controls three-quarters of the Earth's resources and has already appropriated the long-term carrying capacity of the Earth? (Wackernagel and Rees, 1996, p.13). How can it be that half the world's population do not have enough to eat, 800 million live in extreme poverty, 40 million die of hunger every year and the gap continues to widen between rich and poor? (Casadaglia, 1996, p.23).

Given these grim statistics, what ways of living, and what patterns can we rely upon for survival? For creativity? What can the land and our life experiences teach humanity to illuminate these dark times? In a world out of social and ecological balance it appears that finding the answer will require a comprehensive, inter-disciplinary and soul-searching inquiry to illuminate the nature of the knowledge and power relations which have created such great imbalances. I believe this requires in part the bridging of the artificial separation of ecological and social concerns that, it will be argued, only perpetuates the dominant cultural paradigm that separates humans from nature. Ultimately, I ask, what are the forces and assumptions behind the way in which our world is ordered in mainstream institutions of power and knowledge? An examination of mapping is 'paradigmatic'; it offers a window into patterns of mainstream thinking which can be related to both ecological and social constructs.

Power and transformation underlie my discussion of the paradigm and production of 'knowledge'. Power is understood as energy and agency, the ability to act. Transformation is the process of change and flow between energy and agency. Transformation acknowledges that life force is constantly in flux and metamorphic. This includes changes in form, conditions, appearance and functions. Knowledge can be a product of energy and agency, the constant re-articulation and transformation form of power and desire. Transformative learning and planning, which I exemplify in the case study of community mapping, therefore implies the transformation of power.

Based on this, I argue two points: one, that individual claims to knowledge are always subjective and mediated by one's desires, perspectives and experiences. It is therefore more helpful to see others and myself in a metamorphic and transformative way, not as a static source of meaning or representation, but from an embodied and dialogical perspective, wherein, as Anne Game writes, 'the movement of relations between bodies makes change possible' (Game, 1991, p.11). Second, I argue that personal transformation and the transformation of learning requires the centrality of narrative, on seeing with our own eyes, on taking responsibility for our projections, and the objects and subjects of our desire and power.

Absolutist knowledge claims and power relations are primary forces that reduce and degrade the meaning and experience of life. Whether it is for natural resource management, poverty reduction, health, educational, research, or development and planning strategies, these require the re-centering of power to give voice to those who are most affected and have the most to lose in those decisions. These include living communities and ecosystems. Without the inclusion of these 'voices' the culture of domination manifested in and perpetuated by cultural, institutional and academic thought will continue.

In order to include such voices, an alternative discourse requires the deconstruction and destabilization of the illusory regimes of 'truth'. Regimes of power and knowledge production need to be recognized as directly related to the dominant worldview that has enabled losses of inconceivable magnitude for our global ecological and social systems. The privilege or right to produce knowledge is thus humbled by a

responsibility to acknowledge that this position is not neutral. Knowledge is energy and has power. A shift to power sharing, which is a foundation for sustainable development, therefore requires a radical transformation of the roles of those who are endowed by the dominant culture to produce knowledge, particularly intellectuals. Edward Said (1996) in *Representations of the Intellectual* believes that the choice is both urgent and clear:

I think the major choice faced by the intellectual is whether to be allied with the stability of the victors and rulers or -the more difficult path- to consider that stability as a state of emergency threatening the less fortunate with the danger of extinction, and take into account the experience of subordination itself, as well as the memory of forgotten voices and persons.

Said, 1996, p. 35

To take into account the reality of subordination and the memory of forgotten voices, I explore discourse that lends a voice to and witnesses the experience of the living world, facilitating transformation or reversal from patterns of destruction to patterns of creation. I attempt to complement what could be called deconstructionist, counter-hegemonic or resistance perspectives as I find them practically and theoretically limiting. They are often not offering a new vision and can regress into being reactionary or oppositional. I focus on what kind(s) of cultural change and landscapes might be required, or already exist, which enables and facilitates empowerment and participation.

An alternative and sustainable politics, and healthy ways of being, are not sustained or made by theories and concepts, but by illuminating lost histories and creating spaces and places for living which are inclusive and nurture the ecological self, society and nature. By ecological self therefore, I refer to a self defined in relation to people, things and places, as they relate to each other (Sibley, 1995, p.12). In his critique of rationalism and the neoclassical notion of the individual (*homo economicus*) Michael McGonigle extends and deepens the alternative concept of ecological self to being in community-in-nature. He explains, 'If we begin with being as relatedness, then we recognize its fulfillment as intimately dependent on the health of the social community and its natural/environmental context' (2000, p.35).

Ecology does after all come from the word *oikos*, meaning home, and defined in the Oxford Dictionary as 'the study of organisms in relation to one another and their surroundings. Thus, cultivating home, a sense of belonging, would be a daily practice of ecology. Doug Aberley in *Boundaries of Home: Mapping For Local Empowerment* laments that in our modern consumer society we have lost the ability ourselves to conceptualize, make and use images of place - skills which our ancestors have honed over hundreds of years' (Aberley, 1993, p.1). In this globalized world, local space is highly mediated by non-local determinants from media and technology, to advertising, to multicultural communities. Who occupies discursive spaces or physical places is central to how reality is constructed and represented and ultimately answers the question - Whose reality counts? Who speaks? Who is silenced?

To liberate the expression of these voices, of the ecological self, we require new forms of discourse and transformative tools and vehicles. Community mapping is a spatial tool that can facilitate such discourse. Social movements and groups can be vehicles to carry and develop such tools. Expressing and including the ecological self and subjective spaces, and blending these into the public worlds of planning and development, is the challenge which transformative learning methodologies such as community mapping address.

Illustration 1: 'Transformation' - Bridging the Ecological Self to the Social World
(Adapted from Training for Transformation, Zimbabwe, 1986)

I begin this exploration of the mysterious narrative of discourse, of landscapes, with paradigms and worldview. This situates us ourselves within a framework and historical context for looking at the reproduction of knowledge and power in our globalized world.

Chapter Two. Worldview and the Production of Landscapes

What is real? What can we understand? How should we behave? What is beautiful? What are the patterns we can rely upon?

Barry Lopez, 1993, Arctic Dreams, p. 202

2.1 Paradigms and Worldviews

In order to situate and critique knowledge within a cultural context, paradigm and worldview can be tied to history. Paradigm is a useful term for describing the epistemological context for worldview and knowledge production. Paradigm comes from the Greek term 'paradeigms,' meaning 'pattern' and can be defined as the larger meaning-producing conceptual structure in which discourse takes place. Thomas Kuhn who coined the term 'paradigms' in his historical analysis of scientific revolutions, defined them as 'disciplinary matrixes that took on a life of their own' (Kuhn, 1970, quoted in Johnson et al. 1994, p. 433). Kuhn described the global sense of paradigms as a set of commitments, shared by the scientific community. To echo Wright, they are based on shared epistemological 'myths' about what the world is like. Thus a paradigm is central to the cognitive operation of the group (Kuhn, 1970).

Paradigms act as self-referencing knowledge systems which by their nature exclude that which cannot be described within their cognitive domains. Stafford Beer, a cybernetician who researched a variety of cognitive and cultural fields, coined the term 'autopoiesis' as a key property of such self-referencing systems. He describes autopoiesis as the process whereby structures reproduce themselves. The relationships established among the components of the system are essential for the production of the components themselves (Beer, in Lertzmann, 1998). This is similar to Michel Foucault's (1977) views on 'truth,' that it is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it. Paradigms can therefore be hegemonic and exclusionary, ignoring or marginalizing differing worldviews or knowledge systems.

Paradigm also relates directly to the overarching concept of worldview, which is commonly known as how one sees the world. One's worldview would therefore be the filter, both the eye and cognitive lens, through which we see the world. We cannot escape our own subjective experiences; however, we can change the filters that prevent us from seeing other realities. 'To know the world is to know oneself' is how Yi Fu Tuan described such a deconstructive and humanistic approach to inquiry and geography in his groundbreaking work of the 1970s, *Topophilia*. Tuan's work was part of an emerging deconstruction of the anthropocentric assumptions embedded in Western geographical knowledge systems. He appealed for a culturally sensitive, reflexive and situated approach to inquiry as a way of deconstructing the Western paradigm, which is and, though arguably less so, still is, largely based on empirical, positivistic knowledge claims. To extend Tuan's perspective, if to know the world is to know oneself, then how we view others and ourselves also directly affects how we act in the world. This is a situated knowledge perspective with 'truth' as subjective, and, like all of nature, metamorphic, constantly changing and transforming itself. Therefore, knowledge as an expression of power and desire determines and mirrors at any given moment the worldview and paradigm(s) we uphold, work, and exist in.

Transformed ways of seeing and being, new paradigms, also rely on turning of the colonial paradigm with its 'objective lens.' As post-colonial perspectives acknowledge: 'We need to anthropologize the West, to show how exotic (the West's) constitution of reality has been; emphasize those most taken for granted as universal (this includes epistemology and economics; and make them seem as historically peculiar as possible' (Rabinow, 1986, p. x). This deconstruction involves a wide-ranging blend of gender, class, economic, theological and philosophical debate. However, to briefly examine some key paradigmatic changes in Western rationalist thought offers some background with which to understand the cultural transformation we are in.

There seems to be consensus that the Enlightenment -from the 16th century on- was also the time of great cultural political upheaval in Europe. The ideas and ideals of democracy, the nation state, and the birth of early capitalism challenged aristocratic elites and feudal empires. This period included the beginning of global economies and Western hegemony and required the transformation and consolidation of both material and symbolic power in the process.

Common to the modern transformation of culture during the Enlightenment was the multi-faceted extension of the Cartesian split between thought and matter. This resulted in the subjugation and transformation of disciplines tied to an intrinsic, emotional or somatic (of the body, not the mind) connection to nature. Alchemy gave way to chemistry, astrology to astronomy, mythology to psychoanalysis, storytelling to professional academic history, as Morris Berman, a scientific historian, observes in *Coming to our*

Senses-Body and Spirit in the History of the West (1989). To Berman, academic and scientific thought moved along an historical line of disembodiment, detachment and external description, mirroring a dualistic split between feminine and masculine ways of knowing, between the vernacular and the written word, between the essence and the form, between kinaesthetic (body) and visual (mental) awareness. This shift, he argues, took centuries with 'psychic distance' supplanting 'emotional identification.' However, Berman observes, 'one emotion triumphed above the rest. "Emotionless activity," e.g. scientific or academic detachment, is driven by very definite emotion, viz., the craving for psychological and existential security' (Berman, 1989, p.113). Berman's description of disembodiment and psychic detachment relates well to Said's 'stability of the victors and rulers' (Said, 1996, p.35). Both tend to rely on the control and marginalization of the complex and often indefinable world of direct emotional and physical life.

This dominant cultural frame therefore required, and, still requires, the repression and negation of ways of being and living, which connect people to land and to one another. A specular self -mirrored self, the spatial image that people adopt and that reflects the highly individualistic and competitive world around them, objectifies and subjugates the true embodied self that exists only in relation to others and the non-human world. Murray Bookchin, the social ecologist ties this process of disembodiment to the economic realm: Human beings are employed (in the literal sense of the term) as techniques either in the production or consumption, as mere devices whose creative powers and authentic needs are equally perverted into objectified phenomena—Human beings are separated from their own nature as well as from the natural world in an existential split that threatens to give dramatic reality to Descartes' theoretical split between the soul and the body

Bookchin, 1995, p. 85

Some scientists have referred to this existential split as 'the God Project', characterized by a humanity-nature dualism that claims humans are natural things in a meaningful universe while at the same time they are intrinsically valuable in a universe that is ours for the taking. According to this schema, a rational and all-knowing Man gives himself the authority to confine the notion of a Creator and transcendent spirituality to a measured and controllable God, organized by religious corporations or institutions, and he thus becomes himself the divine measurer of all things. However, this hegemonic worldview in the scientific community eroded as its destructive potential increased.

In addition to the existential split between humans and nature and the transformation of knowledge, the tenet of reductionism also emerged during the Enlightenment. Through reductionism, every phenomenon of nature could supposedly be reduced to parts of matter and therefore could be measured, rationalized and 'known.' Reductionism, objectification and the measurement of energy matter reached what could be called an annihilating edge in the twentieth century with the splitting of the atom. This awareness that the ultimate realities of the universe could indeed not be measured was evident in The Heisenberg Uncertainty Principle formulated in the 1950's. It raised existential questions about the role of science and the limits of an objectified world. As Werner Heisenberg himself stated: 'From the very start we are involved in the argument between nature and man in which science plays only a part, so that the common division of the world into subject and object, inner world and outer world, body and soul, is no longer adequate and leads us into difficulties' (Heisenberg, in Wilber, 1979, p.39). These challenges to scientific certainty have contributed to a major paradigmatic debate about the limits of a scientific worldview and the certainty of modernism, continuing to the present day.

Reviewing the historical fissures in the dominant, reductionistic Cartesian paradigm creates space for other worldviews to be validated and included. Schroedinger, the founder of quantum mechanics theory, believed the shortcomings of scientific thought could be overcome by transforming the reductionistic and dualistic way of seeing the world and recovering a holistic worldview: "The world is given but once. Nothing is reflected. The original and the mirror-image are identical" (Schroedinger, in Wilber, 1979, p.43). Quantum physics thus broke significant new "paradigmatic" ground as a body of scientific thought that challenged the dualistic view of a separate and distinct "I," the rational ego. Quantum physics views the universe as an internally related cosmic web. Along with ecology, quantum physics posited that in many ways "the world is nature and this includes the human body"; therefore the world and humans constantly interpenetrate. Together these scientists, who included Einstein, raised the key issue of authority, morality and the transcendence and interdependence of nature that human beings were now considered part of.

This paradigm shift is ultimately a turning of the lens, a deconstruction of the mirror imaging of the Western hegemonic gaze. Dominant power groups, in order to perpetuate their exclusionary worldview or paradigm, will continue to need to control and purify spaces and places. This happens on many levels and disciplines. David Sibley believes that western and patriarchal "geographies of exclusion" consciously or subconsciously excludes others' knowledge and experience, particularly minorities and lower class people. "Social scientists," he says, "have to privilege their own analyses, expressed in appropriate codes, in order to justify their position as interpreters of the social world" (Sibley, 1995, p.122). "The scientific hierarchization of knowledge," a concept he attributes to Barry Smart (1964) in his work on the politics of truth, has subconsciously or consciously marginalized the views of "non-qualified" others. As an example, Sibley juxtaposes a Beaver Indian map of hunting territories with a technical logarithmic map from Sweden. Both, he believes, are equally authoritative statements about spatial organization. Thus, he asks, why cannot the indigenous forms of conceptual understanding be considered "on the same level as academic constructions of the social world?" (Sibley, 1995, p.122). Instead, the scientific hierarchization of knowledge considers the Indian map simply as data or an ethnographic fact. Thus, by exoticizing or labeling "the other," other valid knowledge is isolated or excluded.

Non-western constructions of the world represented by the indigenous hunting map offer a paradigmatic challenge: for those attempting to create a new synthesis and practice for knowledge production and practical concerns such as "sustainability," the challenge is to understand or accept that all worldviews and paradigms are culturally bound. Of course, some have enabled the subjugation and destruction of social and ecological systems more than others. To bring this inquiry into a present-day context I carry the historical perspective on Western paradigms into a discussion of present day globalization and hegemony.

2.2 Hegemony and Globalization

Postmodern hyperspace "has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its immediate surroundings perceptually, and cognitively to map its position on a mappable external world.

Jameson, 1991, p. 44

Globalization is the modern body of hegemony. The same paradigm, the same existential split of mind and matter exemplified by Cartesian thought, continues to permeate our material and social world. Space and subjectivity, situated knowledge, are continually ignored or undermined in this era of global technology and culture. However, Sibley's ecological self or MiGonigle's state of "being-in-community-in nature" can stand

up in contrast against the virtual reality of ipostmodern hyperspace.î This hyperspace, explored further on, refers to the world of instant communications technology, virtual reality, and advertising where ispaces are produced with such bewildering complexity that they defy efforts by individuals to orient themselves within themî (Gare, 1995, p.29).

The hegemonic map of globalization marginalizes local and global diversity, ecological and social spaces and assets. However, real life is not static and there is constant flux, contradictions and transformation. The more people are excluded by the hegemonic map, the more resistance or alternatives are created or continue to exist. These counter or alternative processes I term ilocalization,î meaning the personal and social reclamation and protection of distinct cultural and ecological spaces and local power. These can be represented in metaphorical or real counter-maps or local maps based on community knowledge and interests. Mind and matter, body and soul, are reunited in this reclamation process.

Hegemony, derived from the Greek hegisthai, means to guide and be a ruler. Hegemony builds on the philosophy of dialectics and praxis to expose how material and symbolic power work together to manufacture popular consent. Antonio Gramsci, a writer and leader of the Italian communist party in the early 1900ís, developed this term from the works of Frederic Hegel to create a wider conception of the power relations between ruled and ruler. To Gramsci (1978), for the rulers or the dominant or íhegemonicî class to be dominant, they require both material (economic, military, political) and symbolic (artistic, educational, religious, moral) power. The dominant class therefore gains consent to rule through the creation of what he called hegemony, the dominant worldview that mediates civil society. Political society was interpreted as the judicial-coercive apparatus of the state reliant on power by force, whereas civil society includes socio-cultural relations, the web of inter-personal relations over which the cultural hegemony of the ruling elites can be extended or through which it can be challenged. In this schematic, hegemony is considered the unifying discourse, the landscape (ideologically mediated way of seeing) in civil society. Ruling powers are able to manipulate reality and therefore convince themselves and those with less power (i.e. the working and middle classes) into accepting the dominant moral, political and cultural values. Gramsci recognized the role of political power and culturally-conditioned limitations in both fascism and totalitarianism during and between the World Wars. He believed in the strategic value in civil society and social justice movements of using dialectical thinking to expose contradiction and opportunity. This involved a critical analysis of the ideology and hegemony of the powerful. This deconstruction of power and authority was considered a direct means to empower the dispossessed and lead to social change and revolution.

Hegemonic discourse can also be called itotalizingî because it subjugates or negates other worldviews or discourse. This can include versions of Marxism-Leninism and other ideologies and ícultural imperialisms,î which focus only on material power and reserve the right to assume symbolic power and create a vanguard meta-narrative or grand theory for others. Totalizing hegemony can therefore refer to other power relations besides class including patriarchal, colonial, anthropocentric perspectives, and assumptions about gender, culture and reality. As Luciano Pelliani wrote in Gramsci-An Alternative Communism?: íEvery hegemony is founded on an historic bloc, in other words, on an organic system of social alliances held together by a common ideology and a common cultureî (1981, p.32). Hegemony is therefore historically, socially and culturally tied together.

Today, one can regard globalization as our new hegemonic cultural and economic order, engineered by international elites to ensure the global free flow of goods and capital and access to labour and markets. Despite opposition and contradictions, the material power of industrial production provided by governments

and corporations, and the symbolic power created and maintained by elites and institutions of cultural production such as the media and the university, work together to maintain the hegemony of globalization. The cultural hegemony of the new international elites supporting globalization, according to Arran E. Gare in *Postmodernism and the Environmental Crisis*, has distinguishing features:

They assume a modern, refined version of the mechanical worldview and of Darwinism. However, unlike the Darwinian grand narrative of the old bourgeoisie, there is no presumption that what is evolving is improving the lot of humanity at large. In place of matter in motion, the world is seen as a struggle between information-processing systems.

Gare, 1995, p. 11

To enable this new world order, the public, mainly in the Western media, is fed what John Ralston Saul calls corporatism, the seductive ideology of the marketplace distinguished by the adoration of self-interest and our denial of the public good (Saul, 1995, p.2). Saul believes the new God supplanting the nation is the globalized marketplace of which one is a subject and either worships, passively accepts or literally buys into.

Ivan Illich also offers a strong and illuminating critique of hegemony in his essay *The War Against Subsistence* (1981). He examines the monoculturalization of thought and language and the destruction of local diversity and oral traditions that have accompanied colonization. To him, the vernacular tradition is destroyed by taught colloquial through the spread of institutionalized education and away from subsistence-oriented and locally-based knowledge:

The vernacular spreads by practical use; it is learned from people who mean what they say and who say what they mean to the person they address in everyday life—the model for taught colloquial is somebody who does not say what he means, but who recites what others have contrived—taught colloquial is the dead, impersonal rhetoric of people paid to declaim with phony conviction texts composed by others—this is the language that lies when I use it to say something to your face; it is meant for the spectator who watches the scene.

Illich, 1981, p. 71

Extending Illich and Saul's concern about the extinction of the free-thinking, critical public citizen, the denaturing of embodied space in this postmodern era of mass communications requires addressing the loss of ecological identity and narrative grounded in historical time. Extending the concept of postmodern hyperspace, both space and time are altered in this era when reality has become a social product of globalized advertising and people in everyday life must strive to imitate the world created by advertisements to be acknowledged as significant, to be taken as a meaningful part of reality (Gare, 1995, 28). And, in this new information age, the concept of time is also manipulated and individualized, as people increasingly do not orient themselves through intergenerational relationships and narratives. Being futuristic is considered the edge of existence. What happens to the present and the past? In this context, Gare believes, the future is used up before it arrives. The present is then almost immediately relegated into a distant past where its significance is denied, where it is derealized. Through such derealization, society has lost or abandoned its capacity to retain its own past (Gare, 1995, p. 29). Without intergenerational narrative and historical ties to the land and people in one's midst, which in effect collapse linear time, the marketplace is better able to subject and control culture and society.

Cultural hegemony, exemplified by a fast-paced time-consuming way of life is not however all pervasive. From an historical perspective there has always been a non-compliance with the dominant worldview and practices of the political and economic systems that rely on hegemonic power. Hegemonic thinking is perhaps most clearly exposed by non-Western thought in cultures where the vernacular tradition described by Illich is relatively strong. Two indigenous writers from North America (Dion-Buffalo and Mohawk, 1994), suggested that peoples face three choices when confronted by colonization: become assimilated good subjects with little question; become bad subjects in revolting against the parameters of the colonizing world, or become non-subjects of the system by acting and thinking in ways removed from Western constructs. Indeed among the colonized indigenous and non-Western cultures of the South, there are and always have been extremely articulate dissenters to the hegemonic thought underpinning and rationalizing globalization and neoliberalism. That resistance is increasingly expressed as the voice of what one might call a non-globalized subject.

Whether it is the Saanich (Wsanec) people living north of downtown Victoria and creating their place names map to recover historical memory, or the Zapatistas in Southern Mexico who rose up in January 1994 to protest the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement, many resist the monocultural cultural and economic agenda offered by globalization. On a sub-conscious level any effort to protect and nurture the ecological self, local spaces and community assets contributes to becoming a non-globalized subject. The individual and group must recover and redefine meaning, place and space in a world of postmodern hyperspace as described by Gare and Jameson. As Dion and Mohawk suggested, this requires going beyond being a bad subject practicing cultural resistance, to becoming a non-subject of the globalized consumer culture occupying what one might call *pre* or post-modern natural spaces as opposed to post-modern hyperspace. Paolo Freire (1986) called this becoming a subject of one's own history.

This inclusion of spatial relations is further developed by MiGonigle, who embraces horizontal/physical and vertical/institutional spatial dimensions, what he calls a *territorialist* perspective, as part of the development of an ecological political economy. MiGonigle believes that a wide diversity of social movements (feminists, community development, indigenous rights) share common cause in the spatial transformation of society:

The rootedness of such groups in more autonomous local spaces strikes deeply at the current configurations (and conceptual foundations) of state power. Nowhere in the upper echelons of centrist power are the beneficial transformative possibilities of such movements appreciated.

MiGonigle, 2001, p. 13

A new historical challenge is presented by the virtual reality agenda of globalization. What I call *ilocalization* would involve a reverse mirroring of the trend that Jameson (1991) described earlier, wherein we would locate our human body within our immediate surroundings and map our position on a *imappable* external world. If a commodified existence under a globalized capitalist system requires the objectification of the individual then that trend needs to be reversed. This return to subjectivity and real space from alienation and virtual space reverses the gaze of hegemonic thought. If we are to look at alternatives to hegemonic discourse and globalization then the process of alienation from ourselves, from nature and from one another, and the loss of individual and group identity and history must be addressed. We require new maps and landscapes of existence to support new ways of seeing and being.

Such new maps and landscapes need to become in effect *idecolonized* and reflective of the great cultural and biological diversity and beauty in our lives, our bodies, and imaginations in our world. How do we do

this? This simultaneously requires deconstructing hegemonic thought and its systems of alienation and exclusion while protecting or cultivating spaces where life and diversity thrives.

The strategy of the Zapatistas offers us some clues. Several years ago, indigenous and civil society groups from throughout Mexico were invited to come together to offer advice to the Zapatistas for their negotiations with the government. When asked for their global vision or ideology they replied:

We have our own notion of autonomy and we exert it in our spaces. But we know that it is not the only one, and it is not necessarily the better one. We are inviting you to bring your own experience, your own vision, to this common space, to weave there a consensus and to identify divergences, in order to explore what we can do together.

Sub-Comandante Marcos, International Encounter at La Realidad, 1996, in Esteva and Prakesh, p. 45

A 'denatured and derealized' present thus offers the challenge of affirming old and creating new ways to (re)present nature and reality. As the context and boundaries for knowledge and discourse constantly shift and destabilize traditional regimes of truth, embracing the unknown and accepting that there are many ways of seeing is a starting point. Postmodern discourse provides a transformational framework within which to describe and situate this new dialogue.

2.3 Post-Modernism and Discourse

The construction of discourse about sustainability and power can be situated within a 'postmodern' critique of thought and meaning, a critique that sees cultural and physical landscapes differently from the dominant hegemony. As postmodernism is related to a wide range of natural and social sciences including art, literature, architecture and the humanities, it is also characterized by a methodological and definitional openness. One concept of post-modernism helpful for this inquiry is that of 'a transformational process that is helping to reshape modern culture' (Oeschlaeger, 1995, p. 1). The applications of postmodernism are obviously far-reaching. Post-modernism ultimately represents an attempt to challenge, reverse, reclaim and/or transform the process of modernism whose roots lie centuries deep. It can therefore be attributed to a wide range of de- and re-constructions of notions or models of reality. Postmodernism asks and in some cases answers: What do we believe in? What do we worship? Who decides? What are the assumptions behind our culturally conditioned and filtered worldviews? How do these affect how humanity relates to themselves and to the world around them? How does this affect what humanity creates and how they live?

Discourse is conceptually defined as a 'framework that embraces particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies, and signifying practices, each relevant to a particular realm of social action' (Barnes and Duncan, 1992, quoted in Johnson, et al., 1994, p.136). Discourse has several characteristics: it is embedded, meaning it is materially implicated in and affects everyday life; it is naturalizing, so it can thereby shape the contours of a implied world and position subjects within it; and, finally, it is situated, meaning it can only provide partial and situated knowledge open to contestation. Discourse analysis, similar to paradigm analysis, can therefore help to illustrate how what is said fits into a network that has its own history and conditions of existence, including power relations (Johnson et al., 1994, p.136).

One can deconstruct discourse by defining it according to its epistemological standpoint, which can be placed within a cultural paradigm. Discourse can be characterized as totalizing, essentializing and situating.

Within the critique of modernism, discourse is most often regarded as totalized and totalizing or seeing everything from nowhere (Hartsock, 1989/90, p. 29) and making generalized knowledge claims. This has also been described as colonial and hegemonic discourse. The production of truth is considered as a given when manufactured by the dominant institutions, be they the church, state, military, industry or academia. More often there is a strong collusion and stability of power between these groups with cultural, economic and political benefits passed between them, mediated by a patriarchal worldview and operating system. The consumer culture and neo-classical economic logic of globalization, as critiqued by Saul and Gare, can be seen as hegemonic discourse. Specific alternative critiques that have focused on deconstructing totalizing discourse by asserting a particular worldview based on a fundamental essence have been called essentialized and essentializing discourse. Examples of this could be feminist, Marxist, or ecological discourse that relies heavily on an analysis and critique of power and spatial relationships from a particular worldview or standpoint, to the exclusion of others. This type of discourse provides a theoretical lens and framework through which events, processes, and thoughts are put to find meaning.

Situated discourse fits best with this thesis inquiry as it focuses on the importance of narrative and place and focuses on seeing some things from somewhere as opposed to the hegemonic everything from nowhere. These situated knowledge are described by the feminist historian of science, Haraway, as particularly powerful tools to produce maps of consciousness for people who have been inscribed within the marked categories of race and sex that have been so exuberantly produced in the histories of masculinist, racist and colonialist dominations (Haraway, 1991, p.191). Rather than simply positing a dominant or essential worldview, situated discourse includes the realm of subjectivity and experience. Such discourse can include forgotten and lost voices which totalizing discourse ignores or essentialist discourse filters through a particular ideological perspective.

This discourse asks fundamental questions such as who is speaking? And whose reality counts? The emphasis is less on finding absolute and essential truths and more on locating and including diverse voices and views. For example, using mapping terminology, humanist geographers such as Bunge and Lefebvre displaced and berated remote sensing approaches to knowledge about people's lives and home places to intimate sensing gained through working with and listening to local people. Based on situated discourse, living and working among communities, they mapped forms of everyday life and spatial injustices such as abstract money flows and the poverty that these flows created (Merrifield, 1995, p.58).

The danger of situated discourse is that of moral relativism. What is needed is the inclusion of the core values of participation and sustainability stemming from a critical analysis of economic and cultural power, and a spatial or territorialist perspective. These key ingredients can help mold a new vision for a globalized world. From this vision new frameworks for analysis and action can emerge that embrace localized realities and diverse worldviews.

Grassroots post-modernism is one such framework developed by authors Esteva and Prakesh (1998) for re-presenting sustainable development and linking it to situated discourse. It is based on the authors' roots and worldviews from Mexico and India. They offer a compelling and affirmative vision for what they call a post-modern epic based on the inclusion of the voices and struggles, creativity and diversity of what they call the social majorities of the world, the non-subjects of the globalized world whose communal ingenuity and cultural arts are continually threatened and subjugated by the social minorities of the world. They base their analysis on the deconstruction of what they call the three sacred cows of modernity and the social minorities. The minorities are those – mostly the wealthy – who propagate the myth of a prosperous and

homogenous globalized, consumer culture. The first sacred cow is the myth of global thinking, seen as the intellectual counterpart of the global economy, including modern thinkers who in a patronizing way see local cultures and local thinking as parochial and limited. The second sacred cow is the Western concept of the universality of human rights, which the authors believe is used as a pretext for a secular and transcultural recolonization of the South. The third sacred cow is the myth of the individual self, the self-sufficient idealized individual fully functioning in the global economy. This individual self they believe is used as the basis for consumer notions of quality of life and meaning as opposed to the concept of 'people-in-community,' with a strong sense of place and intergenerational narrative. The local diversity and global vision of Esteva and Prakeshís fit well into the concept of the ecological self and situated discourse, which embraces narrative and local realities.

A grassroots perspective on post-modernism reminds us that all discourse and claims to knowledge can be critiqued within the context of the speaker and from the culture they are situated in. New epistemologies, presuppositions of knowledge claims, begin in the hearts and homes of each person and community. They can exist outside of what Prakesh and Esteva call the 'parochialism of global thinking and global action' which accompany globalization, to embrace the diversity of local thinking and action.

An empowering critique thus needs to move beyond the relativism and nihilistic notions of modern culture and include lost or alternative constructions of reality and worldviews. These would be, to echo both Gramsci and Arendt, the antithetical, alternative forces, the illuminating voices, which have been subjugated, ignored or marginalized. Rather than 'putting new wine into old wineskins' these ways require new de- and re-construction tools and new vehicles to transport and incorporate the subjugated and transformational views into modern discourse. These mold the historically grounded 'text,' meaning the building materials for the reconstruction of a living culture. The text, what is observed and studied, goes beyond writing to include worldview, social practices, institutions, landscapes and, of course, maps.

Situated discourse set within the context of grassroots post-modernism and based on an alternative epistemology, provides an inclusive and transformational framework for analysis and socio-political engagement. As the tools and vehicles and the text are different, the outcome, the new way of seeing, will be transformational. The resulting praxis is antithetical to the dominant paradigm and hegemonic discourse.

To translate the theory of discourse into everyday life, I now examine the world of pedagogy and its relation to power. This provides an essential bridge to practical applications such as planning and mapping. I begin with describing the origin and application of institutional pedagogy as a foundation for the positioning of narrative and storied residence as a central and transformational practice.

Chapter Three. Pedagogy and Power: The Recovery of Narrative and the Transformation of Learning

3.1 Harmful Pedagogy

How we are taught and how we learn in the private and public domain, what is collectively defined as pedagogy, has a primary influence on societal power and structural relations. Pedagogy comes from the Greek paidagogos to describe the slave who took a boy to and from school. It was coined in 1583 to describe an institutional system of instruction, training and discipline.

Many North Americans and Europeans have grown up with what Dr. Alice Miller, the writer and psychoanalyst in her book *For Your Own Good: The Hidden Cruelty in Childrearing* (1990), terms poisonous pedagogy. Miller deconstructs the broad cultural appeal of this pedagogy related to childrearing by drawing from European religious and educational texts since the 17th century. Most psychologists, educators and philosophers supported the systematic control and punishment of children through into the 20th century and, Miller believes, significant change has only taken place in the post World War II period. She attributes this pedagogy to the broad cultural appeal of consummate dictators like Hitler and Stalin who, she found, almost consistently, had themselves experienced and embodied harsh, punishment-based models of social interaction.

This control of the body and mind and the institutionalization of learning and planning was spread throughout Europe and exported overseas to European colonies. Widespread physical subjugation, justified on the basis of racial superiority, and backed up by economic expansion and greed, enabled the slave trade and the apartheid systems of cultural division and control such as residential schools for First Nations. Whether practiced in European families and schools or in the New World, breaking the will of the child, particularly those with little economic or political power, and, transforming their spontaneous spirit and natural curiosity was the objective of this pedagogy and it was successful. The ruling class was often shaped for effective leadership over the subjugated with their ideology of superiority. In this schema, the father, who receives his power from God (and from his own father) rules over the family and the child with strict rules and harshness. Then, Miller writes, "the teacher finds the soil already prepared for obedience, and the political leader has only to harvest what has been sown" (1990, p.44).

Interdependent power relations based on leader-follower, the father-child relation that permeates the patriarchal mindset was at the heart of this pedagogy. Miller compares the blind adoration of Hitler, the Fuhrer, to the same love and attachment a woman would have for an abusive husband. In both cases the psychic and physical survival of the abused is at stake and it is virtually impossible for them to leave the situation. She quotes Herman Goering, one of Hitler's generals as a way of explaining this tragic enmeshment and loss of individual identity: "It is not I who live but the Fuhrer who lives in Me...Every time I

am in his presence my heart stands still...This relationship turned into downright mental prostitution for me (quoted in Miller, 1990, p.71).

Foucault linked this harmful pedagogy to the development of institutional control also from the 17th century, which was based on the power of normalization and the formation of Cartesian knowledge. Foucault argued that this disembodiment, to echo Berman, was essential for control and the production of docile bodies. This involved the controlling of time of individual existence and the construction of a rigid built environment. For him, the main question infusing this trend in the classical period, built on the tradition of punishment was: how can one capitalize the time of individuals, accumulate it in each of them, in their bodies, in their forces or in their abilities, in a way that is susceptible of use and control? (Foucault, 1977, p.157). Not surprisingly, the development of institutions, such as the schools, churches, prisons, the military and government were all based on rigid, repetitive and time-bound activity, designed to control bodies. According to Foucault, the body became a useful institutional force only if it was both productive and subjected, controlled not only by violence or ideology, but also by what he calls the political technology of the body. If economic exploitation separates the force and the product of labour, let us say that disciplinary coercion establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination (Foucault, 1977, p.138).

Foucault extends this psychoanalytic approach by detailing the technical process through which docile and obedient bodies are created. His argument is that we can be prisoners of both our bodies and of knowledge and the two are inextricably linked. This, Foucault believed is directly linked to institutional power relations. Control of society was based on increasing surveillance and the panoptic configuration of power in the built environment and in tools of power where the individual is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never the subject of communication (Foucault, 1977, p.200). Panopticons were invented in 1843 as part of the growth of modern institutions as surveillance architecture. They were used to control prisoners and, according to Foucault, to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power (Foucault, 1977, p. 201). Instead of a dungeon, the prisoners were in full view of watch posts without any way of knowing whether they were being watched or not. This laid down the principle that power should be visible and unverifiable (Foucault, 1977, p. 201).

This relates back to hegemony and the autopoietic nature of paradigms, which in a spatial way act as panopticons by reflecting only the views of the leader, unilaterally transmitted to the docile and obedient. These pedagogical forces expressed in societal control, detach human beings from intuitive knowledge and inner narrative as well as sever the connection to the non-human natural environment around us.

As pedagogical constructs underlie the development of institutions, they have enabled humanity's ongoing domination over other human beings and the environment. A hierarchy of values based on class, race and sex justified the oppression of the inferior class (working class), sex (women) and inferior races (non-whites, Jews, non-English speakers) and mirrored a domineering relationship to the environment. With European colonialism followed by the industrial revolution, whole indigenous groups, languages and species were destroyed or became endangered. Paulo Freire, widely known for his seminal *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1983), writes of the dehumanizing effect of oppression and violence on the oppressors, and he makes a critical link between these forces, the culture of possession and present day materialism. It is worth quoting in its entirety:

Once a situation of violence and oppression has been established, it engenders an entire way of life and behavior for those caught up in it ñoppressors and oppressed alike. Both are submerged in it and both bear

the marks of oppression. Analysis of existential situations of oppression reveals that their inception lay in an act of violence initiated by those with power. This violence, as a process, is perpetuated from generation to generation of oppressors, who become its heirs and are shaped in its climate. This climate creates in the oppressor a strong possessive consciousness – possessive of the world and of men. Apart from direct, concrete, material possession of the world and of men, the oppressor consciousness could not understand itself – could not even exist. Fromm said of this consciousness that, without such possession, it would lose contact with the world. The oppressor consciousness tends to transform everything surrounding it into an object of its domination. The Earth, property, production, the creations of men, men themselves, time – everything is reduced to the status of objects at its disposal. They (the oppressors) cannot see that, in the egoistic pursuit of having as a possessing class, they suffocate in their own possessions and no longer are; they merely have.

Freire, 1983, pp. 44-45

Freire's insight is a brilliant expose of modern Western pedagogy and the hegemonic possessive consciousness at play beneath the surface of this way of life. It complements well a political economy, particularly power and class, perspective on society by looking at the underlying psychology at work. These material and psychological forces are interdependent. Key in this passage, which echoes Miller's analysis of extreme obedience, is that the possessive consciousness dominates the world and other people, and it would not exist without an object. Moreover, having is seen as an energy that can destroy being.

Breaking out of the objectification of self and others and a destructive way of life is a personal and cultural challenge. For many people, being brought up in families and in a society full of contradiction and layers of oppression it is often a dilemma to decide which paths, which options are the most healthy, restorative and least harmful to oneself, to others or to nature as a whole. However, a pedagogy of transformation and hope, of non-violent ways of learning and being in the world where the oppressed liberate themselves and oppressors change their ways is possible. This includes breaking through the dichotomies of either/or and creating new spaces for change. The elements of this personal to community recovery can begin with recovering our own stories, our voices, and embracing the centrality of narrative.

3.2 Narrative and Storied Residence

In post-modern academia, there appears to be an increased openness to situated discourse based on narratives that include diversity and subjectivity. Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle is reflected in an increasing emphasis on how knowledge as power and desire is gained through an imaginative blending of the subjective and objective realms. Beyond deconstruction there is a movement to re-construct discourse based on affirming and reinhabiting place. Cheney (1989) believes that mythic, narrative and bioregional constructions of self and community create 'storied residence'. This echoes Illich and Berman's affirmation of the vernacular and embodied accountable knowledge production.

Our lives do indeed reveal compelling narrative. The truth of our lives is revealed through our stories and memories, individual and collective stories shared in relationship and dialogue. Stories of home place and territory, and intergenerational narrative are the foundation for shared history that resists or stands up against objectification and hegemony. Personal narrative can be directly linked to the influence of pedagogy; how we are taught and how we learn influence our sense of self, space and our worldview.

The affirmation of personal narrative, and storied residence are cornerstones for embodied and accountable knowledge production. With mystery and curiosity, one discovers the worldviews, the passions and interest of oneself and others and this becomes the material for creative work and expression. To echo Freire, MiGonigle, Esteva and Prakesh, this process, this discourse, also needs to include the voices of social movements and the social majorities living far outside the world of the privileged and educated.

Transforming, turning the world around, requires embracing social and ecological health based on recovery from un-healthy patterns of living and being. And just as time and space are influenced by subjective experience and cultural constructs, then our description of our personal realities and worldviews cannot be confined to rigid definitions. Our worldview and physical being is continually changing. I see it as the product of a dynamic dialogue and energy within myself, and between the human, natural and spirit worlds and myself. This is often a very subtle and metamorphic process whereby patterns, insights and new spaces present themselves at unexpected times.

Learning to recognize ever-changing tensions and resonances in these 'dialogic' encounters rather than 'absolute truths or polar dichotomies' (Haraway, 1991, p.195) has at critical times in my own life rekindled my imagination and reinvigorated my physical and emotional being. I witness these encounters in my life and work. For example, in the community mapping process that I participate in, individuals visually map their personal journeys. It is really an account of their ecological self, their storied residence and how, through their memory and imagination, they see their lives. I have used this process many times in different settings and it takes a good deal of time for people to reflect, to draw and to share the map. What comes across is the great diversity of life influences and, particularly in this fast-paced and complex world, the centrality of values and desires, the resiliency of the human person, and the powerful and fundamental influence of mentors and families.

The wonderful thing about having a body, a spirit, and emotions is that they sometimes have their own magic way of pushing truth to break through the rationalizations of the intellect. It is like dandelions forcing themselves through pavement. Somatic, natural, visceral knowledge is always available to us. Personal suffering, ego-anxiety and fear separate us from this self-knowledge and therefore from one another. Personal narrative is the foundation for honest dialogue and engagement with the world. We can ask ourselves: What is my narrative, the story of my life? How is it tied to other's stories? How do we keep magic or the spiritual realm alive? There are no easy, either-or answers; we are inextricably linked to others and the individual autonomous self is a myth.

Embodying discourse, reinhabiting the home place of one's own body and history is a symbolic journey home to the heart and soul. Becoming a person that one can love, becoming a person that can embrace the world and do what one loves is how one might describe this life long inner and outer journey. 'What do we live for if not to make the world less difficult for each other?' is an anonymous quote on the wall of Hospice Victoria, which cares for the dying. The existential edges of life and death, of sorrow and joy are complementary and dialectically linked. Our lives, our words and our actions are constitutive, not reflective, of reality.

We are our stories. Valuing the narrative of our ecological self and the storied residence of our home places and spaces is a fundamental basis for transforming destructive relations of oppression. To prevent this from becoming parochialism or nimbyism (not-in-my-backyard- thinking) this approach can embrace awareness of cultural and material inequalities and power differences. This way of being can ignore or stand up against, hegemonic and patriarchal values by affirming and living another reality. This work can also extend from the

personal to the political to transform the worlds of learning and planning where hegemonic power is reproduced.

3.3 Pedagogies of Recovery and Transformation

Recovery and the transformation to healthy and sustainable living rely on pedagogies that bridge personal and political empowerment and open up new space for dialogue and change. Energies of power and desire embedded in personal narrative can fuel new vehicles of learning and planning that nurture life and educate hope. The transition from oppression to recovery can help to break generations and institutions of totalizing discourse. New spaces and places for change can be affirmed and created, that reflect values of ecological and social interdependence rather than alienation and social competition. Together, these characteristics of empowerment are ingredients for all pedagogies of sustainability and health, be they childrearing, community mapping, school learning or urban planning.

The Chippewa Map stands as its own testimony to the edge of loss and the recovery of hope and vision. Drawn as a land claim map for the US Congress in 1849, it is the picture of the Chippewa relation to the land and one another. Different animals representing the chiefs and leaders of the community are linked through their hearts and eyes. The beauty of this 1849 map offers us some clues as to the quality of the pedagogy, of the way of learning, that we could bring on this journey together, with the union of the heart (feeling and purpose) and the eyes (union of views). It begins with the totem of the Chief Oschcabawis, who headed a land claims party to Washington. The map/picture includes totems and lineages of chiefs connected through the heart and the eyes. The animals and the landscape in dispute are simultaneously represented (Turnbull, 1989, p.19).

In contrast to such visions, based on real communities living in real places, postmodern hyperspace ignores history, provides little physical affection and cannot change diapers, appreciate the song of birds, or comfort someone in sorrow. The technical world of computers, hand pilots, and instant communications, while supporting the material culture of acquisition and power, can allow us to remain in or to slide very easily into a continued objectification of ourselves and the world around us. Ultimately, reversing and transforming the technical, time-bound control and institutionalization of bodies that Gare and Foucault describe, is vital for recovery.

Paolo Freire's central premise, which relates to Foucault's critique of docile bodies, was that education and hegemonic thought relied on the 'banking method' of learning where people are empty vessels, ready to be filled but not valued for their own experience, history or culture. Through his literacy work with illiterate peasants in Brazil, Freire believed that a 'popular education,' based on facilitating critical self-reflective awareness, the conscientization of the learner grounded in their particular context, was the cornerstone of personal and social emancipation. This went beyond class-consciousness to a gestalt-like awareness of one's place in time and space and one's own power as a non-alienated subject naming one's own reality. In Freire's own words: 'The dialogical theory of action does not involve a Subject, who dominates by virtue of conquest, and a dominated object. Instead there are Subjects who name the world in order to transform it' (Freire, 1986, p.167).

This perspective profoundly influenced and reflected the anti- and post-colonial dynamics of social change in Latin America, Africa and Asia, and more recently on the framing of the articulation of education and change

in North America and Europe. What became known as 'pedagogies of liberation' grew from the 1960s and onward among community workers and activists, and permeated social movements in the South and North. Of course, there have been many earlier versions and shades of these pedagogies and 'consciousness-raising' movements throughout history: from the union and emancipation movements in Europe which inspired Gramsci to the armed struggle and non-violent resistance movements in colonized countries such as India and Guatemala. Many groups – such as the civil rights, feminist, anti-war and native rights movements in the 1960s and 1970s also developed their own forms of pedagogies as a basis for their distinctive struggles.

Ironically, these ideas of compassion and creativity with justice come from places where there have been civil war and little choice but to literally fight back against oppression. Fortunately in Canada there is still democratic space and places open for creative encounters and change. On a political level, this requires a careful bridge-building and inter-sectoral and cultural dialogue, finding allies in diverse places while being wary of the power of privileged analyses and complacency. The luxury of discovering and having a conscious choice between collusion with the powerful, and lending a hand to the powerless and voiceless brings with it both dilemmas and responsibilities.

Freire himself and others who articulated the pedagogy of oppression and liberation in the 70s changed their approach in the 80s and 90s to a pedagogy based more on hope and transformation. This change came from many factors, including the learning and cross-fertilization of social and liberation movements, feminism, and the emergence of globalization. A common emergent theme of this pedagogy of transformation is the dialogical balance between grassroots and institutional power. To use Haraway's (1991) earlier description of situated knowledge, transformative change is seen as emerging from the ongoing tensions and resonances in dialogic encounters rather than from essential or absolute truths or ideologies.

Becoming a subject and naming the world are central elements of this pedagogy of empowerment and transformation. A strong sense of personal power, hope and compassion is fundamental. Recovery includes discovery, a re-discovery of ourselves, and of what it means to live a life not dictated by compulsive fears and drives, not living life as if it were an unconscious accident. Freire and other theorists believed that critical social sciences such as psychoanalysis tied to critical ideologies were key to emancipatory thinking and therefore pedagogy. To embrace living culture, to find beauty and meaning in the world, increasingly mechanized and disenchanted by technology and materialism is thus a personal and cultural challenge. One of the unique and refreshing features of Freire is how often he juxtaposed concepts of liberation with dynamic notions of dialogue and love:

Love is at the same time the foundation of dialogue and dialogue itself. It is thus necessarily the responsibility of responsible subjects and cannot exist in a relation of domination. Domination reveals the pathology of love; sadism in the dominator and masochism in the dominated. Because love is an act of courage, not of fear, love is commitment to other men. No matter where the oppressed are found, the act of love is commitment to their cause – the cause of liberation. And this commitment because it is loving – is dialogical.

Freire, 1986, p. 78

The recovery and development of one's creative and loving power and desire thus transforms how we live in and occupy personal, social and ecological space. As Freire said, we need to name our world in order to transform it. Self and spatial awareness affects not only how we live but also how we learn, teach

(pedagogy) and how we plan. Creating, naming and valuing life-giving spaces are part of this recovery. Affirmation is a constructive and positive emotion and act. Ultimately, as the psychoanalyst Miller believes, our capacity to resist harmful ways of being has little to do with intelligence, which can rationalize anything, and mostly to do with access to our true self (1990). And in this new grassroots pedagogy of compassion and transformation we are not alone.

Once the diverse and life-giving perspectives of individuals and communities who practice sustainable 'ecology' in a daily way are valued and recognized, then the dominant hegemony loses its power and legitimacy. If we then affirm spaces in our worlds where life is sustained and protected, then the cultivation of home and storied residence where much of the direct nurturing and practicing of 'ecology' takes place would be valued. Children and children's views would be more valued. Traditional indigenous communities, and ecological knowledge of the plant and animal worlds, would be valued. The barrio and informal economy, the interdependent and highly organized worlds of communities living outside the dominant economic and political systems found throughout the South would be valued. Groups, organizations and institutions would act in a non-oppressive and hierarchical way by valuing people less as objects of service and knowledge but as people with assets and experience. It is a matter of what we value most and how we see, think and feel about things. It is a matter of how individually and collectively we wield power.

The pedagogy of empowerment and transformation is enhanced by spatial discourse. Spatial and discursive boundaries in social movements are the subject of Nancy Duncan's essay on Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces. To Duncan, struggle against oppression in all forms involves redefining public and private space and the selection and articulation of issues.¹ Duncan posits a 'potential spatial revolution that would conceive of physical and political and discursive space as less clearly divided between publicly recognized territories of formal power, depoliticized spaces of urban spectacle and protected domestic spaces of uneven privatized power relations' (Duncan, 1996, p. 142).

Furthermore, linking political space as a cognitive construct to concrete places and actions is a key component of embodied pedagogy. This process is at the heart of community mapping. Space and time are central and pivotal cultural constructs which influence how one sees oneself and the world. Space can be an object of thought whereas place is 'a centre of meaning constructed by experience' (Tuan, 1974, p.152) or as E. V. Walter points out: 'modern space is universal and abstract, whereas a place is concrete and particular. People do not experience abstract space; they experience places...Abstract space against concrete place contrasts abstract representation with the pulse of life feeling. The rationalization of space breaks the unity of located experience' (Walter in Ryden, 1993, p.38).

Moving discursive space into actual physical place can increase the possibilities for change. Discussions about place literally grounds truth about issues and power into everyday life in a specific location. Bridging space to place facilitates the movement from discussions about issues into practical alternatives. On an academic level it bridges disciplines of art and science, which are artificially separated. Doug Aberley, a planner and bioregional mapper, laments that in our modern society 'we have lost the ability ourselves to conceptualize, make and use images of place - skills which our ancestors have honed for hundreds of years' (Aberley, 1993, p.1). Without this ability, recovery would remain abstract and not tied to the built and natural physical environment.

To inspire us we have our personal and others' historic journeys and visions, such as those represented in the Chippewa map. There are many compelling histories of resistance to oppression and the exploitation of

land that we can learn from on this pedagogical journey of recovery and transformation. Worldviews will continue to collide and in some cases they can be reconciled. There have been and will continue to be losses of great magnitude. Which myths about ourselves, about others, about creation will we allow to prevail? It is a balance, an edge, between dreaming and reality.

Pedagogies of recovery and transformation require the protection, affirmation and creation of spaces and real places for dialogue and caring. Navigating this territory can open up a creative and dynamic discourse about our world, one which engages the imagination and will of communities and transcends the disempowering and overwhelming spectre of violence, poverty and ecological collapse. We are subjects, not objects, of our own personal and collective histories and can therefore transform the power relations that have degraded humanity and the ecosystem we depend on. As we will explore in the next chapter, this can extend to social action and a style of planning that promotes collaboration and transformation between individuals, communities and institutions.

Chapter Four. Planning and Development: Transforming Practice and Paradigms

Introduction

Examining the world of planning exposes the space between institutional and community culture and power, and places it in a practical context. Planning can be a nebulous concept and practice but, linked together with pedagogy, it is relevant to the discussion of community empowerment and mapping. The cultural assumptions and methodologies behind planning determine how those with power regard the community, or civil society. How we plan the world and our communities relates to how we learn about and view it. Planning then, can be exclusive or inclusive of community involvement, and this often depends on the capacity of the community to organize themselves. This section gives a brief overview of planning theory and practice and then offers case examples of transformative spaces and trends affecting planning.

4.1 Planning Discourse and Pedagogy

Planning can be defined according to its process (i.e. decision-making) and its objects (i.e. land-use patterns of the built and natural environment). John Friedmann (1987), a planning theorist, defines planning broadly as putting knowledge into action.¹ It comes of little surprise perhaps that planning is influenced by the worldviews and knowledge base of the dominant society and the globalized capitalist economic system. Like other mainstream academic and professional disciplines, modern professional planning theory was born in the context of empiricism and positivism. It was developed as a type of social technology, an attempt to rationally order the human world. Planning was established as one of the main agencies in the social domain for technologies of observation, measurement, prediction and control. Thus, planning built on the military-style development of institutions such as prisons, schools, military, government, and churches that Foucault links to the rise of the Nation state in the 1600s and the rapid expansion of cities.

For those appealing to the guidance of market rationality or to the logic of social rationality, planning, Friedmann believes, remains as the core attempt to link scientific and technical knowledge to processes of societal guidance and transformation (Friedman, 1987, p.138). Therefore, planning as a social technology which links scientific and social realms offers a unique vehicle for insight into how our world is viewed and ordered and its potential to be re-viewed and re-ordered.

As an interdisciplinary, eclectic and applied field, planning theory is considered by many to be elusive and nebulous. Two major currents can distinguish planning theory: the functional, rational-choice model, and the critical theory, deconstructive approach. The first current is most closely associated with public administration and neo-classical economics. Friedmann calls the planning tradition emanating from this current as 'societal guidance,' largely concerned with management of change from 'above' and within existing relations of power. This could also include the work of social reformers or policy analysts acting in a benevolent or self-interested manner. Their subjects are the rulers of society and they assume a passive consent and therefore necessary guidance of the masses. This perspective is what most dominant or mainstream institutions such as the World Bank, governments, universities, local governments and administrations currently practice. This type of planning uses traditional teaching and learning styles, mirroring Freire's analysis of the 'banking method' approach to education, where the public is 'filled up' with information, ideas and policies.

The second current, the critical theory approach, spreads across a wide spectrum of liberal, reformist or revolutionary ideologies. This current emanates from anarchism, Marxist and other schools of thought including the Frankfurt School. Critical theory includes the political economy and the power relations between the state and capital. Advocates include socialist and communist thinkers such as Mao Tse Tung, who believed in revolutionary democratic centralism, and David Harvey, a Marxist with his class-based critiques of geographic analysis focused on urban power structures. It also includes utopian anarchists such as Lewis Mumford, who advocated decentralized, village and neighborhood-led levels of learning and regional planning, and George Woodcock, who believed in the primacy of individual and collective responsibility over the power of any State. Great debates between the socialists and anarchists within the communist movement took place in the late 19th and earlier twentieth century on power, autonomy and the proper role of the State. To this day these classic tensions still exist within and between the functional and critical currents of planning thought.

In *Planning in the Face of Power*, John Forester (1989) presents five current planning perspectives related to the basis of power and the control and management of information. These perspectives span functional to critical theory and offer a helpful continuum in which to place strategies for change. These five planning perspectives are: the technical perspective, the traditional problem-solving focused on data-analysis and information; the incremental or pragmatist perspective, focused on communication networks and organizational needs; the liberal-advocate perspective, focused on enabling the empowerment and participation of community clients so they can be on equal footing with developers and those with power; the structuralist perspective, focused on deconstructing the role of planning as legitimizing undemocratic structures of economic and political power; and finally, the progressive perspective, which holds the view that all types of perspectives hold informational power, that planning often misinforms the public, and that it can therefore be reconfigured to enable the meaningful participation of citizens.

To Forester, the progressive option moves beyond 'ideologizing' and creates a transformative basis of power by combining the more pragmatic technical and incremental approach with the political and participatory

perspectives offered by the liberals and structuralists. The progressive perspective fits well with my own community-based approach to learning and change, as it is best able to occupy the space between formal and informal sectors and to reconfigure power relations in the process. It is also pragmatic as it recognizes that transformative and sustainable planning and development solutions need to have results and encompass a spectrum of perspectives.

Based on the above planning perspectives, the transformation of top-down institutional planning to community-based planning remains a major challenge. As Tim Elkin, a former town planner remarked:

In the 60's and 70's there was a widespread critique that community participation in planning was just to placate citizens. I don't feel there have been huge changes. There is still a huge imbalance of power...planning is still in the hands of the rich and powerful who often do not want mixed, diverse communities. We need increased capacity being built at the citizen level, further devolution of power. Planners in theory work for the community so we need to make sure their system works and they will create what the community wants. We need to look at the Terms of Reference for Planning - there a few examples of power being given, it is usually taken. The community needs to take initiative and partner with the planners. At least there are planners who do work with the grassroots- but we still need to get away from the expert-led approach. The more devolution of power the better. We need to reconfigure power.
Elkin, Pers. Comm., 2001

The challenge that Elkin points out is, on the one hand, the power imbalance and need for devolution and, on the other hand, the overspecialization and the lack of vision in the planning world. Elkin adds that in urban planning practice:

Essential concepts are being overlooked like what is a sustainable city - one in which people can get access to their needs easily, they are close by, one that mixes up different uses, classes, and ages. Planners have actually been doing the reverse of that - they have been separating uses, separating ages, separating classes...the whole point of planning has been based on the notion of specialization and separation and that is a so-called well-planned city.
Elkin, Pers. Comm., 2001

The predominant planning practice of most local and regional governments in North America, and arguably, the rest of the industrialized world, still largely follows the functional societal guidance tradition dominated by technical and incrementalist perspectives. This seems logical given the historical structure of power and government and the ascendancy of technology. Planning remains an arena where the power and participation at the community, local, regional, national and global levels is constantly being mediated. For communities to influence local or regional planning (let alone national or global!) requires educative and organizing skills to translate and re-present planning information so as to mobilize and empower citizens to take action. Forester offers the example of neighborhoods, where progressive action includes itempering the exaggerated claims of developers and demystifying the planning process - and the rest of local government ñ itselfñ (Forester, 1989, p.47).

The challenge to communities is to be proactive and to assume power. If possible, this involves the creation of working relationships with planners and the presentation of a wholistic vision of healthy and sustainable communities. If planners or any institutional figures do not want to collaborate with a community, then other avenues, from the reform-advocate to the anarchistic-revolutionary trend, are options for those outside of

traditional power structures. If the community itself does not have consensus on their own vision and priorities, then education and organizing and reaching some kind of shared vision is also essential.

4.2 Paradigm Shifts and Challenges

In both the functional and critical theories of planning there have only more recently been shifts in planning thought mirroring other 'paradigm' shifts in Western thought. Echoing the earlier discussion on paradigms and hegemonic discourse, Friedmann believes that Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle of the 1920s was indeed a critical fissure and resulted in the breakdown of the scientific rationality associated with planning. This allowed the present emergence of a 'new holistic, dialogical process' making, he argues, 'old-fashioned technocratic planning illegitimate' (Friedmann, 1987, p. 415). Added to this was the overall shift from the liberal and national Keynesian economic agenda to the neoliberal and global paradigm. Planning is based on assumptions about knowledge. Therefore, its transformation from a technocratic to a community-based dialogical process also requires an epistemological critique. David Lertzmann, in his dissertation on epistemology and planning theory entitled *Planning Between Cultural Paradigms: Traditional Knowledge and the Transition to Ecological Sustainability* (1999), states: 'the application of knowledge into action is the essence of planning, but theories of knowledge, meaning and knowledge systems have remained largely peripheral if not absent from most planning theory and practice' (Lertzmann, 1999, p.78). Lertzmann identifies postmodernism and non-Western worldviews as the main forces that have shaken the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of planning in the Western world. He cites the contributions of wholistic worldviews such as ecofeminism, bioregionalism, indigenous knowledge and the deep ecology movement, for inspiring grassroots activism and, more importantly, for creating the epistemological shift beyond critical theory to examine 'not only how wealth is created, but what the measures of wealth and quality of life are, and could be. The issue is more of a fundamental restructuring of our very sense of rationality and the context of decision-making, of the values and goals which drive decision-making and our perceptions of wealth' (Lertzmann, 1999, p.40). Rather than opposing or resisting planning on structural terms, the challenge posed by Lertzmann is to completely rethink and retool it to become a flexible and creative vehicle for ecological and social sustainability. This requires new frameworks for critiques and change as well as new vehicles, such as community mapping, to drive this progressive transformation.

Besides the omission of alternative epistemologies in planning, there is an apparent gap between academic and practical applications. Lertzmann, Campbell and Fanstein believe that planning theory is elusive and that many professional planners look upon academic planning theory as 'inert and irrelevant' and choose 'a homespun, in-the-trenches pragmatism' (Campbell and Fanstein, in Lertzman, 1998, p. 31). However, it appears that the paradigmatic challenges to planning have been accompanied by visible changes, particularly 'in-the-trenches' in urban and rural development around the world. This grassroots planning work includes fields and endeavours such as community economic development and the cooperative movements, participatory rural appraisal and action research, and the environmental justice movement. These are receiving increasing attention in academic and popular circles. These new initiatives are often placed within the rubric of community-based planning for sustainability.

Groups such as Habitat for Humanity and others at the United Nations Rio Summit (1992) have recognized community-based planning as a part of local action and as the foundation for a sustainable future. The Local Agenda 21 Initiative was created out of Rio to support sustainable development planning in communities and municipalities around the world. This initiative represented a major shift in subsidiarity and perspectives on power and responsibility, from global and international regimes to local and regional ones. Though they

are more inclusive than the World Bank or other global institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), academic, special interest, and community groups do not necessarily involve, include or democratically represent other people in their area of interest. Representation rather than participation is often considered more expedient. Thus, devolving power to the lowest grassroots level possible, so that those affected most by decisions have the most power to make decisions, remains an ongoing political and cultural challenge.

On a methodological level, there have been significant changes and developments that bridge community planning and learning, inspired by social movements and by some of the profound cultural and power shifts around the world. There are many other new spaces *ñespacios* (small spaces), as Esteva and Prakesh (1998) remind usñ that are created by communities in the North and the South, who are engaging in and influencing the planning of their own communities. In the urban, Westernized areas of the North, particularly Britain and Europe, Agenda 21 did recognize and spark locally-based research and action projects, many of which have been documented by the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives based in Toronto. Cross-fertilizing grassroots learning and mobilizing tools between countries around the world has been the major focus of their work. These exchanges create new space for change between communities worldwide

Ultimately as members of global and local communities we ask: whose responsibility is it to plan a community? The choice remains for local citizens to allow the forces of globalization to define their values based on virtual reality and consumerism (allowing planners to develop their cities driven by property values), or to transform existing planning processes by asserting their own community values based on local realities and sustainability.

Optimistically, new planning frameworks for sustainability inspired by local action do exist and are facilitating inclusive and comprehensive planning practice from the bottom-up or from the inside out, and they are attempting to transform the space between community and institutional power. What most of them have in common is a pedagogical and epistemological critique of the institutional expert-led paradigm, and vehicles for meaningful community participation and wholistic perspectives on sustainability.

Examples of these new frameworks, described in the next section, demonstrate a continuum from the personal (asset-based development) through the social (community-based planning) and economic (community economic development) to the structural and global (participatory and rural appraisal).

4.21 Asset-Based Development

The work of John McKnight and the Asset-Based Community Development Institute in the United States offers a strong critique of those (institutions, NGOs, academic and service sectors alike) whose work feeds itself off the needs, deficiencies and crises of the community. *ñNo successful community is built from a focus on needsñ*. Therefore, believes McKnight; instead of a focus on *ñdeficiencies, deficits and needs,ñ* we need to look at and map out *ñcapacities, assets and skillsñ* (McKnight, 2001). McKnight identifies asset mapping as the key tool for identifying and mobilizing key social, economic and ecological assets in a community, beginning with individual capacities of residents and extending to specific sectors and themes. His community inventory in effect maps the social capital of the community; all those informal voluntary-based community networks, associations and groups who hold up the community and make the community work. These assets can include baseball coaches and teams, womenís support groups, service clubs, meals-on wheels, conservation groups, moms and parents support groups, Narcotics Anonymous, schools and local businesses. Focusing on *ñwhat isñ* rather than on *ñwhat is notñ* is the starting point for this asset-based and

capacity-focused development which has many parallels to Freirian thought. McKnight believes that there are no models for change and that the practice of holding up ideal models for community development has limited use. Comparisons, he believes can lead to deficit thinking, for as no two people are alike neither are two communities. Instead, sharing stories and illustrative practices is key in this approach. Capacity cannot be substituted by technology or outside expertise: nothing substitutes for personal knowledge of a real person in an actual place (McKnight, 2001). The Institute's many training workbooks use mental maps of the sectors of our society to demonstrate how this methodology can be used to energize the community and revitalize the local economy.

Asset-based development challenges both adversarial and representative politics, which leap from community educator to organizer to advocate in ways which end up alienating and excluding others. Instead, asset-based development accepts and sees the community the way it is, and maps the diverse and rich relations which contribute to everyday life. This approach resembles Duncan's spatial revolution that moves depoliticized and domestic space into the unrecognized territories of formal power such as planning. Duncan's work complements McKnight as she includes households and families and does not skip from individuals to groups. Overall McKnight's approach embraces creativity and a more positive and open-ended approach to community planning. Community mapping has linked this approach to bioregional mapping by creating spatial inventories of social and ecological assets in a community.

4.22 Community-Based Planning

There are many cases of creative learning and bridge building into planning from around the world, mostly led by citizens and sometimes in partnership with local professionals and planners. These rely on creative learning techniques to reconnect citizens with their home place and surroundings, and to empower themselves through learning and action projects. The main premise of *The Community Planning Handbook – How People Can Shape Their Cities Towns and Villages In Any Part of the World* (2000), edited by Nick Wates, a British housing activist and writer specializing in community planning and design, is that innovative planning solutions can and do come from direct community participation and design. Wates provides myriad, hands-on pragmatic strategies for ordinary citizens to understand planning terms and methods. It also focuses on citizens' leadership in transforming the built environment (reclaiming streets, buildings, parks, city squares), moving one step beyond McKnight and others to include the physical landscape.

This approach is transformative as it offers practical alternative to traditional planning, it is based on community capacity, and aims to transform the planning paradigm. Wates presents a continuum of community involvement from planning directed by authorities to the community planning alone. Among the A-Z's of General Principles to guide this planning are: 'Avoid Jargon,' 'Build Local Capacity,' 'Flexibility,' 'Have Fun,' 'Local Ownership of the Process,' 'Quality not Quantity,' 'Respect Local Knowledge,' 'Shared Control,' and 'Visualise.' Wates advocates wherever possible joint planning and design between communities and institutions to maximize long-term change and results.

Worldwide, there is a growing body of work devoted to articulating the technologies and approaches related to joint community and institutional design. At the 1992 United Nations Rio Earth Summit, the Agenda 21 Initiative was launched by the International Centre for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) to support planning for sustainability in communities and municipal bodies throughout the world. They and other groups are documenting and networking initiatives North and South.

4.23 Community Economic Development

The Centre for Community Enterprise (CCE) based in British Columbia has worked for over twenty years in the trenches of community economic development (CED) and organizational capacity-building primarily with First Nations, inner-city urban groups, and resource-dependent rural towns. The CCE also uses an asset-based and increasingly sustainable development approach in their work. These include key CED building blocks such as community inventory, partnership, credit and capacity building strategies. In their recent publication, *The Community Resilience Manual* (2000), they describe four dimensions of analysis for socially and economically resilient communities based on their research work in BC and drawing from lessons in Canada and the United States. These four dimensions reflect, like Wates, the personal to institutional scales of transformation. The CCE believes that any participatory planning initiative needs to inventory and mobilize:

People in Your Community: Attitudes and Behavior;
Organizations in Your Community: Attitudes and Behavior;
Resources in Your Community: Awareness and Use; and,
Community Process: and Strategic Thinking, Participation and Action.

Echoing McKnight's beliefs, their research of communities has found that a diverse leadership base, which values education and is visionary, positive and open to new ideas and alternatives, is the major community asset in promoting resilience. To them, a resilient community is one that takes intentional action to enhance the personal and collective capacity of its citizens and institutions to respond to and influence the course of social and economic change (CCE, 2000, p.2).

The CCE believe that despite the enormous amount of work at the level of civil society in community development and CED, the challenge remains of scaling up what works in CED so it becomes part of the institutional, political and planning fabric of the society. In their publication *Building the Base for Change in BC* The Oregon Benchmarks (2000) they cite this U.S. project as an excellent example of widespread community participation in planning which measures progress over time and reverses what they lament is the ongoing erosion of social capital in our society. The benchmarks are based on community identified values such as quality jobs, safe, caring and engaged communities, and healthy and sustainable surroundings, and involve all sectors of society in the creation of targets (outcomes) and measures (indicators) to monitor progress. This project relates to Lertzman's appeal for planning processes which involve local citizens addressing foundational cultural questions such as what quality of life is or, more importantly, could be.

Without the involvement of diverse sectors in this process, quality of life, sustainability or benchmark indicators are just another planning trend. Therefore, how and who set these terms, and the pedagogy behind them are key to their effectiveness.

4.24 Participatory Rural Appraisal

An exhaustive theoretical and practical account of community-based planning from the bottom-up, particularly as it relates to international development, anti-poverty and empowerment strategies is presented in Robert Chambers' *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last* (1997). A professor in the Institute for Development Studies in England, Chambers offers an extensive critique of power and process in

international development based on his participatory rural appraisal work and studies, mainly in Africa and Asia.

Chambers' critique relates directly to issues of learning and planning in any society. He appears to be as practical as other 'in-the-trenches' strategists outlined above; however, what makes him exemplary in planning discourse is that he does not shy away from epistemology and power relations. Chambers major point is that the wielding of power, particularly by what he calls self-deceiving 'patriarchal prisoners' (mainly older men), is the central factor in determining success in development and planning practices at a micro and macro level. Domineering and patriarchal behavior by international and local officials in charge of development projects mediated by a colonial worldview has been, in his view, the major inhibiting development barrier to the reduction of poverty and the protection of ecosystems. Chambers believes billions of dollars and natural and social capital/capacity are squandered in this hierarchical development process.

'Uppers,' Chambers says, 'especially senior males, patriarchs and academics, are vulnerable to being out-of-touch and out-of-date' (he calls the social minorities of the world, the uppers, and the poor or disenfranchised majority, the lowers). Multiple channels of misinformation mislead the World Bank and what he calls the 'self-deceiving' state. 'All power deceives and exceptional power deceives exceptionally' (Chambers, 1997, p.76). On the other hand, as he later states, 'all is not hopeless' as participatory learning processes and the transparent self-criticism have begun to show, exceptional power and error present exceptional opportunities for doing better' (Chambers, 1997, p.100).

Beyond the waste of precious resources, Chambers painstakingly analyses power and decision-making structures from a psychoanalytic and standpoint perspective, echoing Beer's work on the nature of 'autopoiesis' (self-referencing knowledge systems), and Haraway's 'situated knowledge' perspective. Speaking from his self-acknowledged academic, Northern, white, privileged male perspective he believes that: 'Most people create what they want to see and, the more powerful we are, the more we do this and the more it is done for us' (Chambers, 1997, p.100).

Lowers, Chambers believes, are co-dependent mirrors for the powerful, be they children in families or schools, secretaries of 'bosses,' or communities who are researched and 'planned for' by others. All these are subjects of the uppers, and Chambers believes that 'at the cost of their reality, and of pluralism, diversity and truth, [they] reflect our reality back to us' (Chambers, 1997, p.100). He uses the example of the Emperor's New Clothes where the 'lowers' (the weavers) were involved in reinforcing the self-deception of the 'upper' (the emperor), thus uppers and lowers tacitly connive to keep up appearances, not wanting to appear inept and offensive.

'Sometimes,' Chambers believes, in reference to the Emperor's New Clothes, 'it may be children alone who speak truth to power' (Chambers, 1997, p.91). This ability to speak truth to power is a quality of Esteva and Prakesh's decolonized non-subjects and Freire's empowered subject of one's own history. Whether we are children or adults, to break through the deceptions of power, Chambers believes we 'particularly those wielding power' must continually ask ourselves: 'Whose knowledge counts? Whose values? Whose appraisal, analysis and planning? Whose action? Whose monitoring and evaluation? Whose learning? Whose empowerment?' (Chambers, 1997, p.101).

Overall, Chambers makes the planning case for participatory learning and the major transformation of power relations to support communities, not institutions. Identifying whose power and whose desires are reflected in the planning and development agendas is the central question he believes must be transparent.

Conclusion

As stated earlier, speaking truth to power in one's own life and moving through this situated discourse perspective to the ecological and cultural realms of learning and planning can be embodied and located in an actual place. Maps and mapping, which are reviewed in the next chapter, offer unique perspectives on the primacy of epistemology and power to examine planning and development and provide a dialogue-based learning tool for personal and community empowerment.

Part II. Mapping the Community: Transforming Worldview, Pedagogy and Planning

Introduction

The brave new world to be explored by the twenty-first century is the immense labyrinth of the soma, of the living, bodily experience of human individuals. And we of the latter third of the twentieth century have been appointed discoverers and early cartographers of this somatic continent.

Thomas Hanna, *Bodies in Revolt*, quoted in Berman, 1989, p. 15

When we are lost, a map helps us find our way. Maps are powerful tools to locate where we are and the possible routes we could take. A map points out the important features of our community and the world around us. However, the frontier map of globalization and the virtual reality of postmodern hyperspace obscure the attendant physical realities of social and ecological exploitation. On a metaphorical and psychic level, deconstructing the map and creating new ones can help us find our way again. By mapping our local spaces and home places, literally and figuratively, we can transform hegemonic and exclusive relations of knowledge and power into relations of storied residence. We can use the beauty and vision of somatic maps based on personal experience and relations of respect and dialogue to guide our way. A mapping framework simply provides another way of looking at reality and theories.

Maps, like theories, have power in virtue of introducing modes of manipulation and control that are not possible without them. They become evidence of reality in themselves and can only be challenged through the production of other maps and theories.

Turnbull, 1989, p. 54

Maps have inherent spatial power. Post-Renaissance western cartography reveals the pervasiveness of what has been called the western gaze, the supposed neutral, transparent worldview framed by a homogenous Cartesian worldview. Maps are perhaps Foucault's ultimate panopticon, the surveillance mirror.

Paradoxically, in the process of the deconstruction of these visible maps of control and of the regimes of power in the world, we can become lost again. However, we can find our bearings again in the dialogical journey between the subjective and material worlds. New visions based on uncertainty and complexity can replace the finite and controlling vision of the panoptic map. Our new maps can attempt to embody social and ecological realities and the inclusion of subjective and situated discourse. A new geography of inclusion asks the big question: Who makes the map? The answer will determine who decides what is important, what routes lie open to the user, and, in effect, whose reality counts.

Mapping as a technical discipline is still primarily known as a professional exercise, carried out by planners, geographers, surveyors and others. Although the purposes of maps are as numerous as the maps themselves, maps have been and are still used as tools to further the economic and political purposes of those with hegemonic power, the economic and political elite. For example, map purposes range from land and geological surveys for developers and corporations to the military's advanced mapping systems to bomb targets from thousands of miles away. As colonialism expanded, maps held increasing power as symbols of knowledge and authority and vehicles of subjugation of local knowledge and distinctiveness. In the western tradition, the way to imbue a claim with authority is to attempt to eradicate all signs of its local, contingent, social and individual production (Turnbull, 1989, p. 14). Thus, in Canada, as in the rest of the Americas, the history of map-making is intimately tied to the exploration of the land mass and the identification of resources to be exploited, whether that be beaver pelts, lumber, gold or oil. Map making, resource exploitation and the conquering of indigenous lands have gone hand in hand.

In recent years, however, a grassroots movement has sprouted that is using maps and mapmaking processes to reflect community values and support socially and ecologically sustainable planning. Community mapping is a partial answer to the question: how can we include the reality of communities and ecosystems count?

Chapter Five. The (Re)Presentation of Worlds and Views: Maps, Myths and Power

5.1 Maps as Paradigms and Worldviews

Maps are widely regarded as metaphors for worldview and as a reflection of how society projects itself onto nature, literally and symbolically. Maps represent and help maintain paradigms and self-referencing knowledge systems. Maps reflect the social mirroring that defines human identity in a community and world. The cognitive schema, that is, the framework and belief systems of those making the maps, is reflected on the map itself. Kuhn said that the paradigm determines which identities' nature is said to contain and how they behave. This, in effect, provides a 'map' whose details are elucidated by scientific research:

The map is as essential as observation and experiment to science's continuing development...paradigms provide scientists not only with a map but also with some of the directions essential for map-making. In learning a paradigm, the scientist acquires theory, methods and standards together, usually in an inextricable mixture.

Kuhn, 1970, p. 109

Korzybski represented an early fissure of scientific positivism in *Science and Sanity*, with the famous dictum, 'the map is not the territory' (Korzybski, 1941, p.58). His work helped to illustrate the way in which Western intellectual disciplines operate through the dualistic mode of knowing and work with symbolic representations of the world. For Korzybski, all knowledge and analysis can be classified as pictures of reality. Language itself, concepts and theories, can also be considered as maps. The problem, Korzybski believed, was when appearance, the map, became identified with reality, and the actuality of the original territory became lost in the endless development of abstraction and ideas. Without being anchored in any community or environmental values or purpose, one would lose sight of the territory and continue to know more and more about less and less.

To Korzybski, the real objective was for thinkers and academics to look at the deeper reality beyond the appearances and to explore and understand the actual territory from which the maps are drawn. Rather than focus on the most detailed, complex or accurately symbolic 'map', the paradoxical challenge of mapmaking would be to create an approach to territory that dispenses with the need to have maps. This relates to the distinction made in chapter two between knowledge as representation and knowledge as power and desire: technology has run away with representative knowledge while the power and desires of communities and the land are becoming lost. Korzybski's point is that it is impossible to create an 'accurate map' because symbolic knowledge is always subjective. In this way, no map can truly represent a territory, unless it was the territory...but then it wouldn't be a map!

Maps, then, stemming from a paradigm (a thought pattern) are able 'because of their inherent spatiality' to represent relative location of objects and are often used as a base metaphor for language, culture,

frameworks and theories. However, they can never be accurate! Defining what a map is in a way which embraces diverse cultural notions of mapmaking is challenging. In their attempt to provide a culturally inclusive definition Harley and Woodward define maps as 'graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world' (Harley and Woodward, quoted in Turnbull, 1989, p. xvi). Turnbull in *Maps are Territories* (1989) states that because a map cannot be the territory, they are by nature selective and, in order to be defined as maps, they must directly represent some aspect of the landscape. The types of representation they provide can be iconic (portrays visual aspects of the territory) and/or symbolic (utilizing signs and symbols, letters, numbers or graphic devices).

Maps provide unique modes of manipulation and control. Since the advent of perspective geometry in the 15th century, followed by the rise of colonialism and the Scientific Revolution, mapmaking in the West has followed a utilitarian, scientific and technical tradition. Maps became possessions and instruments of power increasingly in the hands of those with colonial and commercial interests. Cartography soon became an indispensable tool of state and colonial power, while portraying the world with a European bias. In country after country, maps were used as tools to accompany a hegemonic worldview and approach to territory. Spaces and cultures were colonized in the process.

Maps as tools for colonial exploration and worldviews were aided by the advent of perspective geometry in the 1400's. Brunelleschi's mathematical work allowed objects to be assessed at a distance. At the same time, the arrival of Ptolemy's *Geographia* in Europe presented a map of the world in a standardised and measured form. Together these two works made possible the imposition of a grid on a map of the European conception of the world for the first time. They also represented a profound transformation of a former Aristotelian worldview which imbued objects with essence and placed God as the mediator between man and nature. Technologies such as map-making, combined with the ensuing commercial interests and imperialist ambitions of the empires and states which followed, transformed how humans, particularly Western colonial rulers, saw themselves and their world. 'Man with his geometric tool, became the measure of all things,' James Burke wrote in *The Day the Universe Changed* (Burke, quoted in Turnbull, 1989, pp.76-7). These tools of globalization relied on measured notions of time and space foreign to the peasant and tribal cultures in Europe and to other cultures that Europeans encountered in the process of colonization. The world 'map' remained dominant for hundreds of years.

In fact, the Mercator's 'projection' created in 1569 by Gerhard Mercator, a Flemish cartographer, became the basis for all world maps until this century. Portraying compass lines as straight lines, and placing Europe at the centre and on the top half of the globe created its own distorted Eurocentric notions of superiority. The Peters projection developed in the early 1970's did attempt to portray relative size of the world's continents and minimize the distortions created by straight lines, at the expense of shape. The point of comparing both maps is that a map can portray whatever it is the mapmaker wants to display. It is merely one picture of reality and cannot escape cultural bias. What we visualize is dependent on our cognition, our knowledge and experience about the world.

To demonstrate this link between visualisation and cognition in society and its manifestation in maps, Bruno Latour (Turnbull, 1989) analyses the cultural difference between the Chinese inhabitants of Sakhalin and the European explorer, La Perouse, a French cartographer who visited Sakhalin in the 1700's. La Perouse was sent by Louis XVI to obtain a better map of the Pacific. In analysing the encounter between cultures and maps that occurred, Bruno Latour believes that the real difference between the two cultures was not their

knowledge of navigation, of mapping, nor of their understanding projection and scale. Instead, it was the purpose of the map, the technologies employed and the forms and techniques of association, that is, the symbolic relation between the maps and the mapmakers that was most significant. The maps of the Sakhalin residents, similar to maps of other indigenous peoples, were functional and represented their community knowledge. As the inhabitants and their ancestors lived and died in the same place and shared a strong bond and common oral-based knowledge of their community, there was no need to have this knowledge documented for outsiders. There was, indeed, no need to distance themselves from one another and their land through objectifying, standardising and measuring themselves and their territory. There was no need for such mirrors and images.

On the other hand, for the Western cartographer, La Perouse in this case, the map was a possession and a key symbol of power. It was a technology created and employed by those with clear objectives; commercial interests, capitalist spirit, imperialism, and a thirst for knowledge and possessions. Western maps, as symbols and tools, have made possible forms of association that effectively disconnect people and planners from land and community. This disassociation helped to build empires, create disciplines such as cartography and tie land ownership to legal processes accessible primarily to conquerors, rulers and, in the modern era, governments and corporations. To the European explorer the map became the territory that, once mapped and claimed and often backed up by military strength, became an object, a possession. Cartography was an indispensable tool of colonial power and portrayed the world with a European bias.

Colonial maps and mapping were thus part of Cartesian paradigm and knowledge claims, challenged in post-modern discourse. Harley believes that this history resulted in a conceptual vacuum between cartography and human geography (1989, p.231). His objective in deconstructing the map is to bridge the artificially-constructed divide between objective technical facts and subjective cultural worldview, and thereby challenging its assumed autonomy as a mode of representation (Harley, in Barnes and Duncan, 1992, p.232). Harley believes that an alternative epistemology is required that is rooted in social theory rather than scientific positivism in order to re-assimilate cartography within human geography (Harley, in Barnes and Duncan, 1992, p.232). Post-modern mapping discourse questions the rules and knowledge frameworks that govern the construction of the map.

If then, the new landscape for exploration is the somatic world of lived, bodily knowledge, this would require the re-integration of intuitive and visionary faculties of human beings with the conceptual, symbolic mapping faculties. This alternative epistemological project can be grounded in ecological and social narrative and empowerment, and extend beyond theory to practical solutions to issues of sustainable development.

5.2 Mapping and Sustainability

Community mapping for sustainability is part of a new foundation for planning, one based on inclusion and participation, that recovers the connections to nature and community. As the impoverishment and reduction in diversity of human communities and ecosystems continues, communities worldwide require creative ways to address issues and recover vital connections to nature and one another. How communities are planned is key to this transformation to sustainability. And maps can be directly linked to plans. And, as Elkin, the former planner who now works in cartography reminds us, power is not usually given, it is taken. Communities therefore need to find ways to take back power in transformative ways:

Plans, especially detailed plans, are based on maps ñthe plan lays out the use of landñ, if people aren't involved in deciding what constitutes the important features or components of the city by discussing and mapping it, then in the minds of planners, these do not exist. That's why we need learning and dialogue opportunities such as community mapping.

Elkin, Pers. Comm., 2001

In the Local Agenda 21 Planning Guide written by the International Centre for Local Environmental Initiatives, community-based mapping is identified as a key sustainable planning method and tool. At the core of strategies for change is, therefore, the need for wholistic and engaging development processes, including maps and theories which transform and place power relations back into the hands of communities with a long-term investment in a sustainable future.

Mapping that combines technical (objective) information (i.e. dimensions, topographical changes, the location of human and natural features) and the cultural, (subjective) features (i.e. ecosystem characteristics and cultural landmarks) is now gaining momentum worldwide. It can be both a vehicle and tool for transformation and dialogue between globalized worldviews to more localized and subjective ones. Community mapping is part of a development process of social and ecological recovery grounded in what Bookchin calls evolutionary potential:

Mutualism, self-organization, freedom and subjectivity, cohered by social ecology's principles of unity in diversity, spontaneity and non-hierarchical relationships, are constitutive of evolution's potentialities. Aside from the ecological responsibilities they confer on our species as the self-reflexive voice of nature, they literally define us.

Bookchin, 1995, p. 66

Mapping as a pedagogical and planning tool has the potential to conceptualize, make and use images of place. The various components of sustainability ñwhat constitutes a healthy communityñ is not defined, divided, and dissected by outside planners and developers. As Common Ground UK's parish mapping advocate Sue Clifford says: 'so much surveying, measuring, fact gathering, analysis and policy-making leaves out the very things which make a place significant to those who know it well' (1996, p. 4). Community maps are asset-building tools for community development as they invite citizens to think first about what their community already has, rather than what it needs. It focuses on what people value and what they vision for the future. This kind of mapping is the antithesis of expert-led discourse and development as everyone's views matters and can only enhance the map.

Community mapping is closely related to bioregional mapping as together they identify the social, cultural and environmental attributes of a given area or bioregion. To echo Aberley, the bioregional mapping pioneer, community mapping is an enabling process leading to the (re-)inhabitation of time and place, and also is an empowering, participatory process for community involvement. Paradoxically, the process of mapping is simply a tool for reducing the need for the maps made by outsiders or those without a long-term commitment to a place. The community and/or inhabitants of a community or bioregion learn to live sustainably (locally and globally) by learning the art of creative planning and, by taking responsibility for the future. Maps allow them to visually and spatially display and represent much more than words and plans. Ultimately, the goal is to facilitate a deeper understanding and relations of being, based on a specular image grounded in real territory, a bioregion, the planet and the human community and not defined by the values of acquisitiveness and competition.

5.3 Indigenous Maps and Mapping

Indigenous maps and mapping affirm this historical and intergenerational connection between ecological and social systems. Indigenous mapping is presented in this section as a deliberate bridge to the discussion and examples of community mapping. The Gitksan mapping process offers a current example of the issues and dilemmas facing indigenous mapping efforts and the space between indigenous and colonial cultures, between the past and present and between local knowledge and high technology. Historical and contemporary, indigenous mapping can offer a counter or reverse mapping of the modern worldview, a different lens to see, one that challenges the monocultural world of globalized 'hyper' (beyond, exceeding) space. In contrast, indigenous mapping occupies the world of multi-cultural, localized (within reach) spaces, worlds and places.

Ironically, and perhaps logically, if we are to reverse worldviews, much of the inspiration and methodological design which has led to the integration of both socio-cultural and ecological values into a community mapping process, has come from traditional and indigenous communities. As Aberley reminds us 'all human beings originate from aboriginal cultures' and, he believes, by examining and admiring indigenous maps we can rediscover in ourselves the genetic memory of ancient skills' (Aberley, 1993, p.9). Colonial map-making and conquest of land imposed European onto indigenous worldviews, place names and meanings. Yet it was the indigenous mental maps 'based on their oral knowledge of territory' that aided and abetted the European expansion of North America. Mark Warhus, in *Another America-Native American Maps and the History of Our Lands*, comments that:

unlike Western society, maps were not created as permanent documents in native American traditions. The features of geography were part of a much larger interconnected mental map that existed in the oral traditions. The world was perceived and experienced through one's history, traditions, and kin, in relationships with the animal and natural resources that one depended upon, and in union with the spirits and ancestors, and religious forces with whom one shared existence.

Warhus, 1997, p. 3

Warhus tells the story of Blackfoot Chief Ac ko mok ki, who drew a mental map of indigenous trading routes of the West for the Hudson's Bay Company. In effect, Warhus remarks, this was a picture whose associated stories and legends of faraway places represented two hundred thousand miles of North America. Lewis and Clark used this indigenous knowledge for their exploration and subsequent maps of Northwestern North America. They are considered heroes but little is known of the key informant Ac ko mok ki or the many other Native American informants that Warhus documents.

Indigenous maps are also noted for their functionality and technical accuracy. Examples of this are the functionality is the Inuit hand-held floatable wood map and the Pacific Islands sea-chart map. Both were made to fit into kayaks and boats and not sink if one capsized. To demonstrate accuracy, Turnbull shows maps drawn by Inuit informants and early Arctic explorers, and notes the remarkable similarity between the informants' hand-drawn and the surveyors' maps (Turnbull, 1989).

Indigenous peoples continue to make maps for their cultural and economic survival. Despite the inevitable tensions, contradictions and power issues, the creation of contemporary indigenous maps in Australia, Canada and worldwide is bridging the cultural and technical gap between traditional and Western maps and is aiding in the assertion of indigenous land rights.

The basic information on these indigenous community maps come from local and traditional knowledge and is blended with an array of modern mapping techniques. The kind of maps the community makes depends on the capacity and purpose for the maps. Many technologies and types of maps can be made by the same local community to serve diverse needs. For example, for the recovery of traditional ecological knowledge, elders can use hand drawn maps to show traditional berry-gathering areas to help educate schoolchildren about this tradition. The same information can be placed on a topographic base map to aid in land claims cases as proof of historic land use. There are a wide array of maps and mapping techniques that blend traditional and modern technical knowledge.

In what is now called Australia, the Maralinga people used a map which overlaid the dreaming tracks and sacred sites onto a topographical map as a base for their successful land rights struggle in 1984. The map now has the status of a title and deed, a legal claim to ownership of their territory (Palmer, in Turnbull, 1989, p.60). It also bridges completely different ways of seeing the world. Aborigines have long believed that landscape and knowledge become one in their maps. The songlines of each person or clan were made in the dreamtime by the ancestral beings who, usually taking the form of animals, traversed the land and waters and created the topography (now called Australia). A songline means the stories, songs, dances, and graphic representations of that time, the transcendent dreamtime. Today's landscape is also transcendent, infused by the past and acting as a knowledge network to determine land use and the social and political processes of tribal life. The belief is that the world is ever-changing and must be constantly negotiated and re-negotiated by those responsible for the land and for maintaining the songlines (Turnbull, 1989). For the aborigines, topography is socialized, connected and named by the tracks of the ancestral beings. It is not connected in Western terms of abstract qualities such as length and width.

In Northern British Columbia, the Gitksan First Nation use geographic information systems (GIS) technology to combine the traditional ecological and cultural knowledge of the Gitksan elders with modern ecosystem mapping techniques. (The Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en First Nations in Northern British Columbia are best known for their landmark victory at the Supreme Court of Canada in December 1997, in the case *Delgamuukw vs. British Columbia*, which recognizes aboriginal title as a distinct property right to land capable of overriding other interests in land including logging, settlement and resource development, unless those interests can be justified with fair compensation from government. It is the most comprehensive recognition of indigenous land rights and sovereignty in the Commonwealth.) The Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en had been recording traditional knowledge of their territories for decades and compiled an atlas in 1990 to document the historical record of land use and habitation that was used for land rights cases and for local education and planning purposes.

Mapping has continued to be a cornerstone of Gitksan political, ecological, cultural and economic development. Their SWAT (Strategic Watershed Analysis Team) initiative used GIS technology to combine the traditional ecological knowledge of Gitksan elders with modern ecosystem mapping techniques. Sophisticated GIS digitized maps with literal on-the-ground charting of diverse data such as sacred sites, political boundaries, traditional and modern corporate forest use, rainfall and the migration patterns of the grizzly bear, historic trails and campsites, traditional berry picking grounds, have produced some of the most sophisticated habitat mapping in the province. Most of this mapping has taken place on the land of Chief Calvin Hyzims of the Eagle Clan, with whom I traveled to Indonesia. Much of Hyzims' ancestral land, which borders the Skeena River, has been logged, fished and settled by outsiders despite land claims to the area. Hyzims believes that there is great power in a map: "The government won't recognize anyone without a

map. It has been essential for the reclamation of our territoryî (Lydon, 2000, p.27). As with many indigenous groups, the Gitxsan approach to territory did not historically require written maps:

Our culture and the elders did not use or need maps as part of their traditions. They knew who they were and they knew whose land they were on and whose land they could cross over. To make the maps we walked the trails blazed by our elders years ago. We found walking sticks, shelters and food storage sites from the early 1900s. Elders had been living in these areas in 30 to 40 degrees below zero. We are re-blazing the trails and this information about our land has been used in court as evidence of our title Hyzims, in Lydon, 2000, p. 27

The Gitxsan maps combine the two essential myth-making and utilitarian functions of mapping mentioned earlier: community capacity building for social and cultural empowerment, and technical capacity building for land-use planning and stewardship. Without this mapping, the transfer of local knowledge from the oral tradition of the elders to the technical tradition of modern society would not have been documented. Community capacity building includes ongoing ecological and social assessment of the territory: walking the territory, making an inventory of the cultural and ecological assets, and interviewing elders to gather oral history and stories about the territory. Intergenerational narrative is central to this cultural recovery.

The oral knowledge portrayed on the maps, based on the storied residence of elders, is combined with current technical knowledge and assessment of these assets. The goal is that one will complement the other and that this social and cultural inventory will provide the basis for more accurate resource management planning capacity. This has and is happening. For example, in the case of Chief Hyzimís territory, old burial caches and campsites of the elders ñmany not used for over 60 yearsñ were recovered and are now used by the elderís grand and great-grand children. The land use that was lost with the disease and cultural invasion of settlers has been partly recovered, with fishing, hunting and trapping continuing. Visitors who want to learn about and support the Gitxsan recovery now also travel to these sites. An ongoing cultural challenge remains of bridging the present day globalized world of television, cars and institutional life ñexperienced by most families living miles away on the reserveñ to the old world of fishing and hunting widely practiced many years ago in the traditional territories. The economic challenge is to create a sustainable resource development plan that addresses high unemployment and poverty. However, mapping is part of the picture. Without the recovery of the land title and the knowledge that goes with the land, bridging this gap would be almost impossible.

The Gitxsan perspective remains that the recovery of storied residence is built through changing actions and attitudes, through knowing oneís place or territory and using this as a foundation for the management and use of resources. This is a process of personal and collective empowerment, and has lessons for indigenous and non-indigenous communities alike who are trying to regain a sense of place and capacity to manage local resources. The long-term objective of the Gitxsan mapping work is to supplant the role of the existing British Columbia government, which continues to make their own ñcolonialî government maps, inventories and land-use plans for the Gitxsan territory. However, a major power difference between local and technical knowledge continues. Funds ran out for the SWAT office in 1998 and EcoTrust Canada, based in Vancouver, filled the gap by opening a satellite office to keep this work going in Terrace. One of the original Gitxsan six-person team was hired to continue this work.

The role of intermediary groups such as universities and non-profits such EcoTrust can be key allies for the ongoing viability of such projects. However, in the case of the Gitxsan and other indigenous mapping

projects, there are ongoing tensions and contradictions arising from navigating the space or bridging the gap between local, intermediary or institutional power groups, and between the social and technical functions of mapping. Moreover, the provincial land claims process has not been resolved and Chief Hyzims land continues to be logged. He remains torn between leaving the reserve and getting more skills and education in larger cities, or remaining at home and attending to what are overwhelming survival needs of his family and community. In the case of the Gitxsan mapping process, personal, cultural and political issues are interwoven with legal and economic ones.

In many parts of the world beyond the Gitxsan territory, indigenous mapping has become a cornerstone of land rights, cultural, political and resource development. First Nations mappers also network and combine forces and knowledge. The Aboriginal Mapping Network is one example of this, facilitated by EcoTrust Canada. It developed as a source for the sharing of ideas, contacts, and basic to advanced technical mapping information. With a primary British Columbia focus, the Gitxsan, Nuu-chah-nulth and many other First Nations groups are represented (EcoTrust Canada, 2002). Networked together worldwide, these type of projects are wielding considerable symbolic and transformative power as they directly challenge and, in some cases, particularly in the third world, where they threaten, the maps and legal processes of powerful local authorities or neo-colonial rulers. Community mapping in Sarawak, Malaysia, has threatened state power, and this type of mapping has now been declared illegal. In the first known case in the world of this type of ruling, the Land Surveyors Bill passed in the Fall of 2001 in the Dewan Undangan Negeri (DUN), Sarawak court. The Bill outlaws the production of maps by unlicensed surveyors (Rengah Sarawak News, 2001).

Community mapping has been a key tool used by Sarawak communities and NGOs for the past decade. Using low to high technologies, the resulting community maps are infused with traditional land use knowledge. They have become evidence of title and for resource management in territories where ownership is disputed between local peoples and the companies and/or government. A significant legal land claim victory for local indigenous people earlier in 2001 used community maps as evidence. Activists believe this victory was seen as a dangerous precedent by the authorities and this precipitated the Land Surveyors Bill.

Negotiating this growing space between technical colonial mapping traditions and indigenous knowledge brings with it many issues and dilemmas beyond economic and political ones. There is inevitable tension and tradeoffs in this cultural blending of traditional and technical knowledge. Professor and mapping specialist Peter Keller, who works with Canadian and Indonesian indigenous groups using GIS technology, expresses two main concerns: One, that GIS and technical mapping of indigenous lands is often mapping by outsiders and high-priced consultants (Keller, Pers. Comm., 2001). Echoing the concerns expressed by McKnight and Chambers of the pitfalls of expert-led development, Keller says that once the experts leave or the money runs out, the community is often left with little capacity and often obsolete, expensive toys to continue their work with. His second concern, particularly observed through the University of Victoria's (UVIC) work with the Dayak people in Indonesia is that we are slowly but surely changing indigenous thinking to GIS technology (Keller, Pers. Comm., 2001). UVIC, like EcoTrust Canada and other high-tech mapping specialists, continue to receive many requests for assistance:

First Nations people ask us to help them with their mapping and they are quite versant in the language of layers and polygons, imagery, pixels and resolutions and they are not talking about the other gestalt values, their culture and stories. In the case of the Dayaks in Indonesia, you have a community with their own

visions of space and place, their own values and notions of knowledge. But then you introduce a mapping technology and the first thing is you change the power structure in the community because those who like and control the technology suddenly get in power. They control the technology but the technology controls what you capture. Technology begins to shape your vision of the land. I am actually making a circular argument where you can argue that society shapes value, value shapes the research and development agenda, which again shapes values. And you are going round and round.

Keller, Pers. Comm., 2001

The story of current indigenous mapping raises theoretical issues related to power, space and discourse. Whether one is indigenous or not, maps are powerful transformative vehicles; however, caution must be exercised because if maps do not reflect the diverse and broad perspectives of the wider population, they can become just another form of totalizing or hegemonic discourse. Not all indigenous mapping projects can or do include broad community development and inclusion. They are often just tools in a broader development process where hopefully capacity and learning remains in the community long after experts leave.

In conclusion, the purpose of the map, the technologies employed, and the overall forms of association which once separated colonial rulers from indigenous peoples, are becoming increasingly similar. In this new power configuration, some indigenous peoples have responded to the appropriation of their land with the appropriation of the tools of the conquerors. The question remains whether technology will drive the agenda and overwhelm the cultures using it. It would be naive to think that indigenous groups are exempt from these same dangers as non-indigenous groups. Central questions related to power and pedagogy remains in the community mapping process: Does the mapping process empower citizens to care for their home places and does it create new spaces for change and transformation? Or, conversely, do empowered citizens use mapping processes to further their agenda by appropriation of the tools of the conqueror?

Conclusion

Maps have power. They represent and visualize reality. If we accept that map-making by developers and colonial explorers has been a vehicle for the domination of nature and the vanquishing of cultures more sustainable than ours, then historical and contemporary map-making by indigenous groups has the potential to help re-enchant and restore the foundations for a sustainable way of life. What myths and lessons from indigenous maps will guide other community maps?

In the following sections we explore contemporary community mapping, which extends further this exploration of the space between institutional and indigenous mapping discourse. A key learning for all community mapping is the acknowledgment of history and the central role of culture in influencing how we see the land and those around us. Indigenous maps can inspire community-mapping efforts as their mapmakers continue the historical struggle to sustain their people, culture and land.

Chapter Six. Common Ground and Community Mapping: Creating Transformative Pedagogy and Planning

Introduction

Somewhere between the rainbow and the Internet a place that is important to you is struggling to maintain its identity. Whatever happens on the World Wide Web, shards of histories, ecologies, economies, and cultures are heaped and shifted on bits and pieces of land. Many of us understand ourselves in the world as much through a relationship with a small patch of ground (or more than one) as with people, indeed it is hard to separate them.

Clifford, *Common Ground* UK, 1996, p. 3

People and communities need to struggle to maintain distinctiveness and ecological integrity in a globalized world. Community mapping occupies that space between the Internet and the rainbow, between visions and dreams, and between projects and plans. It is all about creative action, about bridging somatic and practical knowledge. Overall, community mapping is a pedagogical vehicle whose transformative effect operates on several levels: first, it creates a sense of place; second, it provides space for learning and dialogue, and third, it bridges personal knowledge to community learning and institutional planning.

Maps shape our perception of place and therefore help create a sense of place. Community mapping provides an inclusive and graphic framework for people to affirm and pool their experiences and knowledge about the place they call home, whether that is their street, their neighborhood, their country or their world. As a spatial learning process, the process of mapping can bring together diverse perspectives and people to create dialogue and common understanding. It can bridge personal, group and institutional knowledge. Citizens can locate the historical, physical, social, cultural and even spiritual attributes of their home place and use that information to support community action or planning projects. Plans, as Elkin reminded us, lay out the use of the land and a map represents the values and priorities of a community.

Overall community mapping is an excellent example of asset-based development, as cited earlier in the profile of John McKnight (1993). In particular, community mapping shares these following three characteristics of asset-based development: first, it starts with what is present, not what is absent; second, it is internally focused to stress the importance of local definitions, visions, means and ownership of development; and third, it is relationship-driven. People are not treated as blank slates without histories, narrative and storied residence, whether they are First Nations, with historical connection for thousands of years to existing lands, or apartment dwellers in an urban neighborhood. Asset-based development and community mapping thus affirms and facilitates space for the intrinsic capacity of individuals and communities to find solutions to the challenges they face. It makes the assumption that situated rather than totalizing discourse is beneficial to individuals and communities alike.

Community maps are pictures about a place created with the use of primarily low technical aides. There are many types of community maps and many methods of community mapmaking that use a wide range of locally available human and physical resources (See Appendix 4: Mapping Types and Methods). At the

simplest low-tech level, community mapping requires a few markers and a sheet of paper. In some parts of the world, instead of pens and paper, residents use locally available materials such as twine, sticks, rocks, and seeds, and chalk with maps drawn on the ground or a table or a wall. Indigenous maps have used bark, wood, and shells and even bones, anything that can be drawn on. In Havana, Cuba, schoolchildren made a "Green Map" of the ecological features of their neighbourhood by drawing a street map in chalk on the floor of a warehouse. In India, people of all literacy levels used colored powder to create a village map as a basis for discussing local land and resource issues. In East Vancouver, kids made clay maps of old houses in their neighbourhood as part of a heritage awareness project. In England, parish community mappers often use tapestry and weaving to develop their maps as wall hangings for public spaces.

Computer and mapping technologies to measure and store data about a place can also be used for community mapping. These can be as simple as using compasses and grids to create topographic maps or as advanced as global positioning or geographic information systems (GPS and GIS) to create extremely accurate databases of information that can collate and make visual and future scenario projections. For example, maps have been used by many environmental groups to show deforestation or the disappearance of farm land over time, or to show patterns of pollution and their correlation with consumption patterns worldwide. A wide array of questions and scenarios can be applied to mapping, and technology can have a powerful impact on these deliberations.

Common Ground and this study focus on the involvement of diverse ages and abilities in learning and planning their communities; however, this does not exclude the possible use of higher technology to document local knowledge and store data in a creative and useful way. In community mapping the continuum is from high touch (low-technology with high levels of personal interaction and involvement) to high technology with the caution, as expressed by Keller, that high tech does not take over the process and exclude local knowledge and energy.

This chapter begins with a development profile of Common Ground as a vehicle for community mapping, and analyses the nature of the participation and learning process which Common Ground facilitates. This includes profiles of community mapping pedagogy and planning in action, from overall community to specific school and neighborhood contexts.

6.1 The Common Ground Community Mapping Project

Being the change we want to see in the world, to paraphrase Ghandi, is the challenge of any human group working for sustainable, inclusive development. Means and ends are completely interdependent, especially for initiatives that (like so many others) are based on learning, power sharing and facilitating personal and social transformation.

Common Ground began in 1998 out of a research and development project sponsored by the Victoria International Development Education Association (VIDEA) and funded by the International Development and Research Centre, a para-governmental Ottawa-based group committed to global sustainability and research. The research explored several groups, initiatives and approaches to community mapping, in particular:

Indigenous and ecosystem community mapping as practiced by indigenous groups and NGOs such as EcoTrust Canada and the Silva Forest Foundation in British Columbia and environmental NGOs, WALHI and PLASMA in Indonesia (Lydon, 1997).

Bioregional mapping and barefoot cartography work for community inventory and planning as practiced by Doug Aberley, the Gulf Islands and environmental educators and activists on the Gulf Islands and in North America (Aberley, 1993; Harrington, 1999).

Asset-mapping work of John McKnight, the community economic development planning and capacity development of Mike Lewis and the Centre for Community Enterprise and community empowerment and experiential learning and pedagogy as practiced by Freire and community educators worldwide. (McKnight, 1993; CCE, 2000; Freire, 1986).

Green mapping pioneered by the Green Map System in New York and used worldwide as a mapping methodology for urban sustainability (Green Map Systems, 2002).

Following this research, the challenge was to blend the core learning and ideas from these initiatives and apply them to local development and education work in Victoria. VIDEA had worked in community and international development education in the schools and with other NGOs and groups locally and globally for twenty years. They developed the Victoria community economic development network, largely based on asset mapping, between 1993-1997 with the primary partners the Victoria Street Community Association and the City of Victoria. VIDEA's special area of expertise was experiential and school-based learning and resource production, sustainable development, community empowerment and participatory planning. Community mapping built itself on this strong network of support in the schools and NGO sectors and through the CED work that had begun to reach out to address local sustainability issues.

Two things became evident through VIDEA's work in local community economic development (CED): The first was a pedagogical gap and lack of organizational capacity, primarily the lack of empowerment-based education within and between local and global-oriented community groups, neighborhoods and schools concerned with sustainable development. Meanwhile, cooperation between community and institutions of power and governance such as the credit union, businesses, the universities and college was minimal.

Within this context, the whole notion of transforming instead of taking power became part of the CED and later the Common Ground community mapping strategy. These were both network-based projects. Taking an 'education for empowerment' approach, the central strategy was the enabling of citizens acting in multi-sectoral partnerships for local action and sustainability. Becoming advocates for change was also part of the agenda but not the central concern. More important was facilitating new spaces for change based on mutual learning rather than leading.

Based on the results of the IDRC-sponsored pilot, Common Ground quickly found ways to further explore and pilot community mapping through schools, community groups and neighborhoods. These revolved around regional Mapping Days in 1998 and 1999. These days were attended by over 100 people from diverse sectors each time and seeded the regional network of interest and support. Following the 1999 Mapping Day, it became clear to the Common Ground committee that there was enough support to continue this project and it needed to find a more local focus. However it also need funding and formal support from the local community. In the meantime VIDEA had returned to a more global education focus. The original VIDEA staff, who had by then left VIDEA, along with mapping volunteers were also willing to continue to build the structure and seek funding to support the ongoing development and planning of this work.

Common Ground became a project based on a formal partnership of those who had been involved in community mapping. This included the UVIC Eco-Research Chair, the Victoria Natural History Society, the Community Social Planning Council, and LifeCycles. The City of Victoria and the Municipality of Saanich,

along with an array of local neighborhoods and schools, also became supporting partners. All of the groups had a vested local interest in this work. For example, the Community Social Planning Council agreed to support this effort as they felt their advocacy and policy work, focused on social issues such as affordable housing and poverty, could be enhanced by the creation of learning-based tools for community engagement and vision-building such as mapping. As well, they along with LifeCycles and OXFAM-Canada had all worked on local food security work and wanted to pilot food mapping. The UVIC Eco-Research Chair, who began to work with VIDEA through Indonesia community forestry work two years before, was now involved with urban sustainability work. It wanted to support grassroots efforts for change. Common Ground in turn helped to develop their Smart Growth British Columbia sustainable development project. Finally the Victoria Natural History Society, with an older membership, wanted to find ways to engage the public, especially younger people and schools in conservation work and to influence planning within a bioregional context.

Common Ground was in effect a diverse convergence of ideas and groups and has remained network based to date. The executive of Common Ground who operationalized the vision was a diverse mix made up of an accountant, an ex-military strategist (cum conservationist), an opera singer, neighborhood activists, a local planner, youth NGO leader and a teacher. Added to the principle of mutual support and interest which has defined the Steering Committee and partners of Common Ground, this eclecticism has been a core feature of Common Ground's outreach and learning strategy since its beginning.

To officially establish and create goals and objectives for Common Ground, a wide variety of groups were invited to come together in the Fall of 1999: Common Ground now receives funding from private and government sources. In-kind donations of time and resources account for over half of the annual budgets in the past two years. Today, the Common Ground has been joined by the Geography Departments of both the University and the local College whom offer ongoing research, student and in-kind donations of resources. Youth interns from LifeCycles, student researchers, and retired professionals have been the backbone of Common Ground with one part-time coordinator and other contract staff hired for short periods.

The overall goals stated by Common Ground are: to use community mapping as a tool for engaging community members in the planning and development of their regional, neighborhood and school communities; to enhance the social, economic and ecological health and overall quality of life, and to influence public planning and policy. Common Ground objectives (Common Ground, 2001 Annual Report, p.3) include:

- To develop the capacity of community, neighborhood and school groups to engage in asset and place-based community mapping and development;
- To produce learning resources about mapping and to create a regional community green map;
- To support and strengthen a community mapping network and promote community mapping through outreach;
- To pilot and document community mapping as a best practice in sustainable community development;
- To develop the capacity to influence and work with public planning processes;
- To develop and maintain a community resource and mapping centre.

Over their first year of formal operation, Common Ground engaged 700 people in 26 separate workshops in the local region in community mapping (2001, Annual Report, p.3). They initiated and/or supported thirteen separate mapping initiatives, many of which are profiled in the next sections. Their learning resource manuals have sold well throughout North America, bought primarily by food security, urban and health planning groups, educational bodies and institutions. Common Ground also offers consultant support to

groups outside Victoria, including projects as diverse as a City of Vancouver-sponsored citywide youth asset mapping process, and to Cuban NGOs who are creating community asset and food security maps of Havana. Common Ground also presented their work and approach to learning and planning at City and regional government-sponsored planning events, to university classes and local social service agencies.

The next few sections profile the learning process and map products that have been created locally, with a few examples of outside mapping initiatives that have inspired Common Ground in their work.

6.2 Personal, Group and Children's Mapping

The basic assumption behind community mapping pedagogy is that those who live in a place can have intimate everyday knowledge about it: from the small child who notices the changing of the seasons and the insects in the grass, to the parent who notices unsafe places for children, to the new immigrant who notices the stores that sell a particular ethnic food, to seniors who have seen major historical changes over a lifetime in their neighborhoods. Of course there can be widely divergent views on the meaning of these personal realities. Many people do not live in or identify with a neighbourhood. It is indeed challenging to find community and sense of place in high-rise apartments, in highly mobile lives or in gated communities. People find community and a sense of belonging in many different spaces and places, whether that is on the Internet or in churches. What community mapping does is affirm people's experiences and worldviews. In a mapping process, people can hear and see "through the map" one another's worlds. An outsider "be that a historian, a planner or a biologist" may have knowledge about a place, but a community mapping process is best focused on mobilizing local knowledge and assets and then bringing in expertise and capacity as needed.

6.21 Personal Mapping

There are many techniques used for "personal" mapping such as body mapping, personal journey and values maps, childhood place maps, local mental maps, memory maps, and dream maps. There is also a spectrum of applications for personal and community development projects, from identifying people's dreams and visions on the one hand, to a market analysis of people's buying patterns and personal transportation routes, on the other.

Accessing the ecological self, or to use MiGonigle's term, "being-in-community-in- nature," through creating a personal sense of place and eliciting historical narrative are two main dimensions of personal mapping. The aesthetic and artistic side of experience is evoked through such mental mapping exercises. For example, my son Kieran photographed and drew a map of his favorite "site place," described below, for a school art project.

Interestingly, out of the twenty-five grade nine and ten students who participated in this project, over half drew and cited their own bedrooms and backyards as their favorite place. This was part of a national art exhibit at the Victoria Art Gallery on "sense of place." The same exhibit featured elders in Newfoundland telling stories about their favorite childhood place, with an artist drawing a map of each story.

This mapping of personal stories is one building block for enhancing reflection and inner dialogue. Counselors often use this kind of mapping as therapy. Through this medium people can access their somatic

self ñtheir world of dreams and lived experience. And those listening to the map narrative can understand more fully what people love and care about.

Illustration 2: Kieran Magzul, The Look Out ñ My Favorite Place, 2001

Illustration 3: Kieran Magzul's Favorite Place Map and Narrative, 2001

Similarly, youth interns at LifeCycles Project Society, an urban agriculture NGO in Victoria, use personal journey mapping as the foundation for their group building and self-reflection process. Individuals draw a map of their lives including key events, influences, changes, and insights. They then share their maps with one another. This exercise is very popular and builds compassion and understanding for the great diversity and experiences, both tragic and joyful, which are part of most people's lives.

Common Ground has facilitated this personal journey mapping with over 100 different youth and adults. The maps that have been created from this process have revealed certain patterns. One is how true the concept of the ecological self seems, as life stories are almost always told in relation to place and others, not as the story of autonomous beings. Another is how complex and mobile people's lives are and how many are marked by personal and family upheaval, such as relocation and tragedies such as death and divorce. In addition, it is also clear that the presence of a few guiding mentors or lights—be that a grandparent, a childhood friend, sibling or a teacher—do make profound positive differences in people's lives. Finally, when listening to people's autobiographical map, it is clear that real lives are not issues that one can dissect and argue about. These lives are rich and complex and, more importantly, they connect through a myriad of relationships—to place, to space, to one another. These maps are tools for situated discourse; they enable the narrative process of naming one's reality.

6.22 Group Mapping

Personal mapping—naming one's own reality—is also a foundation for exploring our worlds with others. As a group learning process, community mapping is, in effect, a collective spatial representation and dialogue about treasured spaces and home places. By focusing on creativity, values and mutual respect, rather than accuracy and opinions, it is also creative and enjoyable. As one community mapping activist in Victoria said, "mapping is fun, inclusive and encourages everyone to give free rein to his or her creativity. People realize they don't have to be wonderful cartographers—the most important thing is expressing opinions about how they feel about their place" (Beare, Pers. Comm., 2001). Key guiding questions are asked in community mapping exercises that relate to values and changes overtime such as: Who has lived in this community? How has the ecosystem changed overtime? What do you value now about your community? What are your favorite places? Where do you live, shop, work and play? If you could redraw a map of your community, what will it look like in 50 years under present development trends? What do you want it to look like in 50 years? How can we make that happen?

The community mapping process is thus based on the expression of shared values. Before mapping together, Common Ground often asks participants to list, based on their values and experience, what they consider to be the essential components or features of a healthy community. The responses (usually three to

five per person are suggested) are then placed on a sustainability model (economic, environmental and social) with health as the central intersecting factor.

In workshops held with diverse groups and classes such as city planners (see Illustration 5), college and university students, government service workers, multi-age neighborhood residents, youth, conservation and school groups, the respondents consistently placed environmental and social features above all others, including traditional economic ones.

Illustration 4: Essential Features of a Healthy Community
City of Victoria Planners Workshop Responses, Common Ground, 2000.

The expression of values leads into exploring an actual place on a map. Discussion of where the essential features presently, previously or potentially exist in one's community—for example, caring people, local produce, food banks, green spaces or recreation centers—can be then placed on local mental or

topographic maps. In some cases mapping exercises are simply tools for discussion, group building or educational exercises in themselves, and in other cases they are development and planning tools. They are based on people's interests and values, rather than opinions and positions.

Community maps can also act as tools for conflict resolution and consensus building. Keller worked with residents in the Barkley Sound area who were in conflict over the existence of float homes. He used maps as the vehicle for framing the discussion and to include all divergent views on the issue: 'Over two days, local stakeholders did nothing else but share their views on the database and then evaluate the quality and ability of the database to help them resolve their conflict. The maps became in effect an agreement on the representation of what was on the landscape' (Keller, Pers. Comm., 2001). Once again, the map acted as a space, a medium of understanding and dialogue, between conflicting worldviews and interests. Based on the map, the local stakeholders were then able to resolve the issue through weighing all the interests. Sometimes these conflicts are irreconcilable.

Power is central to this question of whose database and whose needs are represented. In contrast, however, there are other scenarios where maps continue to be used as legal and political weapons in land claim and resource dispute struggles such as Sarawak or British Columbia forests, where there is often little or no space for dialogue with institutional power.

It is important to recognize that mapping is not a panacea to solving complex and centuries-old conflicts, yet maps can be used as tools for more democratic decision-making processes as people's perceptions are considered valid and relevant. People can create new (visually represented) meaning together. Rather than directly addressing one another or an abstract issue, people co-create a collective view about a place simply by collectively drafting a map. As Keller states, 'mapping is a visualization tool rather than an expert communication tool; in today's world you don't have such a thing as a permanent map anymore. It is a database that you pull out when you need it and it can continually change according to different needs' (Keller, 2001).

Mapping as a group learning process is also an effective vehicle for inter-cultural and intergenerational narrative and dialogue. In the Grandview Woodlands neighborhood of East Vancouver, residents at a community festival put their birthplaces on the local community map and realized that they came from over 50 different countries. This map was used to promote and celebrate the cultural diversity of the neighborhood and to facilitate new friendships and support between and within cultural groups. In Victoria, youth and seniors mapped their favorite places together and realized that youth loved the malls and the Seven Eleven stores while the seniors disliked these particular places and preferred the parks. One participant in this workshop commented: 'Community mapping creates unique learning opportunities for all types of residents. Very few fora exist where elders and youth can meet to exchange stories and learn from each other' (Deborah Curran, Pers. Comm., 2000). Putting these values on the map together helped them to deepen their appreciation of the reality of one another's lives and the need for spaces to gather. This youth-senior dialogue led to the production of the Saanich Memories Book printed in 2001, which involved each generation interviewing one another about their changing worlds and lives. New friendships and appreciation for one another resulted. The Planning department has continued to explore ways to involve these and other youth and senior participants in future planning exercises.

One other key feature of community mapping and learning is the creativity that can be built into the process, which in turn leads to innovative initiatives. The Grandview Woodlands community mapping project in Vancouver, B.C. and the Common Ground Parish Mapping Project in Great Britain offer illustrative examples

of creative mapping processes. Both projects based themselves on the central question of what people value in the geographical community of their everyday world. In both cases, maps were created as artistic renderings of place that acted as catalysts for community action.

The East Vancouver 'Our Own Backyard' community mapping program, involved residents from extremely diverse cultures, ages and classes in mapping the territory of their lives. 'Participate and voice what you want to see happen in your community' was their guiding motto. The project's outcomes include the documentation of the local history stories, heritage homes and trees, the appreciation of the views of youth graffiti artists, and inspiring children to become stewards of local parks through mapping their favorite spots. Participants used hand drawn maps, visual artistry, photos, murals, street banners and tiles, and produced books and booklets. Their main focus was not to create technically perfect maps that mirrored those of the planners, which they called 'the language of politics,' but to mobilize (through myriad community events, on-the-street displays, festivals, walkabouts, mural projects, etc.) and engage the community to articulate their values, dreams and histories using the 'language of art' (Forster, 1998, p. 3). In this they were extremely successful and inspired many other artistic and community development-oriented mapping projects in British Columbia and Canada. However, they were unable to continue on beyond piloting mapping as communication tools. The project remained the initiative of a few individuals with research support from the Simon Fraser University Humanities Department. It was not 'scaled-up' or developed into the existing fabric of community or planning institutions. In effect, the project was neither tied to a vehicle for change nor to the language of politics, something which Common Ground UK has been able to do and Common Ground Victoria is attempting to do.

Common Ground UK, through their 'parish' community-mapping project, has created over 1000 locally based maps since 1985 throughout Great Britain using a wide variety of mediums and techniques. Many media of artistic expression 'tapestries, drama, music, sculptures, and poster-art' were explored with many tied directly into planning and community action for conservation and community development. Parish was adopted by Common Ground as a flexible term 'offered not to define but to describe the scale at which people feel a sense of familiarity and ownership in their place' (Clifford and King, 1996, p.5). The ecclesiastical parish boundaries originate from Anglo-Saxon times traditionally following naturally occurring landmarks. The civil parish grew from this in the 1890's as 'the smallest theatre of democracy' (Clifford and King, 1996, p.7).

At present community art and wildlife trusts, district, borough, community and town planning councils have integrated parish mapping projects into their planning processes. British proponents of the UN-inspired Local Agenda 21 worked together with Common Ground UK to use parish mapping as a foundation for community inventory and organizing.

What began as a locally-based rural conservation effort has blossomed into a nation-wide visioning effort to promote positive action to improve the villages and neighborhoods of Britain. These range from local stream and habitat restoration projects; to documenting local history and creating all ages community culture art and beautification projects. 'Celebrating Local Distinctiveness,' and 'Work for Local Identity' 'Oppose Monoculture' are their main mottos. Parish mapping has moved from a rural focus to embracing urban multi-cultural places and spaces. Like GrandView Woodlands, Common Ground UK has had tremendous ripple effects and has inspired many other efforts worldwide.

Whether it is to solicit creative expression, personal narrative, intergenerational narrative, clarify group values, or resolve conflicts, community mapping as a group process can create new space to facilitate the sharing of worldviews and to empower local residents to become more involved in the daily stewardship and nurturing of their home places. A magic dimension of community mapping is the inclusion of children's worldviews and involving schools and teachers in the learning process..

6.23 Mapping with Children

To involve children and schools as a cornerstone of community mapping exemplifies planning not *for* but *with* the next generation. Children, as well as seniors and non-human creatures, are often disregarded in planning. And yet, who is planning for? Furthermore, if children go to school, what are they learning about, if not their home place, local history, neighborhood or ecosystem? If, to echo Freire, people can be subjects or objects of history, then the way children are taught and how they frame their subjective and objective worlds is the foundation for our collective future. We can re-invent planning through learning, beginning with children. If adults can make bridges for children to be involved in local decision-making, then we are creating response-able citizens for the future. Commitment to oneself or another accompanies commitment to a place.

There are many positive examples of empowering school-community projects that use mapping as a learning and planning tool. The Way-To-Go Walking School Bus program, sponsored by Insurance Corporation of British Columbia (ICBC) is a community health and safety project that gets children and their parents involved in mapping routes to school. They try to influence families to choose walking or cycling instead of driving to school. They work with children, teachers and parents to create goals and celebrate success with special days in the Fall and Spring to focus the efforts. These projects are most successful in neighborhoods where walking and cycling is a safe and easy option. In suburbs, and for regional or private schools, where the catchment area is bigger and students are often from wealthier families with cars, success is measured with setting up car pools. It is designed as a positive and inclusive learning experience with rewards for encouraging positive change.

Illustration 5: Walking to School Map ñ South Park School, 2001

Ironically, and perhaps logically, the children of the Burnside-Gorge area, the poorest school population in Victoria, have the highest rate in Victoria (85% according to Way to Go) of walking to school. (Suzanne Kort,

Pers. Comm., 2001). This is not simply because it is safe and easy but because it is, in most cases, the only option. The schoolchildren have little access to bicycles and private cars. One lesson from this fact is that mapping can have side functions that reveal the ecological impact (footprint) of everyday habits and patterns that go beyond those of transportation. Mapping can thus create interesting such as (in this case) levels of consumption and recreation, which can also be used for planning purposes.

South Park School, in Victoria, B.C., used mapping as the basis for their 2001 school project with each grade conducting age appropriate in-the-classroom mapping activities: mapping routes to school and mapping Beacon Hill Park. For the latter, one of the main questions for the mapping was what children valued most about the Park. Surprising to most teachers, children's favorite places were not the areas set aside for children (i.e. playground and petting zoo) but special spots like climbing trees and wild areas. The grade 2's and 3's had invented their own special names for these places.

Illustration 6: Children's Favorite Places in Beacon Hill Park, Victoria, B.C., South Park School, Common Ground, 2001.

Older children created a Children's view and iKids Guide booklets of the park. The outcomes of this project are being compiled, and they will be shared with other schools and presented to the City of Victoria to complement their Beacon Hill Park plan.

South Park teachers were asked by Common Ground Victoria to reflect on the curriculum and other learning that took place from this project. Some of these comments relate to curriculum links and others relate to other project ideas. One teacher said: 'It would be neat to try story mapping to music. I think a life cycle lesson of a butterfly, frog or flower could be presented like a map. Any journey could lend itself to mapping.' Another teacher added: 'Reading a story that had a format or theme that was connected to the activity made it easier for the kids to grasp what they were supposed to do.'

In the South Park mapping project, story-telling, mapping as storied residence, particularly with younger grades, was an integral part of learning about a place. Mapping the life, worlds and routes of birds and animals and bees are wonderful tools for ecological literacy. Suggestions for further work included: 'Common Ground could compile a list or make a collection of maps in the surrounding area that schools might use,' and 'always helpful a suggestion' 'It was important to keep things simple, close and meaningful' (South Park school teachers, Pers. Comm., 2001).

Information gained from children through community mapping is vital for local citizens, teachers and planners. In the James Bay and Burnside Gorge neighborhoods of Victoria, where many families live below

the poverty level, and youth unemployment is a major concern, working through the schools is an excellent way, and often the only way, to understand family and children's views and needs. In a James Bay School mapping exercise in 1999, children drew their "ideal" community that doubled the existing green space and added in swimming pools, skateboard parks and other recreation areas. Having fun, growing flowers and trees, and playing outdoors were priorities that they identified. Following up on the process, one local community organizer discovered that there are at least five pools in local James Bay hotels, and initiated a project to gain access to these pools for the local children. This novel idea has partly borne fruit; some of the hotel pools have become more accessible if residents are able to pay. This raises a core issue of who defines community assets and the line between private and community needs and relations.

In the Burnside Gorge community, the school worked with the local association to identify social planning priorities through community mapping. Both agreed the best way to reach families in the community was through the children in the school. A mapping exercise was conducted with the 110 students at their "inner-city" school. Many of the children are labeled "high risk," vulnerable to inheriting social and economic problems. Thirty eight percent of them move residence at least once each year, many live in motels and face poverty and drug issues at home (Colleen Kasting, Pers. Comm., 2001). Young children drew their routes to school and favorite places, while older children from Grade 3 to 7 were given two neighborhood planning maps, one for the present and the other for the future. Together the children were asked to draw where they lived, their favorite places, safe places, unsafe places, and places they wanted to change. Almost unanimously the children's maps indicated that their school was the safest place in their community. Similar to the Saanich teenagers, their next favorite place was the local mall or Tim Horton's. The Gorge waterway and Selkirk Park were other frequently mentioned places. In their future-planning map for the Cecilia Creek/Selkirk Park area, the children drew/wrote in more flowers, parks and green space, "less cars, and less drug users."

Burnside-Gorge parents who were welcomed to join their children in the mapping project collectively expressed their desire for at least one grocery store, more recreation opportunities, affordable homes and a public library. Some type of car co-op was another suggestion. This information is now being used as the foundation for a community plan to improve housing and local services.

There are optimistic signs that this Burnside-Gorge child-led neighborhood mapping project will bear fruit to benefit the whole community. The same teacher who helped lead the community in the Cecilia Creek clean-up, has gone on to map all the storm drains in the neighborhood. And as she said:

We just found out the Mayfair mall has decided to install a special type of receptor under their storm drains, which will collect for disposal many of the contaminants resulting from cars starting up in their parking lot. Some of the dangerous chemicals make their way through the storm drain system into Cecilia Creek and the Gorge. They would like us to paint fish on all 38 of the storm drains in their parking lots. We are thrilled
Strauss, Pers. Comm., 2001

Mapping with these children can also contribute to preventing crime. Planners and police in Victoria have said that one of their major challenges is to reach children and youth in neighborhoods such as Burnside Gorge to contribute to planning and to prevent community vandalism and graffiti. A clear preventative strategy is to involve the young in local planning. Through community mapping tied to concrete action projects such as the Cecilia Creek clean up, the children and youth are being told that they matter, their

views matter and that they belong to a caring community. Community empowerment is based on a sense of personal and local pride and ownership over the plans that affect our lives.

David Sobel, in his book *Map-making and Childhood*, believes scale is key to working with children and mapping. He has seen from his work as an elementary school educator that five or six year olds are the real experts about the very local world of home and school. Therefore, Sobel believes that conducting community mapping projects approximately every two years during the child's development, can add in different scales: beginning with the neighborhood for seven to eight year olds, community and watershed for nine-ten year olds and bioregion, nation and beyond for eleven and twelve year olds (Sobel, 1998, p.45). These scales can employ different methods of representation beginning with models and tool-maps, and advancing along a continuum from pictures and murals, to panoramic views and sketches, to baseline and offset mapping, to aerial views, surveying and contour maps. This observation rang true for the kindergarten teacher at South Park School.

An intriguing thing we noticed when painting the park mural was that rather than doing an aerial view of the park, the children incorporated all aspects and places that they could think of from the park, with grass at the bottom and sky at the top, like a landscape, but as if they could see the whole park at once.
South Park School teacher, Pers. Comm., 2001

Mapmaking with children thus provides an interdisciplinary, embodied curriculum and helps connect children to their local place and neighborhoods. Mapping is growing in its application to all facets of school learning. From a school mapping workshop with teachers and students, Common Ground identified a variety of curriculum links for teachers and students.

Illustration 7: Curriculum and Mapping, Common Ground, 2001, p.8.

Children's maps are enchanting. Others can see the world through children's eyes. Children's minds are very imaginative and infused with stories. Often, walking to school maps of five to six year olds are more about insects and birds than they are about houses and roads. They were non-linear. One five year-old South Park student's walking to school map was of a giant donut, with the child saying that was what he sees on his way to school.

Children are more aware and sensitive than adults to their immediate ecological surroundings and thus they can be another key layer of local researchers. They often notice what adults do not, often key ecological and social features of the community. Keller believes that children's involvement is "the most important aspect of community mapping because they come at it totally unbiased—they will tell you things as they see it and they are also so egocentrically oriented. They don't have the biases of a geocentric world" (Pers. Comm., 2001). Robin Hood, an environmental educator who uses community mapping, also believes children's involvement is critical. "School learning and the connection to children's sense of place is critical to community mapping—the Earth is our text and if we don't understand it and learn to take care of it we are doomed" (Pers. Comm., 2001).

Returning to Freire, one cannot forget that the heart of this type of learning is empowerment, it is about subjects naming their worlds based on a deeper awareness of a sense of place and belonging and from a loving concern for nature and humanity. Community mapping is one approach that is wholistic and flexible, while at the same time it is an intergenerational learning tool that can lead to the creation and conveyance of community vision. Most people want to participate in learning processes where they meet new friends and neighbors and have fun in the process. Janet Strauss is the Burnside-Gorge teacher who facilitates their community mapping work and who has worked for six years with her school children, the local association, the City and the private sector, to clean up the local creek. This past year, five years since the beginning of the clean up, mallard ducklings, (and their predators, hawks!) finally returned to the creek. This kind of work makes her job very fulfilling. She feels privileged to be working with the children in her school to improve the quality of life for them and their parents. "Children are the sweet soul of this earth and everyday they inspire and fill my heart with such joy" (Strauss, Pers. Comm., 2001).

To conclude this discussion of personal, group and children's mapping, it is evident that working from peoples' stories and assets from various sectors and ages in a positive learning space can release personal and unique worldviews, assets and gifts. The learning process is based in local ecological narrative and situated discourse. It is vital for our collective future to see children, youth and seniors alike working with their communities to affirm assets, solve problems, and feel ownership over their planning process. It is about learning collective community citizenship and responsibility. This learning, in order for it to effect institutional change, be that in schools, universities or municipal planning departments, needs to find creative and open-ended ways to involve these groups as partners and/or supporters.

One key lesson from the community mapping projects is that community organizers, council members, teachers and universities have powerful roles to play as intermediaries and facilitators of direct, not representative, democratic planning processes. This facilitative role leads to the validation and inclusion of "situated views" and avoids the "hegemonic" and totalizing positions that lead to structures of learning based on power over others. The other key dimension of community mapping is tying learning about community to concrete action projects that have visible results. Mapping can be learning for its own sake but it can also be tied to interesting themes and community action projects that citizens can be involved in. This is discussed in the next section as a way to conclude bridge to the profile of Common Ground Victoria.

6.3 Community Mapping Projects

There is an endless potential of maps as a tool for participatory, asset-based processes, which graphically anchor community development to the specifics of place and context. Beyond promoting participatory planning, community mapping has been used to map: all the children under five in an area to assess

day-care needs; fruit trees to identify potential food donations; areas of crime for neighbourhood watch programs; capital flow to identify community economic development opportunities; toxic waste sites for health and environmental action; the best spot for a new community centre; and affordable housing for new arrivals to an area.

Mapping themes and projects can be broken down along socio-cultural, economic and ecological categories. For example, Fairfield neighborhood project worked on the natural environment, the built environment, economic development and community development themes. The Green Map System, used worldwide, mostly in cities, uses the categories mobility, infrastructure, nature ñ flora, fauna, land and water--, toxic hot spots/pollution sources, renewable resources, information and economic development. Each community mapping project can create its own categories. Community mapping projects described briefly below include heritage, conservation, and green mapping, community planning and economic development projects. Of course, these categories do at times overlap and can be assembled into an atlas format.

Heritage includes the ecological and social history of a place, visualized on a map in time or thematic layers. These projects can include community history atlases, heritage homes and sites tour and booklets, senior memory books, lost streams and lost species maps. The James Bay Community Atlas included maps of pre-contact First Nations village sites and land use, The Fernwood History Mapping Project is mapping old homes and pioneer stories for heritage protection and community pride, while the District of Burnaby created a cultural and natural heritage map showing lost (paved over) streams, indigenous and pioneer land use and settlement sites. Common Ground UK made a Heritage Apple Map of England, showing all the varieties of apples and apple products dispersed throughout Britain.

Conservation mapping relates to ecosystem characteristics such as heritage trees, greenways, toxic sites, underground water and fruit trees. The Victoria Fruit Tree Map, managed by the local non-profit group LifeCycles, has been developing a regional map and database of local fruit trees as a food security and conservation project. In 2001 over 11,000 pounds of fruit were gathered, with one-third of the food going to the owners, one-third to local food banks, and one-third to make applesauce and juice for a LifeCycles youth enterprise project. This project is growing to include the 'cleaning' (harvesting excess food) of other crops from local farms and to branch out into community economic development projects such as tree pruning, fruit processing and community kitchen projects. In the Oaklands neighborhood of Victoria, the Garry Oak Mapping project is making an inventory of the local Garry oak ecosystem as a community stewardship project that is being shared with other neighborhoods in the Garry Oak bioregion. The Salish Sea Mapping Project created atlases of the islands between Vancouver Island and Mainland B.C. using diverse layers such as apples, heritage farms, natural sounds and local birds. Many of these island atlases are being linked to the official community planning process.

Economic mapping identifies local assets such as opportunity sites, vacant lots, capital flow, resource use, local business and historic trends, income and demographic trends and consumer expenditures. Maps can also be used for a wide variety of economic development projects. Fairfield neighborhood developed a map inventory of economic and small business assets as a foundation for a community economic development plan. Food related businesses emerged as one priority to date. This includes identifying their community kitchen as a core asset to help local food producers, the community market and immigrant women's catering groups. The Greater Victoria Regional Community Green Map is promoting food security and profiling the alternative economy by identifying local farms, restaurants and businesses that support the local food economy as well as fair trade and non-profit stores.

Green mapping is a comprehensive system that moves beyond conservation mapping to encompass a broad view of the assets of the community based on ecological limits and promoting healthy, primarily urban development. Green mapping also provides an opportunity for community mapping projects to tie themselves to worldwide efforts for sustainability. The Green Map System, which began in New York by a sculptor, the former artist in residence at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, has now connected with over 100 other world cities all continents with cities as diverse as Bombay, India to Zagreb, Croatia to Prince George in British Columbia. They use the same set of icons as a means to identify, promote and link ecological resources. These maps are printed and are also available on the web. A listserv enables local initiatives to share ideas and inspire one another (Green Map System, 2002).

Green mapping is also tied into international efforts for education and urban design. Similar to the function of the Aboriginal Mapping Network, the Green Map System also acts as a facilitator for the sharing of ideas, contacts and technical information. Its leaders see it as a vehicle for global vision, for environmental care and industrial ecology, for improving the quality of poor urban neighborhoods and for pushing back the public domain into privatized spaces. As Bob Zuber, their senior education consultant, who is also an Episcopalian minister in Harlem, said:

The real issue for Green Maps is not design but audience. Who is the map for? Whose concerns and ecological/cultural assets are represented? There is already in the public domain an abundance of information about ecological and cultural resources. There are huge databases and satellite-generated maps that can provide people with all of the information they could ever want about their hometowns. The problem is not information, it is interest and skill. Through images and networks that convey a range of resources we hold in common, through investigations that re-introduce people to their neighborhoods, through materials that engage people in discussions about issues and resources that they rarely talk about or reflect on, and through icons that focus interest on a wide range of green sites (and the people and organizations that take care of them), Green Maps help to educate the public and inspire local actions towards more sustainable urban environments.

Zuber, Pers. Comm., 2001

Common Ground, with major support from the University of Victoria Geography Department, is creating a Greater Victoria Green Map with its own bioregional icons: camas, Garry oak trees and even skateboard parks. The data collection and community consultation process has taken over a year and it will be ready to be printed by the end of 2002. Common Ground has been asked to join the 12-member International Advisory Committee of the Green Map System because of their noted expertise in community mapping from a pedagogical and network-based planning context.

Many kinds of community mapping projects, when they are based on inclusive and creative learning processes and diverse partnerships between community, institutions and the private sector, can effectively bridge learning to planning, and space to place. To conclude this chapter on mapping pedagogy, a few examples of neighborhood mapping help illustrate these point and show how different themes and projects can be brought together in a specific geographic area.

6.3 Community Mapping and Neighborhood Planning

Some community mapping projects have grown to enhance and transform local neighborhood planning processes. Many of the thematic projects mentioned above (heritage, conservation, economic and green mapping) take place in neighborhood contexts. Neighborhoods are a helpful and natural territory for community building as it offers a geographic scale that many people can identify with. People often relate to the concept of a neighborhood more than their suburbs as many Canadians (baby-boomers and older) grew up in them, if not in semi-rural or rural Canada. Most neighborhoods built before the car revolution of the 50s and 60s have a mixed use, more pedestrian-friendly built environment with, for example, small scale businesses rather than malls.

Neighborhood mapping tied to education and learning projects can indirectly address key issues such as worldview, power and pedagogy by providing positive learning space and opportunities that affirm local assets and values. In the Victoria area, the James Bay Mapping project is the most detailed and extensive mapping project while other neighborhood projects have created their own distinct approaches.

The James Bay Mapping Group created the Five Corners Project as a way to focus their mapping in one location and tie it to the revitalization and beautification of their business area. Using present day and future vision maps and artistic renderings of people's visions, they took the initiative to independently re-design the business area (the Five Corners). The core idea is to make it more people and nature-oriented and less car and parking-oriented. This includes beautification and infrastructure projects such as murals, heritage signage, more seating, greenery, traffic calming and widening sidewalks. Their Five Corners Project's core values, as expressed in their public materials (Five Corners Booklet, Common Ground, 2002), are:

- Σ□ Cooperation: We will work in partnership between James Bay community groups, private business operators, land owners and the City of Victoria.
- Σ□ Pedestrian Orientation: Face to face interaction is vital to community. All changes should enhance the pedestrian experience and ensure accessibility to persons with disabilities.
- Σ□ Heritage: James Bay is Victoria's oldest neighborhood. Elements of the project should highlight the heritage of the neighborhood.
- Σ□ Aesthetic Unity: Public art, greening, and unified streetscapes are desirable.

The James Bay Mapping Group worked from 1998 to inventory local assets and create land use, First Nations heritage and social service maps, walking tour booklets and seniors' memories projects. (See Illustration 8, James Bay Community Atlas) Their goals established at that time are mainly process rather than thematic oriented: community development and mobilization, research and data collection, and community education and training. The mapping group however, beginning in early 2001, decided to focus efforts on the Five Corners Project, in order to create visible on-the-ground results and to attract more interest and diverse participation. The group did grow and now includes seniors, teachers, artists, psychologists, community and business groups in its work. Common Ground has facilitated the group's development and connection to planners and developers, it has provided meeting space, learning resource materials, and helped to secure funding. A schoolteacher, who was the first community development staff in James Bay more than twenty years ago, is now facilitating the team effort. The involvement and views of seniors and families is central to this project as they use the business area heavily. Five Corners is the main neighbourhood meeting place. Many people do not drive in James Bay, so pedestrian use is an important planning feature. A business spin-off of improving the business area is attracting more tourists and other Victoria residents to the neighborhood core.

Illustration 8: James Bay Community Atlas, Common Ground, 2000

To develop the Five Corners Project, the mapping group went door-to-door in 2001 to the over thirty businesses in the area, contacted and made presentations to key community groups, and created a public community design workshop to get community feedback on specific and overall site and design recommendations. Activities for the workshop included a community walkabout, group design mapping, and creating a photomontage of the area. The Architects Institute of British Columbia charge \$10,000 for a community charette process, \$9,000 that the mapping group didn't have. Using ideas from mapping and participatory planning manuals including *The Community Planning Handbook* (Wates, 2000), Common Ground created their own design workshop and used the \$1000 to buy paint and to pay a local artist to create artistic renderings (based on widespread public ideas and recommendations) and to paint murals. A month later, with these drawing scenarios and a synopsis of the community's proposed ideas the James Bay group went to the City planners and community development department with the support of the City Councilor liaison for James Bay.

Planners were approached in a pro-active way as partners and for advice, not to ask permission or in anticipation that one would tell the other what they should do. Friendly relationships have developed since that time with mutual respect and an ongoing free flow of ideas and enthusiasm between neighborhood volunteers, Common Ground and planners. One might call this an asset-based and transformative approach that assumes and acts as if local citizens have the right and power to make changes that affect their daily lives. It also assumes that planners are people with lives and families who want the opportunity to do the right thing, and that a confrontational strategy is not always the best thing! It is guided by beliefs such as in-the-trenches planners such as McKnight, Chambers and Wates from Chapter 4 who believe that the more citizens are involved in a project, the better, as long as the community takes initiative, uses engaging methodologies, and does not allow processes to be taken over from institutions.

Though initially surprised at this broad-based community initiative, (with some wondering why James Bay residents didn't find money to just hire a consultant to do the work!), the planners have continued to work with this somewhat ambitious James Bay group. They did encourage the community to try to get the landowners directly involved as soon as much as possible. This outreach has been partly successful; murals and new heritage signage have already gone up with local landowner support. It appears that focusing on urban design and including aesthetics, provides an opportunity to share vision and plan for the future.

The Five Corners project is continuing and is now working on creating a large implementation plan, written with the help of a local volunteer team, for the short and long term development and a budget (1-10 years) for the development of their business core. While this is getting done, murals and benches will be built and contact with community, landowners and tenants such as Thrifty Foods will continue. The plan is that by the time the neighborhood plan comes up for renewal (2003) James Bay will be well able to understand and manage their own planning projects, by taking on these smaller projects that show results.

The James Bay project, like the Burnside Gorge Cecilia Creek clean-up project, is really a partnership among the private sector, the City, and the community and academic sectors, the latter has offered student research and advisory support via faculty links. These broad-based planning projects, with core sectors involved, are proving to be an effective strategy for getting visible results. Engaging various sectors and people of diverse backgrounds, also gives more credibility to a community process. Creating local team-based leadership and ensuring the work is fun and interesting is also obviously vital to the sustainability of projects. Planning is all about people and place, not just issues and zoning.

In other Victoria neighborhoods, community mapping is being used as a community mobilization, development, conservation or research tool. The Healthy Saanich municipal committee has worked with Common Ground, to organize two annual community-mapping days that resulted in over 200 neighborhood, school, community groups and residents from diverse sectors mapping and visioning their values and future. The Saanich maps were incorporated into the municipal visioning and planning process and a composite poster map was produced and distributed throughout the region. A strong focus on neighborhood development has come out of this project. Gordon Head Community Association members have mapped all the greenways and green spaces in this neighborhood for their community plan and to contribute to the regional Green Map.

In Fairfield, local residents are using mapping as the foundation for a comprehensive community planning process, one which challenges the traditional planning process. Written by a planning consultant with a widespread community consultation process, The iOur Fairfields Community Mapping and Improvement Project goes beyond community mapping as an action project that offers a comprehensive framework for community-based research and planning. Each level of research is tied to concrete community improvement projects.

Mapping capital flows to identify community economic development opportunities; documenting First Nations and colonial history to develop walking tours and historic signage; identifying sensitive ecosystems and potential green spaces for protection; as well as inventorying housing types and needs are included in the Fairfield Plan. Their approach is a more direct challenge to the established City neighborhood planning processes than the James Bay neighborhood, which has adopted a more partnership and project based approach. The Fairfield budget is \$1,000,000, two thirds of it in-kind from leveraging community resources such as community groups, retired planning professionals and businesses. James Pratt, the planning

consultant who wrote the proposal said that it surprised City planners who believed there was nothing wrong with the current planning system, so why fix it? The significance of Our Fairfields is that it wants to take back the planning process almost completely into the community. As Pratt says, the City budget for our planning process is about \$100,000 and our budget is \$1,000,000. So, are we supposed to be interested in only ten percent of what we actually want to do? Our vision is that the established, formal planning system is only ten percent of our story. The rest we need to do ourselves (Pratt, Pers. Comm., 2001). This participatory budgeting seems to be an essential part of neighborhoods participating in and taking more control of planning.

To date Fairfield has had some success in creating volunteer-led inventories of the local economic, built and natural environment. It seems that the community mobilization and learning process has been more difficult. Ironically, this became more of a standard planning process as retired planners living in the neighborhood guided the project. Interest waned and funding has been difficult to secure. The group is returning to a simpler learning approach with community walkabouts and public events with local speakers to get more community interest and buy-in to the Our Fairfields Project. It seems a more bottom-up and eclectic learning approach to planning and picking a few themes or do-able projects could be an effective strategy to keep the Fairfield dream alive.

No two places, and therefore no two neighborhoods, are the same. Strategies for change arise from local conditions, history, and power configurations. To echo Forrester's planning categories, James Bay has adopted a more liberal advocate approach (empowerment and participation) and pragmatic-incremental approach (communication networks and organizational needs) to its mapping work, while Fairfields took a technical (data analysis and information) and structuralist (deconstructing and de-legitimizing planning) perspective. However, these projects are recent new and there is commitment within and between neighborhoods to continue to learn together and build a stronger neighborhood planning and mapping network in the city.

Conclusion

Whether it is working with children and youth or individuals or groups, community mapping, if it is to effect transformative and sustainable planning, needs to be based on a pedagogy that is engaging, creative and empowering. This learning needs to be different than what has traditionally been offered and it is best if a whole network of learners and facilitators including schools, academic, NGO, planning and community centers can be involved in designing and re-creating the process and thereby its design contributing to its ongoing success.

There are actually too many projects for Common Ground to presently support on existing funding. The challenge is to remain grassroots and inclusive while developing more capacity to transfer or share knowledge. It is important to note that one part of this capacity-building for Common Ground included this thesis and other academic student research. This provided space for the exploration of the subject area and fostered community-academic partnerships between those interested in connection and cross-fertilization of energy, resources and ideas. The University of Victoria Geography Department receives a living laboratory and a real place for students and research opportunities, while Common Ground and its neighborhood, school and community partners, access very valuable knowledge, resources and expertise.

In evaluating the 2000-2001 year and making the plan for 2001-2002, the Steering Committee and committed local volunteers came together in April 2001 to make a three-year plan. The overall decision was to: Focus on a few things and do them well. Focus areas were: One, given that community mapping was considered a successful learning and planning methodology, the Committee felt it was time to document the learning in a more systematic way through publication and ongoing training for schools and neighborhoods. Related to this was the decision to create a community-mapping network to nourish the methodology and collective learning throughout the local region, British Columbia and tied to groups internationally. This is happening with the direct partnership of core mapping partners the University of Victoria Geography Department, EcoTrust Canada, and Natural Resource Canada. Considerable in-kind support will make this happen. The Network intends to cross-fertilize efforts in community mapping within and between grassroots, schools, academic and government planning efforts through annual face-to-face roundtables and an interactive listserv. A related priority was to bridge the technical divide through the development of more in-house mapping expertise by completing a regional Green Map and website. Bridging low-high technology, while using the effective partnership and public resources of groups like UVIC's Geography Department is a cost effective strategy for Common Ground.

Another focus area was to actually work on traditional planning at a neighborhood and municipal level. Based on the successes and relationships above with community groups, and through direct connection to planners, Common Ground is now working with the City of Victoria to conduct a community inventory and consultation process (using mapping) for their planning department's Official Greenways Plan. Because of the tie to the University, Common Ground was also able to make a public lands and easement map for the Greenways process, something an under-staffed and cash-strapped municipality was unable to do.

Common Ground intends to use this as an opportunity to effectively bridge neighborhood to city planning and to affirm local sustainability efforts from increasing bike and senior scooter routes, to increasing the use of roof top gardens on public and private buildings. Creating a Neighborhood GreenWays Fund and Planning Network as a community legacy is another part of Common Ground's plans stemming from their existing capacity and connections.

Creating a sustainable framework and structure to nurture this capacity and realize these ideas was identified as an important challenge by the Steering Committee. Common Ground co-founded the GroundWorks Learning Centre with LifeCycles to give the public easier access to mapping, meeting space and a nurturing place to meet, visit and work. Creating a sense of place and transformative spaces for learning and power-sharing, the same objectives of community mapping, are core objectives of GroundWorks.

Common Ground continues to piece together funding with the support of LifeCycles and the Community Social Planning Council. Fortunately this has not been a major problem to date. They just received multi-year funding from HRDC as part of the national Community Learning Network Initiative.

It is clear to the Steering Committee of Common Ground that community mapping is an innovative tool for change and that it should continue to develop as a vehicle for planning. The guiding assumption is that it was created from the community and it is based on their commitment to it, based on collective self-interest. It will therefore continue to exist if the community and the institutions that believe in it also want it. This commitment is first and foremost about trust, about relationships and friendships, and about strategic and effective communication links. People want to be a part of visionary and alternative strategies for change

and social inclusion, including government and private funders. NGOs need to be entrepreneurial and professional in their approach and able to understand language and power across sectors to effect real change and transform power relations.

Chapter Seven. Conclusion ñFinding Our Ways Home

How do we live our lives and inhabit the spaces and places of everyday life? How do we live in storied residence while respecting the past, valuing the present and visioning our future together? This thesis was a partial response to Michaels' challenge presented at the beginning of the thesis, 'Find a way to make beauty necessary, find a way to make necessity beautiful.' Through the writing process I have realized that this journey of shadow and light, loss and life, is lifelong. It is a journey that never ends. There is no ultimate truth or certainty, only ways of seeing and being within and around us. Narrative, telling the truth about our lives and realizing both the beauty and the limits of our individual visions, is a key foundation for recovery, for recognizing and appreciating our interdependence and our being in-nature and in community.

Community maps and mapping provide unique ways with which to express and tie together our inner and outer worlds. They alter our personal and collective conception of history, time, space and place. I discovered that mapping has always been guided by myths and values and, primarily in the academic world of taught colloquial, has been guided by the scientific and technical myth of certainty and control. I have tried to show, however, that this is changing as new myths, that embrace cultural and ecological diversity and mystery, are creating a rugged terrain (Wright, 1991) to resist and transform hegemonic worldviews. Both the utilitarian and myth-making functions of mapmaking are reflected in the divergent worldviews and people that enjoy and use community mapping for personal and practical interests.

Community mapping is ultimately a pedagogical tool for transformation of education and planning from hegemonic control to creative facilitation. Whether the maps are personal, group, children's, green or bioregional, there are a few key features worth summarizing:

Community mapping demonstrates that artistic and social approaches to the world can enhance and sometimes change other ways of seeing and being, such as social advocate or scientific and technical approaches. Often such approaches lack inclusiveness, creativity and vision. Cartography is an art, and

community mapping recovers this tradition. Particularly when it involves children, this art can be infused with magic, beauty and reverence for diversity and community.

Community mapping pedagogy is based on values of cooperation, caring and depends on flexible people and structures that nurture these values. A blend of different approaches and abilities is optional, as exemplified by the Gitksan and the James Bay neighborhood mapping initiatives.

Community mapping is a practical and accessible tool that can be used to animate and build sustainable communities and bridge community to institutional relations. The interest in community mapping and the diversity of the people involved testify to the power of mapping in creating dialogue and positive action in communities. It provides a point for citizen engagement in community development, local planning and environmental protection. Common Ground has learned through its work in the community to navigate a fine line between structure and creativity, to keep one foot on the ground and another foot in the world of planning and institutions.

Community maps have political power. As Turnbull (1989) writes, they are evidence of reality and can only be challenged by the production of other maps and theories. In some cases, as in Sarawak, this represents are a threat to authority. Community maps will continue to be used as cornerstones for land rights, stewardship and community development projects.

Community mapping helps to facilitate intergenerational dialogue and historical narratives. In this global and virtual world we are in desperate need of intimate and real ways to express our values and visions together. We need planning based on the heart. If our planning does not include the elderly with a lifetime of experience to share, or children who have fresh and magic ways of seeing the world, then who is planning for? It is up to the community, for educational groups like Common Ground, schools and academic groups, to create this new way of planning.

Ultimately, mapping is an approach to living and relating to the territories and terrain, the spaces and places of our lives. The present is infused with the mysterious narrative of nature, and maps offer us only a small glimpse of this infinite landscape.

I believe in such cartography -to be marked by nature, not just to label ourselves on a map like the names of rich men and women on buildings. We are communal histories, communal books. We are not owned or monogamous in our taste and experience. All I desired was to walk upon such an Earth that had no maps. Ondaatje, 1992, *The English Patient*, p. 261

I began this thesis telling my story, a story about wandering and wondering about inner and outer landscapes, about inhabiting places and spaces of sorrow and love. This is my story, my narrative, ultimately a somatic map. I am part of communal history and mysterious landscapes. My journey is intimately tied to the visible places of nature, humanity and invisible spaces of the imagination, desire and longing.

What do we see or feel when we look at the landscape? What do we see or feel when we look within? Our lives reveal infinitely changing and transforming maps, conscious or subconscious. Tragedies need not overshadow the illumination that past lives and struggles, especially our own, reveal to us. My father, who died too young of alcoholism and, I believe, sorrow, believed that it was not our ideals and objectives that define us, it was how we struggled. The recovery of history is central to this illumination. Each person and

place has storied residence and a very rich and compelling history. Each of us is hero of our lives and our struggles define us. To help us on our journey, we often need direction and wisdom, new eyes and hearts. We need one another's maps to see inner and outer landscapes.

An underlying theme of the thesis was this recovery process, tied to the practical world of pedagogy and planning. Community mapping tries to spatially represent this process. Freire speaks of pedagogies of oppression and hope. I tried to situate the pedagogy of transformation as the space between shadow and light, between oppression and hope, between hegemonic and situated discourse. As with contemporary indigenous mapping, these can literally and figuratively (re)present the worlds we know and share with our neighbours close and far away.

Maybe you make maps of where the hunters go and where the fish can be caught. That is not easy. But easier, for sure, than drawing out the trails to heaven, but they were done by the good men who had the heaven dream, who wanted to tell the truth. They worked hard on their truth.

Atsin, 1988, in Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams*, p. 46

Do I live, do we live, as if our community and home place is enchanted? Looking out onto my backyard, the very place I write these words was, less than two centuries ago, a forest inhabited by the Lekwammen (Songhees) indigenous people for thousands of years. Simply writing worlds, writing words, does not reveal answers to questions like why I am here now and what happened and what is happening in this place. I need to turn off the computer, and let the somatic world of the land and my dreams speak. I can, we can strive to live in our lives, our bodies, our communities as if they are enchanted places whose landscapes need recognition and nurturing.

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Appendix A - Community Mapping Types and Methods

These are some categories of maps currently used by communities for land-use and community planning purposes. It is by no means exhaustive. It is in the process of community mapping where the richness of documenting storied residence comes alive.

Types

Cognitive Maps

Cognitive or mental maps are images of space marked in the minds of people. These can be described orally or visually. Cognitive maps acknowledge lived experience of place and ecosystems. Many aboriginal maps are cognitive maps that illustrate diverse themes, such as hunting grounds, astrological routes, dreams, land title, and songlines. Communities can use cognitive mapping exercises to affirm individual and community visions, values, and experiences. Though related to place, cognitive maps allow the non-static, experiential relation to place to be portrayed or described, through diverse means and mediums of expression (for example, drawing, collage, paper-mache, fabric, songs, dances, stories).

Bioregional Maps

Based on how the human population relates to the land, a bioregional map uses an ecologically determined boundary (for example, watershed, ecoregion, biogeoclimactic zone), and maps all the ecological attributes

of the area. Sometimes bioregional mapping can correspond to an aboriginal territory, and, in urban areas, it can include other economic or social attributes of the community besides ecological. This is where it overlaps with other kinds of community maps. The international Green Map System maps environmentally significant sites in cities worldwide and often within a defined bioregion.

Community Maps

Community maps are those produced by a community about their place. These maps can represent all the attributes in a community; ecological, economic, social, cultural, and serve a wide variety of functional purposes. Planning, visioning, community building are various processes and outcomes of community-based mapping. Parish Mapping is a localized term and form of community mapping. A parish is the smallest political and administrative unit in the United Kingdom. It is also the term used by communities for the boundaries of their locality where they feel a sense of belonging (i.e. municipalities, neighbourhoods, parish boundaries). The Common Ground parish mapping movement in the U.K. begun in 1988 has created over a thousand maps with a wide variety of mediums (photos, ceramics, tapestries, songs) and groups. It is a localized term and version of community mapping.

Biosphere Maps

Stemming from the bioregional concept, biosphere or planetary mapping recognizes that the real homeplace for all global citizens is the biosphere and that we can and need to connect our communities and bioregions through the concept and practice of mapping. Biosphere mapping reflects the actual global interdependency and resource flows between communities and bioregions whether the actual focus map area is on a local, regional or international scale.

Methods

Ground and Mural Maps

These are maps drawn collectively, either literally on the ground or a wall by a group of people using basic tools or whatever is available. This collective map-making viewed and created together, encourages community participants to share their ideas and perspectives, using the map as a medium and focus for discussion and to clarify values, vision and issues.

Sketch maps

A basic pictorial description of the land as seen by those who know the land, history and other local information. They can be self-produced or based on an interview. This information is sometimes produced as an initial map as the basis for a technical map.

Technical Maps (using topographic base map)

After creating or locating a base map other technical information often based on local knowledge is placed on the map with the aid of a compass and basic knowledge of geometry (e.g. coordinates, contours). Three-dimensional maps can also be made with cardboard, plaster and paint on top of the topographic base map.

Land Surveys

This is used for precise measurement of small areas (i.e. bearings and distances), for making inventories using a compass and metre tape. These can be used with topographic and sketch maps and are often necessary for legal validation and application.

Biodiversity and eGAP Mapping

Using GIS, this mapping identifies areas of intact ecosystems or ecological associations and links them together with others to protect biodiversity.

Remote Sensing

Aerial photos and satellite data provide images of land where maps are not available and shows features not drawn on topographic features

Geographic Information Systems

GIS are computer-based data systems for drawing, storing, analyzing and graphically displaying mapping data. Though the initial financial and time investment to set up GIS for community level mapping is considerable, they bridge the gap between planners (experts) and community members (non-experts) wishing to monitor community sustainability over time.

(Adapted from Aberley, 1993, pp.131-136; and, Flavelle, 1996, p.26).