When Picture Becomes Place: A Spatial and Temporal Analysis of Nature and Wilderness as Playground and as Resource in the Canadian Nation

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Abstract

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Brenna Ward

Canada's identity as a nation is tied to fantasies of nature and wilderness that are historically bound and hegemonically produced while simultaneously experienced on individual levels. This thesis puts forth two case studies for analysis, Riding Mountain National Park and the Columbia Project to argue that within the nation-building project, nature has been staged as both playground and resource. The author examines how this is produced discursively and ideologically on the side of hegemonic production as well as how a sense of place is constructed from close, proximal, relational experiences between individual and place. She takes up affect theory to unsettle the presumably settled. Using an experimental tourism-as-method, the author gathers fragments of experience by drawing from a number of methodologies including discourse analysis, archival work, oral history, and ethnography. Moving experientially through the landscape on an investigative road trip, the author moves concomitantly between a synoptic view and an on-the-ground positionality to unsettle the settled, that is, to reveal the frail ideological, historical, and colonial compositions of these national sites. At stake in this project are themes of resilience, resistance, and reciprocity.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

SYNOPTIC AND EXPERIENTIAL VIEWS OF THE CANADIAN WILDERNESS

"A key question, then, is how to create a conversation between the path-based, rich and localized realm of landscape as experienced by people living in and moving in a region, homeland, or local environment, and the abstracted, spatialized representations of the land which underlie much of the contemporary world's treatment of and relationship to land" (Johnson 2010, 180).

What happens, then, when pictures become places?

...

1.1 FRAGMENTS OF AN INVESTIGATIVE ROAD TRIP

1.1.1 Campsite #3, Yellowjacket Creek, Valemount BC, August 25, 2015

Kristina and I arrived at a lake outside of Valemount, BC in the late afternoon of a sweaty day near the end of August. The beauty of the spot was consuming. We pulled up on the banks of an immense, almost endless, dark blue lake shrouded by snow-capped mountains. The spectacular beauty of the scene impressed itself upon us and I was filled with the promises that a landscape of pristine nature and wilderness can offer. The clearing on the banks was vast and flat; a barely-discernible winding dirt road maneuvered us around clusters of dry bush, stumps, and the remnants of previous camper's campfires. We drove around the space searching for the perfect spot to set up camp for the evening, motivated to find one quickly so that I could go for a swim in the lake in an effort to counteract the heat. We decided on a spot at the north edge of the clearing close to the rocky banks of the lake and happily exited the car. The heat from before had lifted substantially, so much so that a swim no longer seemed appealing. The sun had dropped behind the mountain range, allowing dusk to set in sooner than we had expected as prairie folk used to expansive skies and high late-night summer suns. Standing for a moment in the cool shadow of the distant mountain range, our intentions and plans dislodged by the mountain chill, we decided that the new light beckoned for a moment of quiet contemplation and reflection. Adapting to the situation we found ourselves in, we settled beside each other on the rocky beach – each of us choosing the flattest rock upon which to perch ourselves – and waited for the moment of nature-inspired calmness to wash over us.

As we sat there waiting for the feeling of being in nature to take over it became apparent upon closer inspection that the lake had at some point acted in an industrial capacity. To our right was the skeleton of a dock; its rusted and twisted iron sinking into the dark green water, the last vestige of its purpose cemented into sturdy cement blocks on the bank. The water close to shore was remarkably clear, revealing rusted iron jutting out from the sand just below the surface, signaling unknown danger as the lake quickly became deeper and the visibility quickly became enveloped by blue. The rocky bank itself was uncomfortable; we had to adjust ourselves to avoid contact between our fleshy bodies and the sharp twisted iron that seemed to have formed cohesively with the rocks. Rusted rebar wrapped and bent amongst the rocky slope of the bank, like snakes in grass. The orange-stained metal had become simply a part of the landscape as though part of its natural formation. We were alone and feeling simultaneously good and unsure. We were unsettled by the sharpness and coldness of the industrial markings and the atmosphere between us shifted as suddenly as the temperature had before. The spectacular beauty and good feelings we felt in the car when we arrived at the lake had shifted along with the temperature to a marked chill; we felt subdued, exposed, and unsure. The lake's dark blue, rather than seeming like a refreshing swimming option, began to feel as though it were concealing unknown industrial hazards in a deep and dangerous lake. Adding to the unsettled feeling, a pickup truck pulled up in the clearing and began what was sure to be a party, signaled by the gasoline-fueled fire and loud music. Upon the arrival of these new campers our discomfort escalated and we decided to leave. We drove further up the mountain until we found a recreation site beside a river that opened out into the lake. The recreation site was more in line with our comfort level for camping: it was a demarcated (thus legitimate) camping space, yet without constant supervision and other campers. It was a simple and small cul-de-sac with sites shooting off of it, seemingly planned exactly like a suburb. We were the only campers at Yellowjacket Creek and we proceeded to have an anxiety-filled evening worried about bears and revelers.

1.1.2 Alberta, September 10, 2015, journal entry

Fort McMurray does not suggest beauty. It does not resonate across discourse as a place of natural splendor; rather it exists in the collective imaginary as an industrial site, a place of ruined and wasted nature, and as a mark of selfish humanity on the desired sphere of 'pure

nature.' The drive to Lloydminster from Fort McMurray was stunning. It was a bright end-of-summer day with clear blue skies and the perfect atmospheric light that suggested opportunity and happiness. It took me through an Alberta I had never seen before; I suppose for my own purposes I rarely go north, always heading west to the mountains and south to Calgary on straight-line twinned highways. I was overcome by the beauty of this part of Alberta; the light was incredible. The North Saskatchewan River cut a deep green valley through the middle of expansive farmlands. This part of Alberta is connected by a secondary highway system: a grid of single lane road that criss cross farming towns, lush, green valleys, gold canola fields, plateaus, lakes, rivers, First Nations reserves, English settlements, heritage sites, churches and missions, and old fenced-off cemeteries with illegible sunken headstones. I wish I had enough time to stop and investigate, to visit the little heritage sites to learn about the history of the area. I realize that the history of Alberta that I know is much more discursive and abstract, I can talk about it in terms of settlers and First Nations, colonialism, farming, and homesteading, but my knowledge of details is nonexistent. I tried to remember names of places and sites to research at a later time but without writing them down, ended up forgetting. I began to suspect that the river I kept encountering was the North Saskatchewan, a prominent feature of Edmonton that cuts the city into North and South. I realized that I had never considered where it flowed from and to. An entity unto itself, the river existed to me only within my own bubble and I began to feel ashamed that I could not even determine whether this river was indeed my *river. Traveling through this space allowed me to recognize the separation between historical specificities and the lived experiences of the space. Without any specific historical narratives, without having read or heard anything about the history of that area, I was without reference points. What surprised me overwhelmingly was just how much I had taken the names of rivers, towns, roads, and lakes for granted.*

1.2 INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I shape this project with fragments; narratives, episodes, and reflections of an investigative road trip that spanned from Montreal to Vancouver and back to Alberta. The fragments open each chapter, exposing the ways in which material remains of human/nature relationships are deposited in landscape. I have chosen these specific fragments because of the

way different experiences worked to expose similar categorical fragilities. The role of the fragments echo the sentiments of Eileen Delehanty Pearkes, who writes: “My questions were spurred by my developing belief that landscape has a narrative of its own, that places speak with a wordless certainty of the past” (Pearkes 2002, 8). Pearkes hypothesizes that a region can, in fact, “hold and express all the stories of human experience in relation to the natural world” (ibid). The fragments that inform this project are multiple revealing stories of heterogeneous experience that, while informed by popular discourse, are neither utopic nor apocalyptic visions of Canada. They are small, banal (yet insidious) modes of settler colonialism, minor recreation and leisure spaces, pastoral visions, spaces of industrial decay, and moments of striking unscripted or uncoded beauty that cannot be placed within the nation making project but are firmly grounded in activities of placemaking. Importantly, I follow De Certeau’s conception of stories: “every day, they traverse and organize places; they select and link them together; they make sentences and itineraries out of them. They are spatial trajectories” (De Certeau 1984, 115). Stories, as De Certeau argues, perform the “labor that constantly transforms places into spaces or spaces into places” (118). I use fragments to privilege storytelling as knowledge production in this project. I attempt to weave my own stories, the stories of others, as well as national stories together to imagine a conceptual framework for understanding how a sense of place is brought into being.

The first scene above details my experience of *being in* a landscape, of experiencing the environment through a tactile and sensory engagement and the resulting feelings being disarmingly different than the promises held by such idealized nature imagery. Indeed, moments like these occurred frequently as I travelled westward: moments where my affective response was disjointed from prior expectations of place; moments where the stories of a common worldview did not quite add up; and moments where the stability of universal categories waned under this disjuncture. The road trip enabled small-scale and episodic insights into the fragility of nature as a concept, effectively shaping the sites of inquiry that this project puts forth to investigate the totalizing effects of Canadian hegemonic productions of nature, in tension with these unsettling moments of affective disjuncture. My affective reaction to the above experience prompted the driving exploratory questions of this thesis: why did these alienating experiences in certain places stand so excruciatingly opposite to the promises held in hegemonic representations of nature and wilderness? Essentially, what happens then, when pictures become place?

The sites of inquiry of this project are first, Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba and second, Revelstoke, British Columbia, though more specifically the Columbia Project that dammed the Columbia River with demonstrated lasting repercussions on the environmental and social landscape in the surrounding Kootenay region. Dynamically engaging qualitative research methodologies, I develop an experiential tourism-as-method, drawing from the rich encounters with place and people, material deposits in the landscapes, and archived print material. I attempt to perforate the interstices, the thick, weighted spaces between proximity and distance that I noticed through embodied, experiential research taken as a tourist and emergent concomitant movement between image and place, between discourse and the on-the-ground experience. This project emerges from insights and questions gained during a westward investigative road trip. The westward sweep was intentional; it works both materially, the road trip binds the sites I articulate throughout this thesis, as well as allegorically, tracing the arc of Canada's development narrative of progress, expansion, and nationalism. As I pass westward through the landscape I stage sites of national imaginary: sites that articulate ideas central to the Canadian story and deposit them in the land in specific ways, as playground and as resource. What is at stake, however, is finding resiliency in experience, embodiment, and nature. I am concerned with a project of reclaiming places as spaces, that is, as fields for proximal relationships and new modes of placemaking. This project seeks to contextualize placemaking in the contemporary moment by historically grounding the sites of investigation; that is, unsettling the settled. Unsettling the settled refers to this thesis' task: it shakes up sites that are taken as immutable and immovable by looking at the fairly delicate historical layers and the shaky concept of settlement. It takes the concept of settlement as dynamic, challenging its rather static façade. By peeling back historical, ideological, and colonial layers, the idea of 'settled' becomes unstable. Therefore, I refer to the larger undertaking of this thesis as unsettling the settled: purposefully dismantling the layers that lead one to believe that land is unchanging, immutable, static, and hegemonic rather than as a sphere that is constantly in flux.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

This project situates itself within a legacy of scholarship on human relationships with environment, characterized by critical engagements with the concept of nature. Graeme Wynn

writes: “Ways of thinking about the environment are rarely monolithic. Complex, evanescent ideas shift, sprawl, and all-too-often contradict broad generalizations about popular (or national) conceptions of nature… much remains to be understood about Canadian attitudes and actions toward wilderness and nature” (Wynn 2009, xi). This project aims to act as another voice in this scholarly conversation that interrupts hegemonic stories of Canada’s relationship to nature and wilderness, especially relevant as Canada endeavors to celebrate its sesquicentennial. This conversation is made up of interdisciplinary voices, spanning diverse fields within social sciences and humanities. Of particular interest to this project are texts that allow me to think through the material and conceptual elements of a distanced view and texts that offer alternative intellectual frameworks and lens’ with their approach to local, heuristic, and experiential modes of conceptualizing nature, effectively urging forth a spatial understanding built from experiential modes of knowledge production. In this section, I outline the disciplines and scholars that have influenced this project and to whose work I owe a significant amount of debt.

1.3.1 Current Context

The image, brand, and self-identification of Canada have been bound to concepts of nature and wilderness for well over the last century. This continues to endure in the contemporary moment where lifestyle brands, outdoor recreation, and local tourism are bringing forth a resurgence of symbolic value in regard to Canada’s relationship with nature, perhaps emerging from a rising environmentalist consciousness gaining strength since the latter part of the twentieth century or a cultural nostalgia for Canadiana (for example: plaid, Hudson’s Bay stripes, maple syrup, Mounties, and beavers). The 2010 Winter Olympics hosted in Vancouver and Whistler further solidified the Canadian brand as synonymous with nature and an ‘outdoor lifestyle’. Trends in consumerism as well as the surge of social media, where the proliferative sharing of landscape, nature, and wilderness images has become cultural and social capital, are emblematic of an age where outdoor recreation and one’s personal relationship to nature is increasingly valued and increasingly aligned with capitalism and profit. At present, BC Hydro is pushing ahead with the construction of Site C dam on the Peace River, despite backlash and contestation from local Indigenous groups and residents of the Peace Valley (See The Canadian Press 2016; Haberstroh 2016). Site C is the final dam to be put in place from the resource

schemes of B.C. Premier W.A.C. Bennett during the mid-twentieth century and its urging forth by current Premier Christy Clark is indicative of the normalization of both dams themselves and the concept of nature as resource. On a national level, 2017 marks Canada's sesquicentennial, a large-scale celebration of a much-contested anniversary (The 180 2017). Parks Canada is marking the significance by offering free National Parks passes for Canadians for the duration of 2017 to help revive interest in these national nature spheres (Campbell 2017). These two examples demonstrate the enduring preoccupation with nature and wilderness in the contemporary cultural consciousness. This project digs at this preoccupation to reveal the elements that underscore the contemporary reality; the compositional ideological, historical, and colonial elements that form and inform Canada's preoccupation and attachment to nature as playground and as wilderness. This digging effectively unsettles the taken-for-granted assumptions of what nature is, indeed, to complicate the "narrative of nature appreciation [with an] awareness of 'historical realities'" (Morton 2007, 2), much like shaking a blanket out and noticing the tiny specks that fly from it. I use this metaphor to illustrate my intention of unsettling the settled. These historical realities exist in the ways nature has been mediated and altered, which if we begin to parse, tell stories about the ways in which political powers and ideology shaped narratives of nature appreciation premised on aesthetic value, recreational value, and resource potential.

1.3.2 Nature and Wilderness

What is nature? A slippery concept to define, it can refer to a spatial organization or category that has traditionally described the non-human world. Popularly, it is understood as that which exists 'out there'. It can be deployed as a catchall term to describe the sphere that encompasses all that is not urban, developed, exploited, or built upon. It is often used as a totalizing concept to describe the diverse species of flora and fauna that make up the environment and ecosystems. It can be used to refer to the topographical features like springs, rivers, streams, bays, lakes, and oceans that provide the lifeblood to living beings, and the trees and forests that are integral to survival. Nature as a concept can also refer to the very interconnectedness and interdependency that circulates from the micro to the macro. Donna Haraway (1991) speaks to the multiplicity of its possible definitions by calling nature: "coyote"

(3). She asserts: “This potent trickster can show us that historically specific human relations with ‘nature’ must somehow—linguistically, ethically, scientifically, politically, technologically, and epistemologically—be imagined as genuinely social and actively relational; and yet the partners remain utterly inhomogenous. ‘Our’ relations with ‘nature’ might be imagined as a social engagement with a being who is neither ‘it’, ‘you’, ‘thou’, ‘he’, ‘she’, nor ‘they’ in relation to ‘us’” (ibid). This is an important insight for this project because it attends to the ways the conceptual definition of ‘nature’ shifts historically, rarely maintaining the same shape or valuation regarding perception and appreciation. Critically, Haraway points to the ways in which the concept of ‘nature’ is developed relationally between diverse entities, grounding ‘nature’ as a subject entity, thus affording agentive potential for resilience. For Haraway then, nature is an active participant rather than simply a field passive to human interpretation, which is an important concept for this project’s aim of unsettling the settled because it affords agentive capacities to an entity (nature) that is viewed as existing for human consumption and pleasure.

In the Canadian context, the concept of wilderness is inseparable from the concept of nature. Indeed, it is quite simply the wilder, more sublime nature space. For Patricia Jasen, wilderness is linguistically and culturally located. She asserts: “there is no perception of wilderness that does not take its meaning from whatever we believe civilization to be, just as no meaning accrues to the word *wildness* unless we know its opposite, that is the cultural norms which the ‘wild’ has violated” (Jasen 1995, 3). So for Jasen, wilderness is a concept that emerges in opposition to our idea of society or civilization. Wilderness in this figuration becomes that which has not been conquered, a space that has been left untouched by human interference.

For Jonathan Bordo, “to add a –ness to an adjective or past participle, such as empty, sad, dark, or wild, transforms qualities and properties into states or conditions: emptiness, darkness, sadness, wilderness, through which transformation wild- becomes almost magically a substantive and a subject – and darkness fell over the land, the trackless wilderness” (Bordo 2000, 225). This is important because it points to how wilderness is imagined within the settler grammar (Goeman 2014) of nature as an articulation of freedom; it is untouched, unbridled, and sublime. It evokes particular affects and sentiments to the larger categorical nature. In this thesis I use nature to refer to the larger relationship between humans and the non-human (or natural) world, and I use the term wilderness to refer more specifically to an experience or idea of what nature can be

imagined as. Wilderness is full of promise, presumptions of authentic selves and experiences, trials and overcoming. The idea of wilderness is of a space that is both everywhere and nowhere, it is ubiquitous without having locational specificity. That is, it is often employed to describe the mountainscapes of British Columbia, the thousands of lakes and vast forests of Ontario, and of course the imposing and intimidating environment that marks Canada's northern territories. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis I take nature and wilderness as conceptual terms that are linguistically and culturally bound.

1.3.3 Spatial Concerns: The Synoptic and the Proximal

The concept of nature was a central preoccupation of the modernity project[1] that began in Canada at the turn of the twentieth century and voraciously grew in strength during the decades that followed. Tina Loo takes up James C. Scott to begin to explicate how the relationship between modernity and nature functioned on a practical level: "Since Scott places nature at the core of the project of modernization, linking social and environmental change to political power, [he] highlight[s] how the idea of progress underlying high modernist development relies on a particular construction of the natural world. It was one that emerged from the 'synoptic' way of seeing that was central to the transformative project at the heart of high modernism" (Loo 2016, 39). Therefore, inherent to the ideologies associated with modernity was this synoptic view, a distancing perspective that was taken up by the state and by additional stakeholders when considering land. The viewer then sees the landscape as a whole, rather than as encompassing parts (Loo 2016). A synoptic view of nature, then, flattens the microbial, the species, and ecological specificities and instead sees nature as resource, power, and playground. Loo's observation of the synoptic view as well as the ideological and temporal role of modernity has proven foundational to this project. The concepts provide a framework for presenting the state-led orchestration of nature in both case studies. They account for discursive regimes and hegemonic productions of place and nature that envelop historical specificities under a blanket of

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[1] I refer to the modernity project to refer to the specific historical moment as well as its ideological underpinnings.

national narratives. For Loo, “to see like a state was to take a ‘synoptic’ view of the world, comprehending it in an imperial, encompassing, and reductive way” (Loo 2016, 42).

Similarly, Donna Haraway calls for a feminist theory of situated knowledge to counter the totalizing effects of the disciplines of history and science that employ a synoptic view, which I take up as an interpretive framework for thinking through my experiential research method of tourism-as-method. The synoptic view that Loo identifies is similar to Haraway’s critique of the “god-trick of seeing everything from nowhere” (Haraway 1991, 189), arguing that it is a singularly masculinist way of seeing. The gaze, for Haraway, “signifies the unmarked positions of Man and White, one of the many nasty tones of the world objectivity to feminist ears in scientific and technological, late industrial, militarized, racist and male dominant societies” (188). Indeed, Loo’s synoptic view and my own research into historical narratives reveal the extent to which nature was transformed from this position, and I wish to stress that the synoptic view that I speak to throughout this thesis is an overwhelmingly white and masculine lens. To counteract his, Haraway importantly brings our attention back to the “embodied nature of all vision” (ibid), emphasizing the sensory system rather than a disembodied, distanced and “conquering” (ibid) gaze. I use the concept of the synoptic view throughout this thesis to refer to the point of view and approach taken by the state regarding placemaking.

My investigative road trip and embodied tourism-as-method revealed the importance of attending to the on-the-ground placemaking practices that occur through affective and sensory interactions with space. Regarding this project’s use of a proximal viewpoint and the implications of this, I rely heavily on the work of Michel De Certeau (1984) who theorizes the practice of everyday life that accounts for individual agency in a theoretical landscape dominated by Foucauldian conceptions of discipline and discourse. I am particularly engrossed by De Certeau’s focus on everyday spatial and temporal encounters:

> In reality, a rationalized, expansionist, centralized, spectacular and clamorous production is confronted by an entirely different kind of production, called ‘consumption’ and characterized by its ruses, its fragmentation, its poaching, its clandestine nature, its tireless but quiet activity, in short by its quasi-invisibility, since it shows itself not in its own products but in an art of using those imposed on it. (De Certeau 1984, 31)

This passage implicates the agentive potential of individual actors in placemaking. This is crucial when considering how people interact with nature spaces in these national projects and how individual performances and enactments of nation, belonging, and settler complacency can have the oscillating effects of simultaneously undoing and affirming hegemonic constructions of wilderness and nature.

These two points of views, the proximal taken from my position as tourist, and the synoptic gleaned from discourse analysis and archival research, demonstrate how the epistemological question is not whether we are disciplined subjects or have an individualistic sense of agency; rather, what emerges is how these come to bear on each other in a mode of worlding that is at once affective, influenced by discourse, and ultimately collective. What emerges in this thesis is the dialectical character of the ways both points of views shape worlding, both individual and collective.

1.3.4 Temporal Concerns

The extent to which temporality plays a role in the figurations of space and place is vast. Throughout the primary texts I encountered during this project, there was a deep sense of futurity, that is, a temporal preoccupation with planning for and imagining the future. Indeed, a key concept in the modernity project that endures into the contemporary moment is an imagined progressive, linear timeline of development. In other words, a trajectory or arc of progress that is forward and upwardly directed. This concept has insidious and far-reaching implications and is generally considered a universal timeline within the dominant Eurocentric framework of thought. Given its Eurocentric underpinnings, the progress narrative is inseparable from the settler colonial project. These temporal schematics imagine and project the securement of the settler subject and nation-state, therefore imposing and implying a settler futurity wherein the current and future life of the settler and settler state is secured and assured: it is settled. These temporal dynamics are, of course, constructed by the synoptic view and applied through ideological and hegemonic means to shape a mostly unreflective way of moving about the world. This is to say that this temporal fiction is indeed a compositional element that helps us believe that the contemporary moment and the projected continuation of settler dominance and way of life is not

up for contestation, that it is, in fact, settled. The concept of nature is also measured temporally: it is often understood as something primordial worth preserving or conserving, but can also hold promises for futurity especially in regard to securing a 'green' future and in terms of sustainability through technology, by innovating eco-conscious technologies. Nature is politically temporal where its ensured existence is premised on a Western conception of valuation and appreciation. Nature, then, is staged in our temporal anxieties as ultimately threatened by a rapidly developing planet or as the panacea to this rapid development. The articulations and strategies that I investigate in this thesis are overwhelmingly positioned to secure white supremacy and a settler articulation of space, place, and nature: settler futurity.

1.3.4 Indigenizing the Synoptic

The following passage from Bonita Lawrence (2010) speaks to the second fragment I used to begin this chapter:

> As history is currently written, from outside Indigenous perspectives, we cannot see colonization *as* colonization. We cannot grasp the overall picture of a focused, concerted process of invasion and land theft. Winona Stevenson has summarized how the 'big picture' looks to Aboriginal peoples: 'Mercantilists wanted our furs, missionaries wanted our souls, colonial governments, and later, Canada, wanted our lands.' And yet, this complex rendition of a global geopolitical process can obscure how these histories come together in the experiences of different Indigenous nations 'on the ground.' (Lawrence 2010, 39)

The second fragment alludes to this in that historical narratives occlude on-the-ground experiences and specificities. Indeed, when it comes to placemaking, I argue that the synoptic view itself is a mode of colonial imposition. Its practice of manipulating landscapes and bordering lands was a key factor in the reservation system while its forward-facing trajectory actively excludes Indigenous peoples in the formation of the nation state, rather it was premised on their disappearance or assimilation. Mishuana Goeman argues that the modernist discourses that entrench Indigenous peoples in the past, "have constructed the way that Native bodies experience the everyday. The spatial policies and disciplined ordering of the Native subject by

the nation-state through governmental techniques of containment, reservations, urban erasure, federal Indian law, and a multitude of other policies that seek to 'eliminate' the Native all function to make the acquisition of space achievable" (Goeman 2014, 240). This passage offers two pieces that are important to this thesis. First, that hegemonic production of space has the capacity to influence the way bodies, here Native bodies, experience life and second, that the acquisition of space was the primary way in which the Canadian nation state acquires legitimacy. Glen Coulthard (2014) explains that in the Canadian context of a settler state: "colonial domination continues to be structurally oriented around the state's commitment to maintain – through force, fraud, and, more recently, so-called negotiations – ongoing access to the land that contradictorily provides the material and spiritual sustenance of Indigenous societies and the foundation of colonial state formation, settlement, and capitalist development" (57-58). Thus bordering, coding, and policing lands proved to operate as powerful tools for securing the state and its interests.

Battiste and Henderson (2011) challenge the hegemonic Eurocentric lens with an Indigenous worldview that challenges linguistically bound assumptions by positioning a connection between nature and human as one that is fundamentally experienced. They assert: "In the Indigenous worldview, humans perceive the sensuous order of the natural world through their eyes, noses, ears, mouths, and skins. Perceptions of the sensory world unfold as affective sounds and rhythm. As these sounds become words, humans participate in 'singing the world' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Since people enter into language through their sensory relationships with the natural world, languages cannot be understood in isolation from the ecologies that give rise to them" (Battiste and Henderson 2011, 13). This is insightful in regard to the largely unconscious way the settler subject moves through space, especially nature space, which is premised on one main sense, sight. A tree is beautiful, a stream is lovely, a mountain is stunning, a waterfall is striking. This is not to suggest all settler subjects move through the word as such but instead accounts for the fundamental separation of knowledge where Indigenous peoples have spiritual connections settlers have a perception of scenic or picturesque beauty. This is a problem insofar as this separation enables mass-scale industrialized destruction and exploitation of the environment for profit. It is important for this project to incorporate thought from Indigenous scholars because of the implications of the colonial project in the lives of First Nations peoples in Canada. More specifically because this project explores the Indigenous experience of the sites of

inquiry to offer a more robust history of place than is generally given in Canada's hegemonic historical narratives. Native Studies scholars are calling for efforts to not only decolonize but to indigenize. In this project, it is crucial to engage Native Studies scholars and Indigenous experience to critique and redefine the dominant settler relationship between human and nature. Native Studies scholars have successfully challenged the totalizing effects of the synoptic view that is taken in traditional academia as well as by the colonial state, effectively influencing a paradigm shift that calls for indigenizing contemporary conceptions of placemaking and worldmaking.

1.4 AFFECT THEORY

The fragments that connect the sites of inquiry in this project are bound by a similar affective charge that occurred during tactile and sensory interactions with place. From an affective perspective, the discontinuity between contact and fantasy, between the material and the virtual, pricked at the mediating forces at work, illuminating the fragility of ideological structures when images become places. The concomitant movement between proximity and distance as I moved through the sites as a tourist ushers forth a theoretical impasse where experientially moving through place attunes me to the affective forces at play in the individual and collective encounter with space, while all at once being deeply, academically aware of the operations of discipline and processes of biopower that are at play in the highly politicized national projects I visited. Human relationships to nature are dynamic and complex and demand a theoretical commitment to the levels of encounter this relationship is constituted by. Affective forces emerging from a subjugated point of view clash, push up against, wash over, skirt around, and merge with the top down mechanisms and technologies of discipline on the body theorized by Foucault and Agamben. Can this be attended to by simply answering Donna Haraway's call for a theory of situated knowledge? Or, more likely, how do these theoretical commitments work when confronted by each other?

The affective turn refers to the theoretical shift in the social science fields that occurred in the 1990s towards affect in response to the "limitations of poststructuralism and deconstruction" (Clough 2010, 206) within cultural studies, emerging from the Foucauldian legacy of

postmodern thought. Affect theory finds its beginning in a vector of scholarly work that focused on the pre-conscious, including Freudian psychoanalysis and the work of theorists Deleuze and Guattari, and Spinoza. I am primarily concerned with what can now be referred to as the contemporary canonical writers of cultural affect theory: Lauren Berlant, Sara Ahmed, and Kathleen Stewart. Berlant's *Cruel Optimism* centers "the good life" as "that moral-intimate-economic thing" (Berlant 2011, 2) and explores attachments to this fantasy despite the evidence that these fantasies are deeply faulted, even impossible attainments. These attachments, Berlant argues, function as restricting our flourishing, thus placing us at a temporal impasse (Berlant 2011). Importantly, "affect is furthermore a flux that is always in context—immanent—and thus draws on a situational ethics and therefore on the social and spatial milieu. Infused with power, grounded in place and located bodies, affect is viscerally political" (Park, Davidson and Shields 2011, 5). It is the political potential of affect that is crucial here, especially regarding nation-making and the ordinary affects associated with ambivalence and complacency.

While I attend to the operations of power with discourse analysis, I am also concerned, like much of the scholarship in the contemporary theoretical moment of the affective turn, with that which is non-representational. I am interested in accounting for the ways in which affect contributes to a sense of place. The affects I identify in this thesis are ordinary (Stewart 2007), such as joy, belonging, and nostalgia. For Stewart: "At once abstract and concrete, ordinary affects are more directly compelling than ideologies, as well as more fractious, multiplicious, and unpredictable than symbolic meaning" (3). The shifts that occurred to the Canadian landscape during the twentieth century nation building years were colossal, intentional, and celebrated. The affective pulse that motivated my own investigations were ordinary moments staged against this extraordinariness. Next to the noise of the national projects I examine in this project, are the moments of individual reflection, feeling, emotional response, and experience of place that may or may not align with the expectations of place, the way they are designed, the way ideology and intent are deposited in space and noticed, apprehended or not, the experience that occurs on these deeply individual levels are ultimately a constant negotiation with mediation. Indeed, particular moments of ordinary affects reveal certain hegemonic, categorical discontinuities while others certainly affirm conceptions of nature, wilderness, and even the association with Canadianness. I take up affect in this thesis because "place and affect are therefore results of a process of interacting with the material world. The continual engagement of people with things and in

environments creates places and affects that are themselves always shifting, morphing, and flickering" (7).

I take up the concept of affective atmosphere as outlined by Stewart (2010) to describe the sense of being in a place: "The provocation of 'affective atmospheres' offers ways of loosening the grip of the language of identity, essence and belonging in the study of nationalism and attend instead to the currents and transmissions that pass between bodies and which congeal around particular objects, materials and bodies in specific times and spaces" (Stephens 2016, 192). This is important for my case studies because it allows me to focus on the "currents" and "transmissions" between proximity and distance in the national projects I investigate, more specifically, to be aware of the affective atmosphere that is attuned in certain spaces. Indeed, I identify where affect "congeals"–a term I find useful for illustrating Ahmed's stickiness of affect–in the spaces I travel. My case studies take up different ways of thinking about the relationship between affect, nature, placemaking, and discourse, scuttling back and forth between proximity and distance, illuminating this space as the space thick with affect. Riding Mountain National Park and Revelstoke are interesting to this project because of their out-of-the-wayness: they operate on the level of the ordinary. Out of the way spaces, banal spaces, have the oscillating effect of undoing and affirming the totalizing theories of wilderness, nature and the hegemonic ideologies I propose in this project. When picture becomes place, the undoing and affirming of these categorical (mostly visual) imperatives resulted in feelings of alienation. Indeed, Riding Mountain sits precariously as an in-between; it is not the iconic landscape of Banff. The lakeside in Valemount presented an unplaceable industrial history that did not align with its visual promise of unspoiled nature. The colossal environmental change that resulted from the damming of the Columbia River Basin appears more natural than, for example, the widely-criticized and internationally infamous tar sands extraction in Fort McMurray. These sites, then, in their oscillating character, become both product of and actor in the fictions of wilderness and nationalism.

1.5 METHODOLOGIES

1.5.1 Tourist-as-Method: A Play on Ethnography

This project borrows from several qualitative methodologies to develop a methodology that attempts to account for the multiplicity that emerged from the heterogeneous landscapes I traveled through. The method I propose incorporates elements of ethnography, discourse analysis, oral history, and archival research. I call it tourism-as-method to account for my experiential movement and engagement with tourist sites as the curious outsider. Margaret Werry (2008) argues: "Tourist attractions and institutions, of course, are inherently ethnographic: they represent culture in its reflexive mode, orienting bodies and space towards an anticipated interpretive gaze through staging meaningful signs, object lessons, and exemplary instances" (394). As Werry puts it: "attending ethno-historically to tourism attunes us to its affective registers, performative repertoires, its intimate relationship with locality and spatiality, and the symbolic (a)logics through which it achieves its purchase on the immanently political territory of natural life" (Werry 2008, 393). Departing from ethnography, this method dilutes the aims of ethnography, which are to provide in-depth and rigorous attention to a specific place, to emphasize and privilege the moving through. It is precisely my casual encounters with places that enabled the shuttling back and forth between proximal and synoptic. Furthermore, identifying as tourist situates my research position as curious outsider with very little invested or at stake, rather than as dedicated ethnographer. The concept of tourist-as-method is further developed in chapter two to account for embodied, experiential experience and more closely focused on the experience of camping, thus, camping-as-method. My tourist experiences in chapter three are positioned next to a local who invites me to experience the place according to his sense of place. This experience is fleshed out by further interactions with locals as sources of authority, thus engaging with elements of oral history.

I introduce each chapter with fragments with the intention of telling the story of my own journey as a tourist. Like Militz and Schurr (2016) who present their affective research through their use of vignettes, I imagine fragments similarly and to achieve the same ends. They argue that vignettes: "try to be transparent about the researcher's perspectives by situating the researcher within the moment of affective encounter. In that moment the researcher becomes a story-teller who abstains from speaking for anybody but for herself" (57). Furthermore, the sites of inquiry of this thesis are tourist sites: they were built with intention of the tourist in mind. The primary documents I analyze, with the exception of the *Columbia News Letters* in chapter three, were produced for the tourist.

This project's experiential research borrows from ethnographic methodologies particularly in form. Presenting data through descriptive narratives derived from a field journal I kept throughout my investigative road trip provide the empirical fragments that act as entryways into theorizing. My field journal came to resemble collage-like documents: I noted and charted the heteroglossic conversations and encounters I experienced throughout my investigative road trip and time in Revelstoke; described my own personal experiences of the landscapes; and included notes on cultural happenings, artifacts, media stories, and even the weekly horoscopes that left an impression on me, somehow speaking to the work I was engaging in. Anna Tsing's (2005) ethnography has been a central influence and inspiration to this project. Like Tsing, I offer narratives of the empirical framed by theoretical analyses and engagements rendered "experimental" (Riemer 2012, 181) in its incorporation of discourse analysis of archived documents. James Clifford's *Routes* (1997) masterfully displays the marriage of ethnography and cultural studies. His sophisticated and thoughtful writing meditates on similar concerns I explore here, providing an absolutely enjoyable piece of work that I aspire to. Clifford remarks that contemporary experimental ethnographic writing has incorporated elements of the "literary travel narrative" (Clifford 1997, 67), which offers a paradigm that I also find capable of engaging with the topic of environment on a sensory and affective level, especially in regard to my tourist-as-method methodology, fleshing out and extending the reach of academic writing. Clifford (1997), Van Wyck (2010), Tsing (2005), and Stewart (2007) demonstrate the evocative and lyrical narrative writing qualities that I find compelling and are indeed suggestive of writing *as* method. Further, their methodologies are essentially playful in the sense that they stretch the meanings, constraints and boundaries of what can act as evidence. Their focus on the ordinary within the extraordinary is of central concern to the ambitions of this project. Stewart (2010) begins with the following: "Writing ethnography over the years has been a slow, and sometimes sudden, accretion of ways of attending to the charged atmospheres of everyday life" (2), which has inspired my own attempt at elucidating the ordinary with an affective pause. The experiential nature of this thesis calls for a quality of writing that is thoughtful, but theorizes complex relations in a straightforward manner to complement the narrative-style writing I will use to describe encounters, conversations, and incidents.

1.5.2 Attending to Lived Experience Through Oral History

My experiential tourism-as-method is bolstered by the contribution of individual stories told to me during casual encounters with people local to my sites of inquiry. As such, the traveling nature of this project's methodological mosaic borrows aspects from oral history. Typically, oral history projects are large in scale with aims ranging from historicizing specific events or moments, to capturing cultures through personal narratives, to preserving knowledges and traditions. Generally, a crucial aspect of oral history is the capacity to record voices as the sonar effects of speaking and listening allows for deeper engagement. This project, however, borrows from oral history methods in that my inclusion of personal narratives aligns with Shelley Trower's conception of oral history as "recollections from within a speaker's lifetime" (Trower 2011, 1), but did not record conversations or offer any sort of audio support to this written project. For my aims, including small oral histories strengthens my ability to 'see' on-the-ground by allowing an alternative historical authority to smaller players set against the narratives of hegemonic industrial and state discursive regimes. Indeed, "its ability to work closely with specifics of place continues to be one of the most valuable strengths of oral history" (Trower 2011, 2). Oral histories allowed me to flesh out my fragments with information gleaned from a person's lifetime of lived experience and own informed knowledge of the area and situation, again, aligning with the central focus of this project: merging the synoptic with the experiential.

The oral histories that I collected were not pre-planned interviews or recorded; rather, in alignment with my position as tourist, they were encounters that I had with people during my investigative road trip. The stories I include arose from very casual conversations that occurred organically; I did not search out informants, instead I listened closely and openly to the stories new friends and acquaintances were telling me. I asked questions, I followed up, and I engaged on the level of a curious outsider. The rich narrations and anecdotes seemed to string together to reveal certain local particularities or points of contention that are largely ignored or undervalued in popular and hegemonic representations of place. My aim was to represent the voices as neutrally and as verbatim as possible but to contextualize them according to how they contributed toward my research and approach to understanding historical, hegemonic, and individual modes of placemaking. In this way, I hope that I am able to weave together a

complimentary or constitutive story wherein the oral testimonies offer examples of differently located subjects and senses of place.

1.5.3 Critically Re-Reading Texts: Archives and Discourse Analysis

To answer my question, what happens when picture becomes place, I incorporate discourse analysis of tourist brochures, industry pamphlets, and news media articles, some of which are contemporary and found online and others are those materials found in my archives research at the Revelstoke Museum and Archives. The Revelstoke Archives was a foundational piece of both my tourist experience and the hard data of discursive evaluation in chapter three. The Archives are dedicated to the community history of Revelstoke and hold books written by local authors, books about the area, even yearbooks from the local high school. File folders are dedicated to the major historical events of the area such as the railway, logging industry, ski history, and, of course, the Columbia Treaty. Meticulously organized and documented, the Archives' folder pertaining to the Columbia Treaty contained tourism documents, BC Hydro promotional materials, and newspaper articles that offered a sense of Revelstoke as a small, local community shaped by stakeholder interest and profit accumulation – the Archives tell a story of the construction of a modern hinterland. The Archives are an important site of community historicizing, where Revelstoke is able to construct a sense of itself and display artifacts it feels pertinent to the community's self-identification. I engage discourse analysis as the method for reading these materials because it allows me to see the regimes of power at work. Farnell and Graham have the following to say about discourse work:

> Discourse-centered work thus emphasizes the heterogeneous, multifunctional, and dynamic character of language use and the central place it occupies in the social construction of reality. According to a discourse-centered framework, culture is an emergent process, historically transmitted but continuously produced and revised through dialogues among its members. It is constantly receptive to new associations and interpretive moves. (Farnell and Graham 2014, 392)

This passage best summarizes my use of discourse analysis in this thesis and the ways in which I position experiential research to bear on the discursive constructions I was able to identify from the listed materials.

1.6 ON MY POSITION AS A TOURIST

Methodological conundrums emerge in every research project, for mine I identify those that emerge from acting as tourist and visitor and the potential for an exploitative dynamic this can set up between researcher and subject. I must reflect on what it meant to drop in and experience another community's history and the subsequent research dilemmas that emerge from this dropping-in. The experiences I detail throughout this project and subsequent position as a tourist, are overwhelmingly shaped by subjectivity and I fear that failing to address my position as tourist, given its problematic past, would ultimately harm the overall aims of this project. Indeed, moving through the landscape as a settler subject while I simultaneously attempt to unpack the settler state of affairs is wrought with tension and ambivalence. I moved easily and unrestricted through the land because of my settler identity. I was welcomed in the spaces I visited because of my settler identity. I was afforded a great deal of freedom, security, and assuredness because in the settler state, I am a privileged subject citizen.

I say tourism has a problematic past because of the undertones the figure of the tourist has with the figure of the explorer, the settler, the voyeur, and the conqueror especially when speaking of the Canadian settlement context. My travel narrative follows a legacy of colonial practice of traveling or exploring with the intent of finding an authentic experience. The position of tourist has always been a maligned place to occupy; many of us would rather think of ourselves as travelers, searching and finding the authentic experience of place inaccessible to ordinary tourists. As Patricia Jasen point out: "the tourist-traveler dichotomy is in fact an invention a rhetorical device we all employ to convince ourselves that *we* are not tourists" (Jasen, 5). Thought to rest in the difference between searching for authentic experience and following the beaten path, the tourist-traveler divide is a fiction inherent to tourism. Here, however, I fully inhabit the position of the tourist to offset the implication that I was searching for a sort of authentic experience. Rather, I moved through the landscape without a great deal of expectations.

I attempted to relax and read place as text, interpreting as I went along with the help and authority of many others. Worryingly, Jasen identifies a "tourist angst" (6) that emerges in the conflict between "image and reality" (Ibid) and characterized by the tourist "not enjoying themselves as they should, and acquir[ing] the habit of condemning, sometimes with a sharp sense of irony, the industry that supposedly served their multifarious needs" (Ibid). This thought has plagued me at times, that perhaps my academic training has engendered a constant need to critique and find fault, that ultimately my critiques of the tourist industry were overly, unnecessarily critical and unproductive. She also speaks to the affective dimension of the tourist experience as it comes up against potential colonial motivations to identify an Other to better individualize our own subjective experience: "as tourists we like to have our feelings aroused and our imaginations stirred, and we look for images of 'otherness' that might evoke such a response" (7). To remedy these anxieties, I look to Jokinen and Veijola (2003) whose definition of a tourist allows for a gentler and more compassionate interpretation of the tourist experience: "The visual and embodied experience of the tourist does not always follow the linear narrative of entering, seeing and conquering. The one who moves and gazes and touches the scenery in different ways, sensualities and modalities: with passion, arrogance, violence – playfulness" (Jokinen and Veijola 2003, 274). I believe that I inhabited perhaps all of these ways of moving through space. My complacency in settler privilege surely enacted unconscious arrogance and violence while my curious pursuit of meaning was certainly passionate and playful. Moving through these spaces as a tourist was all at once complacent to colonial impositions and benefits, and banal and ordinary. Importantly, as a tourist I was gathering stories, images, ideas, into my own basket, which I later worked through an interpretive framework to learn more fully about the operations of local and national, nature and wilderness, and individualities and collectivities. I gathered, interpreted, and now I offer back in the form of this project, the stories I heard and encountered.

1.7 CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

The chapters of this thesis are arranged according to the westward spatial trajectory I followed on my investigative road trip. Chapter two developed from my experience at Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba. I begin the chapter with a fragment that describes my

interaction and subsequent reading of place, opening my investigation that examines it historically, both unique to and apart of the larger system of national parks and tourism in Canada. The concept of nature that this chapter explores is as playground where it is staged as a place for recreation, relaxation, and leisure. This requires a critical engagement with the synoptic—by looking to aesthetics and discourse—and the proximal, by looking to the performative enactments of citizenship and nation. Temporally, Riding Mountain presents a contradiction. It is both forward facing and nostalgic. This chapter focuses on the period of early modernity from the turn of the twentieth century until WWII. I propose in this chapter that Riding Mountain is a site of nation-making where the everyday micro-performances of nation, performed in national sites of nature, reproduces national values and identity.

Chapter three also begins with a fragment that sets up the chapter thematically, premising the following investigation regarding natural resource exploitation and power. This chapter integrates the knowledge gleaned from a four-month residency in Revelstoke, BC, therefore weaving through a first person voice that extends beyond the initial fragment. This chapter examines how modern ideologies influenced drastic environmental change in the Columbia Valley with the damming of the Columbia River Basin that occurred during the middle of the twentieth century. I look to archived BC Hydro promotional pamphlets to provide a discourse analysis of hegemonic productions of nature, as well as those materials that presented localized, personal voices and experiences of the shift that occurred in the region. This chapter argues that modernity re-structured the way of life of residents while the voices I put forth both challenge and affirm the way placemaking occurred at the synoptic level. From my position as tourist, I evaluate whether the promises made by BC Hydro came to fruition in the everyday contemporary moment. What is at stake in all of this is the organization of space, and what that means for a planet, a society, that is interconnected, despite the detracting efforts by various hegemonic forces like industrial corporations and state entities from this fact. Ultimately, this thesis aims to critique the separation between humans and nature, incorporating Indigenous and resistant thought to the totalizing constructions of our environments, and considering modes of interaction that are essentially about relating, generously, playfully, and selflessly.

CHAPTER TWO

NATURE AS PLAYGROUND: THE TOURIST EXPERIENCE IN THE CANADIAN PRAIRIE NATIONAL PARK

"What is projective and instrumental about the wilderness picture in the register of terra nullius *casts a retrospective and nostalgic aesthetic in the landscape art that forgets the trauma of history by depositing a picture as a monument"* (Bordo 2002, 310).

…

2.1 FRAGMENTS OF AN INVESTIGATIVE ROAD TRIP

2.1.1 Riding Mountain National Park, Manitoba, August 19, 2015

After several nights camping on the Canadian Shield characterized by scraggly Jack Pines, the occasional sighting of a majestic white pine, exposed red Precambrian rock indiscriminately covered by soft humid moss, and framed by a near constant view of the never-ending Lake Superior, we passed into Manitoba and the Canadian Prairies. The drive from Winnipeg to Riding Mountain National Park was stunning as we crisscrossed prairie roads, the late summer sun setting and illuminating the green fields in gold. It was nearing the end of August and the light was that particular late-summer slow set that never seemed to turn to dark. Instead the snow globe skies of the prairies, the immense skies that signal home to us prairie folk, were lit in coral and ochre. Kristina let me listen to country music as I drove us through a landscape that warmed our displaced hearts with its twilight glow. The road was a perfect paved ribbon that ascended and descended with the changing scenery, guiding us through a *relief* we hadn't expected to find in Manitoba. We passed farms marked with giant machinery forgotten until the next work day, vast expanses of green fields, and through a picturesque prairie town, Neepawa, where huge leafy trees lined the boulevard that separated the road from the brick homes and colonial apartments.

Driving through the timber gate that marked a grand entrance to the park, the space within the park border starkly shifted from open expanses of field to a sudden populated and built-up compound complete with giant recreation vehicles, a marina, and log cabins. Stepping out of the car at the park office, the atmosphere palpably shifted from the serene calm of the drive to an energy that felt harried and rushed. It was incredibly glossy and groomed: flowerbeds

were stunningly curated beside the well-paved, well-lit asphalt roads, and a rustic high street gleamed on the edge of a landscaped lakefront lawn. The Park Ranger checked us in to our campsite[2], offered us a map and brochure of activities and gave us directions to the sites of interest in the park. The campground and park was enormous, and it took us another ten minutes to drive to our campsite, passing signs that dictated appropriate camper behavior and noise levels. Organized much like a suburb, the main road weaved along with various named cul-de-sacs and smaller roads designed, presumably, to minimize traffic and maximize campsite density. Individual campsites lined the roads; each one had its own number, fire pit, and picnic table. The size of recreational vehicles and camping accessories appeared to have more than doubled since the campground was originally built. It appeared as though each camp was spilling out of its designated site; masterful parking feats were accomplished to fit fifth-wheel trailers *with* pop-outs, one-ton pickup trucks, sometimes smaller family sedans but more often boats, bug tents to fit around the picnic table, gourmet barbeques, and an assortment of Adirondack chairs, inflatable water toys, and bikes. Pulling into our designated plot, we quietly set up my seventy-dollar *Canadian Tire* tent and built a campfire with the pre-cut firewood we bought at the gate entrance. Our circular space was separated from our considerably more lavish neighbors by the strategic use of trees, implying the feeling of nature and the pretext of privacy. It was an uneventful, quiet, and safe evening; camping at Riding Mountain was like partaking in an homage to the idea of camping and it felt as though we were visiting an exhibit of nature.

The next morning we decided to visit the town site before continuing on our drive west. The park had a 'corporate Canada' feel: the sterile compound with enforced rules of conduct, the architecture of the log buildings on the high street selling memorabilia and ice cream felt like every other nostalgic National Park tourist town we had ever visited, for instance Jasper and Banff. This space felt alienating to us; it was too perfect, too visual, too constructed. We parked on the high street and crossed the expansive lawn towards the Clear Lake marina, where visitors could rent kayaks and even pontoon boats for hundreds of dollars per hour. It was still early; the morning sun had a cool quality and the dew found its way past my Birkenstocks, wetting my feet as we made our way across the lawn to the dock. Walking lazily up and down the dock, we were alone. I could see the sandy bottom of the lake from my spot on the dock. Clear Lake. It occurred

[2] It was by far the most we paid for a camping spot: the combined visitor and camping fees exceeded fifty dollars plus the cost of firewood, which was double what we had paid to camp so far.

to me briefly, fleetingly, to go in. It appeared very shallow. It wouldn't be too long before campers would energize the space with activity but for now the quietness felt far from calm, it felt abandoned and sterile, like a mall at closing time. This space needed people to breathe life into it. Without life, without activity, it was like entering into a picture. It was the furthest from nature we had felt all trip. We didn't explore any more of the park. Rather than take up the offer of a hike or a scenic drive, we drove out of the gates anxious to leave Riding Mountain behind. Kristina later spoke with her father about the strange experience we had at Riding Mountain and he clarified the difference between national parks and provincial parks. Exactly as we noticed, he said that national parks are not meant to convey true nature, rather they are intended to act as "outdoor hotels," emblematic of specific nature deemed important by the state, in this case the Manitoba Escarpment. We decided that this "suburban" camping experience was not for us, and decided to stay at more rustic-feeling provincial parks during the rest of our trip.

2.2 APPLICATION OF TOURISM-AS-METHOD IN RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

It is seemingly incongruous to use Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP) as the site of analysis when the crown jewel of Canada's National Park regime, Banff, is nestled grandly in the heart of the Canadian Rocky Mountains (and also figured on the route of my investigative road trip). As Canada's first National Park and the world's third (Parks Canada 2016) Banff National Park is internationally famous; its iconic landscape has been positioned to represent "Canada's 'brand' for well over a century" (Francis 2011, 95). Its dazzling turquoise lakes and snow-capped Rocky Mountain peaks offer an epitomized Canadian landscape. I put forth Riding Mountain for investigation, however, precisely because of its more muted presence on the Canadian stage. Unlike National Parks such as Banff, Pacific Rim, Gros Morne, or Jasper, which are all spectacular examples of the sublime, it is the picturesque qualities of its landscape that contributed to Riding Mountain's creation as a tourist haven with a resort town in the background of the Prairies. Like the other sites I privilege in this project, Riding Mountain is not a central defining Canadian landscape, rather it is less a perfect example of hegemonic wilderness than it is a site of everyday negotiations of the categories of nature and of nation. The metaphor of a playground is useful when thinking about national parks: like a playground,

national parks are strictly bordered spaces where the interior space is designed and built to maximize its potential for play and pleasure. Furthermore, if we think of a playground replete with jungle gyms and slides, we can see how it positions the natural environment as static, immovable, and constructed. If more recent conceptions of national parks are considered wild spaces upon which humans project the idealized forms of nature, John Sandlos' research reveals that: "Canada's park system was founded with a particularly strong emphasis on the parks as playgrounds, vacation destinations, and roadside attractions that might simultaneously preserve the fading scenic beauty and wildlife populations amid increasingly agricultural and industrial landscapes" (Sandlos 2011, 60). Though my initial reaction to Riding Mountain was of distaste, it has drawn my intellectual curiosity because of the contradictions that exist regarding its hyper-orchestration of nature and its role in enabling banal, ordinary everyday practice.

In this chapter I look at the variety of ways nature is staged ideologically as playground—as landscape, as tourism resource—in the national project and how this relates to the experiential aspects of park-going. I extend my tourist-as-method methodology to refer more specifically to an experiential camping-as-method. I privilege camping as a bodily practice for investigation first because of its concomitant social and individual characteristic; second, because camping is the rhythms of daily life and survival, and routines of comfort and self-care; and finally, because of the symbolic value camping carries within the idea of Canadianness, exemplified in the aforementioned widespread Canadiana imagery. Through the practice of camping, the different forms of social practice and symbolic structure at play were highly visible in the constitution of the park as a site of Canadian wilderness. Moving experientially through this site enabled me to see the park as a space of nation-making, a space of communion with nature, a space of citizen subject formation, and of enduring settler colonial fantasy. Camping acts as a point of entry into the park that enables me to gain insight into how the park functions both ideologically and affectively. Camping-as-method allows me to move concomitantly through this chapter, investigating ideological operations of placemaking and buttressing it with my account of its materialization on the ground. We can see how the routines of camping mimic those of daily life, imposing the personal poetics of domestic living and survival in shared, collective space. For Michel De Certeau, "Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it… [therefore] space is a practiced place" (1984, 117). If place is figured by its orientation of being proper, referring to the modes of organization put in

place by discursive regimes, then space is its interiority, determined by the movements and tactics taken by individual actors. I stress the ordinariness of camping. Arguably, the very appeal of camping in a national park is its extraordinariness[3] from daily life, which is very much a key message in Parks Canada's advertising campaigns. I wish to re-focus, however, on the banal performances of the everyday that are replicated in the national park space: the everyday rituals of survival, self-care, and socialization like cooking, eating, sleeping, and bathing that bring a place into being.

Synoptic viewpoints are useful for investigating the operations of power through discourse but can problematically flatten the individual experience, which is why incorporating experiential research and a proximal point of view can elaborate on methods of placemaking. As De Certeau reminds us, people are not a mass of mindless consumers, rather, place-making occurs on the ground both in contrast to and in compliance with hegemonic productions of space. Further, resistance actions can be found in unconscious daily actions. That is, "'tactics' articulated in the details of everyday life… bring to light the clandestine forms taken by the dispersed, tactical, and makeshift creativity of groups of individuals already caught in the nets of 'discipline'" (De Certeau 1984, xiv). Importantly, my use of resistance here does not refer to a resistance to hegemonic productions of wilderness or nation; I am not suggesting a resistance to Foucauldian disciplinary strategies. Rather, I suggest that the personal poetics visitors to these spaces weave construct place according to personal affects, experiences, and associations. Indeed, according De Certeau: "many everyday practices (talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking, etc) are tactical in character" (xix).

The centrality of affect in placemaking is crucial to this chapter. In her 2004 text, Sara Ahmed "turned to emotion in order to explain how worlds are reproduced; in particular [she] wanted to reflect on how social norms become affective over time" (Ahmed 2004, 204). I take this up here to illustrate how the continued reproduction and performance of settler poetics reinstall ordinary affects of belonging, peace, tranquility, self-improvement, communion, and primitivism. In addition to the material markings—the mediations—made on the land to bring 'nature' into being, I am concerned with the affective marks impressed on individual and

[3] The steep cost of traveling away from the city, paying the park fees, and accumulating gear is certainly a barrier to access for many people, specifically those occupying disadvantaged socio-economic locations. I provide this caveat because I do not wish for my suggestion of ordinariness to appear flippant and tone-deaf to privilege.

collective experience regarding placemaking, premised on my suggestion that places are made in deeply personal and individual fashions by modes of dwelling, living, socializing, and experiencing affectively. This, to summarize, points to the multiplicity of experience in space as it both clashes and coalesces with discursive regimes, as the primary concern and point of entry into the national park arena.

What is crucial here are the ways in which individual and collective encounters with space create narrations and stories that inform our sense of place. Worlding, or placemaking, occurs fruitfully during these affective, embodied, sensory encounters. This attends to Donna Haraway's contention that: "accounts of a 'real' world do not, then, depend on a logic of 'discovery', but on a power-charged social relation of 'conversation'" (Haraway 1991, 198). While places are being structured by a hegemonic, synoptic point of view then, they are also being made at a proximal level that is all at once influenced by discourse and is the intimate product of personal experiences, constructing a sense of place. Therefore, the stories that emerge on the ground are often informed by these hegemonic productions of place but also work to reveal deep-seated ambivalence toward categorical imperatives of nature and nation. How we adapt, shift, maneuver, appropriate, approximate, subvert, and work with the products of discursive regimes to write our own rhythmic poetics, to form our own sense of place, is a central consideration in this chapter. This chapter is concerned with a spatial and temporal analysis that examines the proximal and distanced productions of placemaking where nature is imagined as playground. At stake is the ideological fragility of nature, staged in the national project. I begin first with the story of Indigenous displacement from the park site in line with larger ideological concerns of the time. Second, I move to the interlocking stories of early national park formation and tourism to illustrate Riding Mountain's staging of nature after a nostalgic fantasy of the picturesque. Third, these historical accounts will establish the foundation upon which I investigate the embodied performances of nation, of 'playing Indian,' and the poetics of the everyday that constitute camping in the national park.

2.3 FROM RESERVE TO RESORT: THE HISTORY OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

To begin this story of placemaking, that is, how Riding Mountain National Park came to be, I turn to the dispossession of the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway[4]. The Band was forced off of their lakeshore reserve to make way for the creation of a national park when the reserve space became "an undesirable and non-conforming use of the prime resort area around Clear Lake" (Sandlos 2008, 195), in line with state and local interest at the time to develop a leisure ground for a bourgeoning tourist class. The space that is now RMNP was the traditional homelands to several Anishinabe nations: "The First Nations of Ebb and Flow, Gambler, Keeseekowenin [sic], Sandy Bay, Waywayseecappo, and Tootinawaziibeeng are recognized Anishinabe nations that have maintained traditional connections to the Riding Mountain Area" (Parks Canada 2016, 10). John Sandlos (2011), whose archival and oral history research of Riding Mountain's early history I rely on throughout this chapter, confirms that the Keeseekoowenin were part of a larger group of Ojibway that migrated "from the Great Lakes in the late eighteenth century to the central Prairies seeking improved economic fortunes through big-game hunting and participation in the western fur trade" (Sandlos 2011, 196). Throughout the nineteenth century, the Keeseekoowenin hunted and fished throughout the forested Riding Mountains (ibid) until 1871 when the signing of Treaty 2 established a reserve for the Band on agricultural land near Elphinstone. The dispossession of Indigenous peoples and subsequent grouping onto reserves demonstrates the assimilationist agenda of the Canadian state, "to move backward, subsistence natives from bush lands to state-sanctioned agricultural territory, a move that signaled narratives of progress from primitive life to a modern agricultural economy" (215). Adjusting to an imposed agricultural way of life proved difficult for the Keeseekoowenin and the Band negotiated for itself the lakeshore parcel of land, which they deemed would best serve their lifestyle and accommodate their needs. By 1906 the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway had secured three parcels of land: Reserve 61, which was the main agricultural reserve inland by Elphinstone; Reserve 61A, which was the site of the Band's fishing station, the aforementioned lucrative shoreline parcel on Clear Lake central to supporting their livelihood; and an additional 320 acres adjoining 61A, purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company from the proceeds earned from selling a small parcel of their main reserve to Canadian Northern Railway that became known as the "1906 land" (Dupuis 2005, 4).

[4] The English spelling of Keeseekoowenin Ojibway in this paper is the same as in John Sandlos' (2008) text. He asserts that this spelling "conforms to that of the Keeseekoowenin Band's" (193).

Unfortunately for the Keeseekowenin, the state-orchestrated and widely supported drive for a local tourism industry was firmly taking hold in Western Canada in the early twentieth century, prompting a fury of settler activity. Local advocacy groups pushed for the creation of a wildlife and game reserve in the Riding Mountains as a response to what they deemed over hunting by the Indigenous residents, a move that aligns more closely to an impulse for preservation rather than for conservation (Francis 2011). That is, an impulse to preserve a landscape as though frozen in time, to be commodified as a tourist destination and recipient of a tourist gaze. The local Riding Mountain campaign was successful and by 1913 a small pocket of the area became game preservation land (Sandlos 2008). Following the creation of the wildlife and game reserve, however, the idea of a national parks system was gaining ground across Canada under the enthusiastic and visionary head of the Parks Branch in the early twentieth century, James Harking. Under Harking's vision of connecting the country with a national parks system where each province could feature at least one national park, local figures were able to capitalize on the state's willingness to finance roads and other such infrastructure to build local tourist havens similar to those found in the west. Local campaigns and lobbying groups were interested primarily in developing localized tourist industries that would ultimately boost the local economy. Indeed, Leslie Bella points out that: "most of Canada's national parks were created as another form of natural resource exploitation. Canada's scenery is itself a resource, but one that cannot be exported. If scenery cannot be exported, then the resource can only be profitably exploited if tourists are imported" (Bella 1987, ix). The case of Riding Mountain demonstrates how national and local interests aligned in the drive to create recreation spaces premised on the commodification of nature and wilderness. With the financial support of the state as an option for developing this Prairie background, the local settler community waged a strong and eventually successful advocacy campaign for the creation of a national park in the Riding Mountains.

Sandlos asserts that as a direct result of the intense local lobbying, Riding Mountain was created as a National Park on December 28, 1929 (Sandlos 2008, 202) with development beginning in 1930. A prolonged period of precarity for the Keeseekoowenin Band followed the Order in Council that designated Riding Mountain Forest Reserve as a National Park. The Band was informed on several occasions that they were to permanently vacate their fishing station, Reserve 61A, and return to their main reserve, 61. For years the Keeseekoowenin attempted to

wrestle with the state's eviction notices, exhausting each one of the very few resources they found available to them[5]. Sandlos recounts the instance in December 1930 when Chief George Bone wrote to Indian Affairs to express their feelings of being treated unfairly:

> The treaties signed with the Indians have always been made by the white man. Will the Indian never be consulted? Will he never have a say?... In many things the Indian is not being dealt with fairly. We would ask the Government to consider fairly and honestly our predicament. We want our Reserve for ourselves at Clear Lake… (205)

After several years of bad feelings between the state and the Band, the state decided to take drastic measures to stop the growing discontent of the residents. On an unspecified date "some time before June 1936" (208), park officials went into 61A, rounded the residents onto wagons, and transported them to the main reserve. As they were led away they could see the smoke rising from behind the tree line as officials burned their homes (209). The trauma inflicted on this day was significant; oral history narratives confirmed the death of an older woman from a heart attack (ibid and Dupuis 2005, 5) and Chief Bone described it as "'our mini version of the Trail of Tears'" (Sandlos 2008, 193). The trauma of this day was quickly blanketed over by a rush of development within the boundaries that materially obscures the story in the contemporary park, replaced instead by an atmosphere attuned to settler joy. Opening the history of placemaking in Riding Mountain with the Keeseekoowenin's story reveals a traumatic origin and an atmosphere of loss and grief, rather than a foundation of well-intended conservation practices.

The story of the Keeseekoowenin's experience opens the lid on the multiplicity of experiences in the park's boundaries, and thus the multiple ways that Riding Mountain came to be and continues to be. The space was first a reserve until it was deemed aesthetically valuable and the organization of space shifted. It required the expulsion of Native bodies to be replaced with white bodies, reflecting the larger settler colonial nation-making project. Through mediating technologies it was transformed from a sphere of exclusion to a place for settler recreation. However, no matter its shape, the space was organized according to biopower where the central relationship configuration was between the subject and the state, set against the backdrop of

[5] See Sandlos 2008, 202-207 for a detailed account of the Keeseekoowenin's acts of resistance.

nature. The story of the Keeseekoowenin Band shows the way land becomes bordered and coded according to state preoccupations, inevitably shifting as the state's focal points transform over time. In whatever way space changes, however, what remains central is that: "spatial restructuring of bodies coincides with the spatial construction of the nation state" (Goeman 2014, 240). That is, in making the national park the state was simultaneously making a nation. The reserve was expropriated due to a desire for a specific spatial restructuring thus re-coding the border's interiority for the organization of white, recreationing bodies. These maneuvers are indicative of Giorgio Agamben's theorization of biopower, which is taken up in the context of the settler state by Scott Morgensen, who argues: "the function of governmentality to 'make life' is compatible with the state of exception remaining intrinsic to law, as consigning certain subjects to a state of bare life ('let die')" (Morgensen 2011, 55). We can see, then, how as a resort for middle class settlers, the space celebrated life, a promise of settler futurity. On the other hand, the reserve space becomes a sphere for *homo sacer*, for bare life. Indeed, in creating RMNP, the state was further establishing the ground for a thriving settler future. In the language of biopower, "to protect, care for and sustain valued lives is to abandon, damage and destroy other lives" (Anderson 2010, 28).

Sharing this history here contributes toward the larger project of unsettling the settled. That is, where the National Park appears to be immutable, the continued contestation for the land reveals that in fact, the area is not secure in its current form, that the idea of 'settled' is a myth. After decades of being left out of the national park boundary, the Keeseekoowenin Band pursued land claims with the Canadian government to reclaim Reserve 61A, which was successful in 2004. After a process that unrolled over several years and involved the mediating efforts of the Indian Claims Commission, the state and the Band, they agreed on a settlement agreement (Dupuis 2005). Issues that came up in the settlement negotiations included: "issues relating to the environmental clean-up of the lands, the transfer of administration of the lands from Parks Canada to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, a fair market appraisal of the land, a communication strategy, and the drafting of the settlement agreement" (ibid 8). As a result of the negotiations, Indian Reserve 61A was returned to Aboriginal ownership (Sandlos 2008, 220), $6,999,900 was provided to the Band in compensation (Dupuis 2005, 8), and several reconciliatory efforts were put in place in moves that appear as though Parks Canada has made an effort toward incorporating and reconciling Riding Mountain's problematic past. One such

effort is the Sharing Lodge that exists in the townsite now, which Sandlos contends is a "museum that allows the band to preserve and interpret their own history for visitors" (2008, 220).

The relationship between First Nations and the Canadian state is on display within the park boundaries. I use the word 'display' here purposefully for its museum connotations. Moving experientially through Riding Mountain revealed the contradictions between the exalted reconciliation that occurred and the museumized Indigenous presence on the grounds. Despite the reconciliatory efforts, aestheticized Native imagery persists, likely due to the symbolic connection between nature, nostalgia, and settler imaginaries of Nativeness. The 2016 Visitor's Guide puts forth images of Indigeneity in the park as a cultural tourist draw in and of itself, reflecting Francis' (2011) argument that early national parks aimed to preserve a pre-contact Native presence as a museumized culture intended for the tourist gaze, as though a relic of the past. Indeed park-goers are able to visit the Sharing Lodge, more or less a visitor's information center that turns a living, breathing culture and people into an exhibit. Furthermore, the images in the Visitor's Guide communicate ideas of Nativeness that are separated from the specificities of the Keeseekoowenin's cultural and spiritual beliefs and practices. For instance, a graphic map shows the totem pole that rises to mark the Thunderbird Bungalows (Parks Canada 2016, 28). Totem poles are unique to the First Nations of the Pacific Northwest (Huang 2009) but have become a symbol to a settler imaginary of a homogenous Indigeneity. The totem pole in Riding Mountain is removed from this rich cultural context and instead acts as a placeholder to signal an alliance with First Nations, despite its clearly tokenistic presence.

It is difficult to make assumptions of how this traumatic story and its repercussions on the land could be understood according to varying subject locations. Settler complacency and an atmosphere attuned to settler joy makes it remarkably easy to separate the trauma imposed on the Keeseekoowenin as something that happened 'back then,' rather than as an enduring mark on the landscape commodified as nature and as an enduring ghost-like presence in the atmosphere. According to Ahmed (2004): "To be attuned to each other is not only to share in emotions, or to share an orientation toward objects (as being good or bad), but to share leanings. Attunement is not exhaustive: to be attuned to some bodies might simultaneously mean not to be attuned to others, those who do not share our leanings. We can close off our bodies as well as ears to what

is not in tune" (223). It is apparent from my fragment that Kristina and I felt a sense of affective alienation from the atmosphere that preexisted our arrival to the park. It is also apparent from my fragment, which is couched in settler colonial rhetoric, that I was nevertheless in tune with the settler complacency integral to the atmosphere of settler joy. What emerges here is that for Kristina and I, the orchestration and commodification of nature caused our bad feelings. The multiplicity that exists in RMNP is certainly complacent, ambivalent, as well as subversive and resistant. In line with unsettling the settled, the project becomes then, to attune oneself to the variety of affects that swirl, stick, bounce, and wedge amongst diverse bodies: those settler, those Indigenous, those newcomers, those middle class, those young, and those old. The collectivity of bodies and sociality of affect that exists in the national park space is ripe for an affective attunement to all that persists to bring into being.

2.4 AESTHETICS, FANTASY, AND DESIGN: NATURE AS PLAYGROUND IN THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PROJECT

This section examines how ideological categories grounded in specific historical moments influenced the built environment in Riding Mountain and how this ideological staging of nature relates to the experiential aspects of park-going. Using my camping-as-method methodology, I examine how this plays out on the ground in Riding Mountain and evaluate the myriad possible ways the built environment could be experienced by park-goers. As a tourist, a camper, in this national park space, I could see firsthand how the park was designed to frame certain scenes, how certain architecture was intended to suggest a rustic, nostalgic feel, and how the relationship to land and the environment itself becomes framed as a value-laden relationship to nature. When thinking about affective responses to sites of nation like this National Park, especially considering my and Kristina's feelings of alienation, I begin the next section with the following passage:

> Reconstructing moments of affection allows us to show, for example, how places inspire the rise of bodily sentiments to feel included or excluded at national heritage sites or national monuments. The way in which what is identified as a national heritage site is being represented through specific arrangements of

> objects, fabric, colour, and patterns aims at communicating what counts as national and deserves particular attention and protection. As a consequence, the deliberately manufactured bodily encounters between places, objects, memories, and visitors incite feelings of belonging in some, whereas it may evoke feelings of exclusion in others. (Militz and Schurr 2016, 56)

2.4.1 Romanticism: Nostalgia and Affect in Park Design

Patricia Jasen (1995) argues that nineteenth century tourism in Canada was premised on the visual attraction of landscape and the picturesque qualities of nature. Jasen extends this to argue that the North American tourism industry emerged from a desire to find the aesthetic picturesque in real life, identifying a "romantic sensibility" (4) that is as aesthetic as it is affective. Similarly, Lynda Jessup (2002) argues that: "romanticism exalted a solitary experience of landscape conceived as scenery and views for visual consumption. This aesthetic experience of nature, of seeing the physical environment as landscape, is also at the root of modern sightseeing, which had taken shape as an aesthetic activity by the nineteenth century" (147). Grounded in a European art tradition that believed nature, "at its best, seemed to imitate art" (Jasen 1995, 9), the romantic sensibility encouraged an appreciation of nature as a visual category: pastoral, quiet, and beautiful. Jessup elaborates how the concept of the romantic aesthetic: "broadens to take in landscape and cityscape: not just pictures but the picturesque, now integrated into a more general economy of looking. It is this economy, the 'belief in the restorative effects of happily constituted scenes, and an increasingly romantic orientation to aesthetic sightseeing,' that forms the basis of modern tourism and of what John Urry describes as a generalized tourist gaze.' In this context, Urry notes, the 'romantic gaze' is one of the primary modes of tourist consumption" (Jessup 2002, 147). This cultural preoccupation proliferated, according to Jasen, influencing a tourism industry premised on these aesthetic principles. By the early twentieth century, the romantic sensibility had influenced the large-scale commodification of nature and wilderness, evident in Canada's booming tourism industry. The aesthetic allure of the picturesque in real life was profitable, as demonstrated by the success of Banff National Park. The success of the aesthetic mountain pleasuring grounds swept across Canada, contributing to the rising culture of local wilderness tourism. How this manifested specifically in the Riding

Mountain case was in a collective impulse to create a national park that was very much crafted on the model of the picturesque aesthetic: to turn picture into place.

These assertions played out materially in Riding Mountain as a contributing factor to the Keeseekoowenin's expulsion from Clear Lake. According to Sandlos, key stakeholders like James Harking and superintendent James Smart saw the Keeseekoowenin Reserve 61A as a barrier to exploiting the scenic potential of Clear Lake (Sandlos 2008, 217), and were thus motivated to delegitimize the Band's claim to the land so they could manipulate the environment into a nostalgic image of nature. There are two ways the removal of the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway operated to support this aesthetic aim: first, in similar fashion to the nationalist paintings of the Group of Seven that famously imagined a bare Canadian wilderness landscape thus erasing Indigenous presence with the notion of *terre nullius* (Bordo 2002; Jessup 2002), and second, replacing Indigeneity with an aestheticized image of the 'Indian,' one that was caricaturized and representative of a primordial pre-contact settler imaginary of the 'Indian' (Francis 2011). Therefore, in order to fulfill the settler fantasy of a leisure pleasuring ground premised on nostalgic aesthetic qualities and fully modern in execution, the Keeseekoowenin had to be evicted from the site. Realizing romantic and nostalgic fantasies through the built environment imposed upon the land fully visual and ideological categories, erasing and replacing the previous articulations of a human nature relationship that would have been defined by Keeseekoowenin daily practice.

Importantly, there is a temporal tension at play in the creation of Riding Mountain as a picturesque pleasuring ground. The mediation of nature in Riding Mountain National Park was figured after a certain vision of nature, a distinctly nineteenth century nostalgic fantasy that relies on the picturesque aesthetic. There seems to have been both an overwhelming desire to realize a certain fantasy of modernity—the future-projected scenic roads, for example—while the subject of the image that was sought for replication was a nostalgic image of a past, static, distanced, visual 'nature' of the romantic tradition. Indeed, by attempting to replicate the picturesque in Riding Mountain, Indigenous bodies become part of the picture, as objects in the landscape, rather than as subjects with rights and claims to the land. This concomitant forward/backward temporal movement elicits a tension in staging nature in the park. Riding Mountain was and continues to be produced according to a temporal dimension that privileges nostalgia. The rustic

architecture, the emphasis on wilderness and wildlife exploration, and its attempt to bring newcomers into the national fold through learn-to-camp workshops, expresses a temporal dynamic that harkens for an imagined past. Nostalgia works as an affect here that circulates and sticks to objects; it is embedded in the atmosphere to which the tourist attunes. The operations of nostalgia demonstrate how temporality is at play in placemaking, shaping and influencing how places come to be.

If the cultural phenomenon of wilderness tourism was, as Jasen argues, undergirded by a romantic sensibility, how did this romantic sensibility play out in the formation of Riding Mountain National Park? According to Jasen, the romantic sensibility is thoroughly affective, arguing that "the romantics… promoted feeling and the sanctity of the deeply personal response to nature" (1995, 11). Jessup also identifies a strain of ordinary affects within the romantic sensibility of wilderness, which "placed emphasis on solitude, privacy and an intimate, semi-spiritual relationship with undisturbed natural beauty" (Jessup 2002, 147). This personal, individual affective response to nature was judged according to a moral valuation where deep feelings signaled a heightened relationship to nature. Therefore, the romantic sensibility identified by Jasen has larger implications in creating a nature sphere that is at once picturesque and interactive. Mediating technologies that facilitated the interaction between individual and nature led to a park design that is, arguably at its very foundation, affective. Riding Mountain's history demonstrates how it was brought into being by collective desire; problematic as it was, it still demonstrates the capacity of individual and collective bodies to assert placemaking tactics from the ground. Jasen argues that this process had extensive implications, suggesting, "romanticism's association between images, commodities, feelings, and personal fulfillment was a vital contributing factor in the development of consumer capitalism, including the growth of the tourist industry" (1995, 11). Affect, for Jasen, is integral to romanticism as well as the tourist industry it spurred. She argues: "romantic values endowed a host of places with evocative meaning, luring ever-growing numbers of people to travel, to use trains and boats, carriages and hotels, guidebooks and other paraphernalia in their quest for pleasurable sensation" (12). The point I am attempting to illustrate here is that Riding Mountain National Park was developed for interaction, however, this interaction had a one-sided relationship where nature became staged as a playground, existing for the recreational potential for settler tourists to contribute to value of the self.

2.4.2 Playground by Design: The Role of Modernity

Modernism broadly organizes life and its daily rhythms, and the national park space is not exempt from its reach. Economically, modernism influenced the very investment in state-funded national projects, like dams (which I investigate in the following chapter). As national projects, federal parks figured as spheres for make-work projects during the Depression era, and in the post-World War II era functioned as economy boosters (Bella 1987). Furthermore, post-WWII, camping as a white-middle class form of recreation fit neatly within the idealized suburban family dynamic and rise of automobile culture in North America. The national park was designed after a modern conceptualization of urban planning and space organization. This becomes apparent from my on-the-ground perspective as a tourist camper in Riding Mountain. The park centers around the designated town site named Wasagaming that features shops, administrative buildings, and the aforementioned scenic lawn. Anchoring the park and the tourist experience, a suburb-like campground extends from the town, organized with cul-de-sacs, walking paths, and looping roads. Repeating modernist design of cities and suburbs, RMNP's primary wilderness opportunities for exploration exist as a sort-of hinterland to Wasagaming. A microcosm of modern design, Riding Mountain's planned features—from the town to the campgrounds to the game reserve—are all connected by roads and made accessible for cars. My on-the-ground experience at RMNP illustrated that the logic of the park's design is very clearly designed after modernist city planning. Writing on the American context, but highly applicable to the Canadian parks system, Ethan Carr (1998) refers to the designed element of national parks:

> Designed landscapes guide the experience of many park visitors and enhance their appreciation of the vast wilderness beyond. Roads and trails, for example, lead visitors to certain areas and through a considered sequence of views. Campgrounds, park villages, scenic overlooks, parking areas – all the designed portions of the park – shape the overall pattern of public activities and frame visual encounters with the awesome (and certainly 'undesigned') scenery of the larger park landscape. (Carr 1998, 1)

This passage helps contextualize the planning element of Riding Mountain's design. It was planned with the intention of framing certain natural features and for ushering forth certain public activities. The designed, or mediated, aspects of national park spaces brand them as part

of the larger national system. For Kristina and I, we found discomfort in the way RMNP was shaped after a modern suburb and in the way the national park brand endures; it is legacy and it is future in its unchanging face.

An example of this is the aesthetic brand of Parks Canada that I allude to in my opening scene. I was struck by the log buildings, the frontier-esque high street, and the 'corporate Canada feel' elicited by my built surroundings. Further contributing to the aesthetic spectacle that National Parks (including Riding Mountain) display is the visual identity that sweeps each very diverse national park landscape under the same umbrella. This is the pointed, purposeful rustic architecture style that determines the construction of the towns, cabins, and administrative buildings throughout the national park system. A part of Canada's heritage, "the Rustic style was an appropriate style sympathetic to the wilderness setting of the National Parks remote environment" (Parks Canada n.d.), reminiscent of the log structures of early settlers and first introduced in Banff (ibid). This style was adopted by the National Parks system "to project a distinctive image associated with new parks" (ibid). Adopting a unifying aesthetic contributes toward its placemaking; it signifies and flags certain spaces as designated national wilderness and nature sites. One such heritage building and National Historic Site is none other than the iconic gateway that tourists travel under, myself included, as they pass into the boundary of Riding Mountain. In its infancy, the park staff at Riding Mountain built log cabins in the rustic style for the park's much-lauded resident naturalist Grey Owl (born Archibald Belaney). According to Parks Canada, "the popularity of the Rustic style was due to its apparent informality" (ibid), emphasizing an anti-modernist appreciation for simplicity. Aesthetically, these structures are: "Rooted in the Canadian vernacular, the Rustic style has become firmly established in the Canadian popular imagination. Today, the Rustic style's hand-hewn wood, robust stones, and a faint fairy tale charm help us to identify with the establishment of our vast network of National Parks" (ibid). This quote demonstrates the entanglement between aesthetic values, specifically the romantic and the picturesque, with an associative correlation with the nation state. The rustic style throughout the system works as a "flagging" (Billig 1995, 8) device; the visitor is reminded of the National Park umbrella, shifting their experience of being in space to being in place, specifically a national park place. The Rustic architecture effectively brands the spaces they are in, confident in their own continuity (ibid). I now move from the designed aspects of the national park to the embodied activities that take place on its grounds.

2.5 EMBODYING SETTLER FANTASY: PLAYING INDIAN AND THE ORDINARY AFFECTS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Thinking through my experience camping in Riding Mountain and over the following weeks of my investigative road trip forced me to consider the performative aspects of camping. I was compelled to think through such questions as: what are the symbolic formations at play, what is the legacy here, and whose actions am I replicating? In the previous section, I outlined how nature is staged in the national park as playground, that is, as a built environment meant to facilitate the fantasies and desires of tourists and park-goers. In this section, I build upon this framework to look to the embodied performances of camping that solidify the national park space to illustrate how personal poetics articulate place and are central to placemaking. To premise the aims of this section I put forth the following passage from Mishuana Goeman: "Foundational to normative modes of settler colonialism are repetitive practices of everyday life that give settler place meaning and structure. Yet space is fluid, and it is only in the constant retelling and reformulating of colonial narratives that space becomes place as it is given structure and meaning" (Goeman 2014, 237). Applying this to this project then, it is through the articulations of settler logic—camping, nature as an aesthetic resource, and nature as a playground—that gives Riding Mountain its structure and meaning as a national park. That is, it is what brings Riding Mountain National Park into being. In this passage, Goeman identifies how performances, articulations, utterances, repetitions, and enactments can bring a place into being from intimate, proximal interactions with space. This section is concerned with the proximal, intimate, personal poetics of everyday life as they are performed in the shadow of ideology and in a field where nature is staged as playground in the larger national project. Grounded in the historical relationship between Indigenous and settler bodies in this space, I look to the construction of Indigenous bodies as central to the self-fashioning of the settler subject: the nation requires an Other to fashion itself against, thus the othering of Indigenous peoples. From here I suggest that camping is an appropriative imitation of Indigenous practices that works to adopt these practices, which is tied to a reciprocal relationality with the land, into the national fold.

2.5.1 The Construction of 'Nativeness' in the National Project

Eva Mackey asserts that: “Canada’s Aboriginal peoples were not erased in Canada’s nationalist narratives, but were important supporting actors in a story which reaffirms settler progress” (Mackey 2010, 29). That is, by constructing Indigenous peoples as inherent Others to the protagonist settler subject in the narratives of nation, the colonizers affirm their rightful stake in the future of the nation and as the rightful owners of land by dooming Indigenous peoples to “extinction.” According to Jasen, Indigenous peoples were part of the immutable landscape in the eyes of early settlers. It was commonly believed, and supported by popular Darwinism at the time, that Indigenous peoples were a lesser form of human, even sub-human, and thus destined to become extinct as relics of the past (Jasen 1995). Indigenous bodies have been objectified in the settler and national imagination for centuries. The manifestations of this objectification reveal European anxieties and points of preoccupation throughout European narratives of history. An example of this is the fantasy of the Indigenous man as inherently “wild,” which ultimately reveals a European preoccupation with freedom. As Jasen points out: “If the wild man stood for savagery… he also stood for freedom. As urban life became steadily more complicated, people naturally wondered what might have been lost through the processes of civilization” (Jasen 1995, 15). Examining the fantasies held by Europeans of Indigenous peoples provides insight into how Europeans could imagine themselves inhabiting certain roles. That is, these fantasies provided conceptual narratives that through interpretive and mediating devices, settlers could begin to imagine themselves in certain lights; by appropriating Indigenous actions and knowledge, settlers could self-fashion themselves according to myths attached to Indigenous peoples. For example, the freedom the mythologized “Native” represents, then, can be seized or achieved by stepping into the role of the Native, or “playing Indian” (which would ultimately require or hinge on the disappearance of actual Indigenous peoples). In a similar vein of thinking, Indigenous peoples were imagined as having a heightened relationship to the natural world around them due to their “uncivilized” position and way of life. By “playing Indian,” the settler could assume this heightened relationship to nature and in effect, elevate himself to a position of high moral value, in line with the times. This demonstrates the ways in which settler nostalgia for nature and an unalienated lifestyle became embodied in primitivist fantasies about the native other, fantasies which rested on the premise that Native peoples were a “race” doomed to disappearance. Of course, this system of thinking worked in conjunction with a variety of other interconnected themes that contributed toward Canada’s origin myths. As part of the project of unsettling the

presumably settled, the next layer I attempt to peel back, or dislodge from its whole, is the concept of the northern frontier, which required the aforementioned formation or construction of Indigenous peoples as the "Native Other".

Embedded within the Canadian origin story is the mythology of the northern frontier. Beginning this mythology, of course, are the explorers, fur traders, and gold rushers who made up the list of settler characters that exhibited endurance to harsh frontiers and survival in the wilderness. The success that these (primarily) men had in not only surviving but also navigating mountain passes, mapping newly "discovered" areas, navigating canoes on rivers, finding river channels, learning local plants and game, and making camp, was wholly dependent on the help and guidance they received from Indigenous peoples. The figure of the Native guide is another example of the mythologies attached to Indigenous peoples in the settler imagination and in origin myths of Canada. In this popular narrative, the brave, white explorer is often guided by the expert Native in a way that supports the narrative of a European benevolent patriarch who is then able to assert his rightful inheritance of knowledge and skill. This supporting role reflected the supposed natural dominance of white settlers over the Indigenous others, according to Darwinist thought. The stories of the guide/explorer and later guide/tourist dynamic proliferated in the form of travel narratives that reveal the extent to which Indigenous peoples are used as a narrative support for the protagonist settler. Werry argues: "the literary mechanisms of the accounts and guides produced the environmental experience as a participatory drama of racial encounter mediated by space, which, in its perceived excess, formed the basis for a sensuous and affective aversion to the phenomena of [indigenous] life with which it was identified" (Werry 2008, 403). This is perhaps the first iteration of white settler playing Indian. The skills learned from First Nations peoples were appropriated from Indigenous knowledge to a more generalized set that has come to be known as wilderness knowledge, bush skills, or survival skills. Through appropriation, this set of skills and enactments became co-opted by the settler, eventually falling under the sphere of a white masculine mastery. Central to anti-civilization discourses were "competing images of the Indian… for a belief in their racial inferiority and inevitable extinction flourished alongside efforts to emulate their knowledge of the wilds" (Jasen 1995, 111).

The mythologized guide/explorer relationship endures as roles that can be enacted in the contemporary Riding Mountain tourist experience. The Riding Mountain *2016 Visitor's Guide*

offers the following experience for its guests: “Wander by the waters of Washagama Saageygun (Clear Lake) in search of the Wolf Willow, a plant traditionally used for medicine and to beautify clothing and other personal belongings. Guided by the Anishnabe of Noozaawiinijiw (Riding Mountain)” (Parks Canada 2016, 6). This passage illustrates the nostalgic desire to replicate the guide/explorer relationship that characterized early European fantasies of the new world. The call for tourists to “explore” is employed throughout the Visitor’s Guide, suggesting the ability to perform the exalted role of explorer in your own adventure. In this narrative, the wilderness exists for exploration, summoning again the particular settler fantasy of *terra nullius*, of wide-open space ripe for individual conquest. The maintenance of an appointed wilderness space within the park boundaries precisely for the continual unrolling of this fantasy is also revelatory of deep-seated ambivalence to and complacency with the operations of settler colonialism. By re-articulating this particular nostalgic role of explorer and by creating a terrain to act as the backdrop for settlers to play out this fantasy, we are effectively contributing toward the mythologization and exaltation of a particular moment, one that was wrought with a trauma that still endures(particularly given the enduring contestations over land claims and further settler displacement of Indigenous peoples). The call to explore is seemingly innocuous; it is linguistically bound to an extraordinary experience but is often applied to ordinary articulations of play. The experience of exploring the wilderness of a national park is heavily affective. It articulates ordinary affects of belonging and primitivism that are as relevant now as ever: “Above all, playing Indian… reflected the modern desire to create a sense of belonging, community, and spiritual experience by modeling antimodern images of Aboriginal life” (Wall 2009, 218). This relationship demonstrates how a settler conception of place comes to be through intimate, proximal, and affective relationships between bodies, in this case, overwhelmingly between and amongst settler bodies. The visibility of Indigeneity in the park is museumized, thus the contact between settlers and Indigenous peoples is able to proliferate within the context of imaged contact.

2.5.2 “Playing Indian”: Camping as Appropriation

In the twentieth century, tourism became increasingly connected to the body and bodily health, practice and value. Sharon Wall (2009) suggests that it was at this stage that health and

wellness began to be associated with outdoor retreats and return to nature holidays. Indeed, tourism in the first half of the twentieth century was overwhelmingly concerned with racial health and promoting a healthy urban populous, which was thought to be "softening" or "feminizing" from the modern constraints of civilized society. Therefore, under the modern schematization of nature, tourism was valuable not only for its economic potential but also for its capacity to promote and maintain an idealized settler citizen. Werry points out that "the construal of health as a state of activity, vigor, efficiency and cleanliness—the received attributes of whiteness—meant that its production through leisure practices was subtly mandated as a moral and political prerogative" (Werry 2008, 399). This association between nature and bodily health had deep and lasting implications regarding the value imbued in those bodies aligned with outdoors athleticism. The confluence between bodily health and the health of the nation is best attended to from the perspective of Foucauldian biopower: "This bio-poetical spatial process might be described, after Karen Shimakawa, as one of 'national abjection,' the constitutive movement whereby 'the (racial) abject must continually be made present and jettisoned' to produce the citizen-subject and national body" (Werry 2008, 403), which we can see happening with Native bodies in national park spaces.

Sharon Wall's work on summer camps in Ontario, which she argues emerged from similar anti-modern sentiments that characterized the conservation movement central to national park formation and leisure camping, draws the link between summer camps and the performance of Indigeneity:

> At one level, then, the summer camp experience was understood as a re-creation of the Indian way of life. 'The Native Canadians… were campers,' educator Mary Northway put it in 1946: 'In their small groups they lived a simple, outdoor life, striving against the elements and using natural resources to furnish their existence.' To this way of thinking, Indians were campers and campers were Indians. Nothing, it seemed, could be more 'Indian' than camping. (Wall 2009, 220)

Northway's assertion that Indigenous Canadians strived against the elements and her use of the term 'existence' demonstrate the extent to which popular understanding of Indigeneity was grounded in myth and settler constructions. Indeed, Native Studies scholars would argue against

the claim that humans live at odds with nature (a claim central to modernity that I investigate in the following chapter) and instead form worlds that are all at once reciprocal, intimate, and spiritual. The use of 'existence' relegates the Indigenous experience to a flattened existence, depleted of a fully conceptualized life and therefore open for the settler to apprehend and, according to settler fantasy, complete and perfect. During this time, while Indigenous children were forced into residential schools concerned with eradicating Indigeneity, white children were literally playing Indian. By playing Indian, white settlers assume the knowledge of disappearing Natives as his or her own. Indeed, "the Indians emulated were those of strictly precontact innocence. Any cultural change or adaptation on their part was read simply as decay. 'Real Indians,' so it was understood, were no longer a people who 'lived among us' or who had a place in the modern world. Having rendered contemporary Aboriginal peoples virtually invisible, white campers could now step in to fill the void as their remaining heirs. In doing so, they distinguished themselves – true lovers of nature – from other less enlightened elements of their society" (Wall 2009, 229).

2.5.3 Fragment: Sandbar Lake Provincial Park, Ontario August 18, 2015

The smells of campfire, of a propane stove, the mustiness of my well-traveled tent, the fragrant spruces and pines, the putridness of outhouses in more 'rustic' parks, and the smell of my hands after a day being near dirt and sand instead of soap. The feelings of pine needles stuck in my sandals, of sap on my knees, the dampness that never seems to dry out of my clothes, socks, towels; the feeling of sand in my hair, a sunburnt nose, of one half of my body warmed by the fire while my back half is chilled. I hear the sounds of fire crackling, of loons in the distance, of wind in the treetops, of other campers laughing, of bikes tearing up the gravel roads, and the low hiss of the stove. The feeling of waking up in the morning in what can only be likened to a cold sauna; condensation running down the outside of my tent, my breath visible, while my nose is cold but my body is warm, not wanting, really, to leave that comfortable cocoon. That feeling of waking up on the ground, my neck stiff and my hip sore because my sleeping bag's silky fabric slipped off the equally slippery surface of my sleeping mat in the middle of the night, of knowing that the next step, unloading the food from the bear-safe trunk, setting up our makeshift kitchen, and beginning breakfast before I will have to take it all down again, pack it up, and move on,

will feel laborious because it is not routine. That is until the smell of camp coffee starts to percolate and the egg fry I make every time I camp is ready and I remember how much I love eating across from someone I deeply care for on one of those classic brown picnic tables. Because really, people rarely go into such situations with people they dislike.

2.5.4 Camping as Embodied Nation Making

Riding Mountain National Park specifically was brought into existence through the collective actions of desiring subjects during a moment of intense state-orchestrated tourist proliferation. An example of local and national interests colliding, the settler fantasies that were at play were undergirded by deeply affective, political, and visceral motivations. What does it mean to experience nature, as a camper, in Riding Mountain? What can I draw from the experience of sleeping on the ground (kind of), of building a fire, of cooking and eating outside? How does the above ideological and affective schematizations unfold in Riding Mountain? The infrastructure built to facilitate camping include: the social ritual of the campfire, which is deeply rooted in the mythologization of 'Indianness' as described above; the ability to rent canoes, an Indigenous technology, to explore Clear Lake; the learn-to-fish program offered in the *Visitor's Guide*; and the learn-to-camp program directed to newcomers to Canada (Mouallem 2016). While Wall speaks specifically to summer camps for children, Jasen's (1995) work demonstrates that playing Indian extended to larger trends in tourism. She argues that as Indigenous peoples were being pushed onto reserves, their disappearance from urban settler's consciousness meant that the image of the wild man became "despatialized, or internalized" (19), thus, "the Indian no longer needed to exist 'out there' to provide imaginative satisfaction; it could be enough just to 'play Indian' on one's own – when on holiday for example" (19). Imagining oneself as Indian was, according to Jasen, a deeply personal project, operating "as a projection of repressed desires and anxieties" (20). This is perhaps one of the ways in which practices of camping are affective, further electrified in this national park space with a history of Indigenous trauma, where nature is staged as playground to realize settler fantasies.

The camping fragment above demonstrates the poetics of daily life that are made while camping. "These 'ways of operating' constitute the innumerable practices by means of which

users reapproporiate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production" (De Certeau 1984, xiv). Campsites are turned into makeshift home spaces, designed and occupied according to individual desire and comfort: picnic tables are moved; lawn chairs are assembled; turf drop cloths are placed on top of the ground to demarcate a patio space; awnings are drawn from trailer roofs; clotheslines are stretched between tree limbs; there is neatness and order alongside erratic assemblages of cooking supplies transforming a place into one's own. De Certeau posits "utilizations of everyday rituals" (De Certeau 1984, xv) as a way of making. Perhaps camping becomes then, settler performances of place or settler enactments of place. Similarly:

> While the discourses and institutional apparatus of tourism were a crucial aspect of this ensemble, its essence was in its enaction: tourism conduct was a repertoire of performance, an embodied and 'non-archival system of transfer,' that bodied forth an environmental disposition through 'restored behaviors' of strolling, gazing, bathing, inspecting, describing, and so on. But it was also performative in the Austinian sense that it produced the environmental effects, the racial and political reason, the Nature it named. (Werry 2008, 405)

According to Werry, then, it is through the poetics of daily life that bring the concept of nature into being. The *Visitor's Guide* demonstrates how the space is intended to bring into being an individual communion with nature. Importantly, the practice of camping is now considered something authentically Canadian.

2.6 FINAL THOUGHTS ON NATURE AS PLAYGROUND

What is apparent from the affective dissonance experienced in Riding Mountain is that the park failed, at least for us, to provide a space for communion with nature, to encourage ordinary affects of belonging, or to elicit motivations for play and recreation. Our experience in this site defied the synoptic view, demonstrating the multiplicity of experience and resulting heterogeneous individual and collective modes of place-making. It becomes clear that the ideological categories of nature and wilderness put forth in the park boundary are unstable and rely on a specific discursive matrix that may or may not align with the park's visitors own archive of experiences that shapes their understanding of place-making. This is to say that while

the park's *raison d'être* has shifted along with popular cultural changes, what is central and enduring, however, in the ongoing transformations of space and place, is the centrality of nature; what shifts is how it is staged.

The popularity, and arguably relevance, of national-parks-as-wilderness destinations has waned in recent years, confronting Parks Canada with the challenge of re-invigorating Canadian's interest in parks (Campbell 2017). As Claire Campbell (2017) reminds us, national parks have never been spheres of pure nature, but they do tell us about who we are as a nation. Riding Mountain's design and infrastructure remains as artifacts of a particular legacy, a particular story of human and nature relations that perhaps no longer resonates with Canadians on a large-scale. While Riding Mountain's design was fundamentally concerned with preserving a certain aesthetic quality in the space, it would be worth investigating whether contemporary wilderness tourist trends are less concerned with inhabiting an aesthetic space than it is with carving out particular, unique, experience that is viewed as true expressions of the self? Another possible mode of entry is an investigation into the class politics at play in national parks. I now move to my next case study, which picks up the ideologies inherent to modernity to examine another staging of nature in the national project: nature as power.

CHAPTER 3

NATURE AS POWER: THE COLUMBIA RIVER PROJECT AND THE RHETORIC OF MODERNITY

"Mechanization was the mark of the modern; nature was a primordial past" (White 1995, 33).

"By simplifying space and time, the high modernist state made the enormous changes it proposed seem both possible and necessary" (Loo 2016, 42).

"Transitions. The big epochal ones you look back on are not so hard, at least not when you're looking back, their outlines etched as history on a landscape and a collectivity. Then you're not alone. You're part of the great generation or something. You're in it with others, going through something, a long line of somethings. When my mother looks back, she's just amazed at all the changes in her town, as if the ground itself had shifted again and again and before you knew it, everything was unrecognizable, the force of things snapping into place as sheer transformation" (Stewart 2010, 12).

…

3.1 FRAGMENT OF AN INVESTIGATIVE ROAD TRIP: REVELSTOKE

Revelstoke is a small mountain city that emerged alongside the Canadian Pacific Rail western extension in the late nineteenth century. CPR named the town after Lord Revelstoke, a British financier (Nobbs n.d.). It spent much of the twentieth century as a blue-collar CPR town economically dependent on the railway, logging, and mining, and has since evolved into its current identity as a bustling ski and outdoor recreation destination, with tourists coming from all over the world and a solid community of expatriated Australian and British adventure seekers thanks to the well-timed construction of a multi-million dollar ski resort and a restoration overhaul of the town itself (Leighton 1991). It sits spectacularly on the Columbia River, surrounded by mountains and rain forest. A new friend, Ryan, a local who had recently been laid off from his work in Alberta's tar sands took it upon himself to provide me with personal tours of the town and surrounding area. On one of these occasions, we drove a few kilometers out of town to see the dam at Revelstoke. I had visited Revelstoke several times, camping when I was younger and then skiing as an adult, yet had no idea of the dam's presence and significance in the area. To me, the lake and the river were just other taken for granted pieces of the landscape. Ryan pulled off the highway and parked beside a tall chain-link fence. We got out of his pickup truck and climbed to the top of a snow pile. From our raised vantage point, I could see the top of the huge concrete dam, the reservoir Lake Revelstoke on its right, and the Columbia River and

town below to its left. While we stood there, Ryan explained that the damming of the Columbia River in the 1970s flooded thousands of hectares of valley, dramatically altering the landscape. He told me that the lake was incredibly deep, that entire towns had been flooded for the BC Hydro dam, including the original TransCanada highway route, and that several communities had been forced to relocate. Ryan told me he has relatives who were dispossessed by the flooding and forced to move to higher ground. He then pointed right, upstream towards the distant horizon of Lake Revelstoke, and explained that the larger dam, the Mica Dam, was a few hours north, in the middle of nowhere, at the Big Bend that connected the towns of Donald and Golden. He pointed left, downstream, toward the town and explained that the area that stretches the length of the valley down to the Arrow Lakes as the banks of the Columbia River, referred to colloquially as the Flats, used to be farmland. During the winter, the water level of the river is low, exposing a rocky beach that leads to a muddy section, which is framed by an expansive section of grass and makeshift dirt roads. The Flats have become a place for local recreation: fishing, dirt biking, and dog-walking are amongst the activities enjoyed in the vast space. Ryan said that in the late summer, July and August, the Flats become almost completely flooded. He also said that it is still possible to visit the more upper lying sections of now ghost towns and recounted an incident that occurred on one of his hiking trips when he saw a family of bears scavenging in an old cemetery and described it as an eerie sight, given the history of the area.

Ryan's story and tour of the dam, while detailed, contained information, names of places, and taken-for-granted local knowledge that I found difficult to make sense of spatially: until that point, I had never heard of the Mica Dam, the Big Bend—which I later learned referred to "the horseshoe-shaped course of the Columbia River" (Bradley 2011, 81)—or even Donald. Looking at a map after this excursion to contextualize the spatial order of Revelstoke and the dam in relation to the larger region, I noticed that a massive reservoir stretched for several hundred kilometers in two directions on the other side of the Mica Dam: following the Big Bend southeast almost reaching Golden, and northwest all the way up to Valemount, named Kinbasket Lake. It started to become clear that the unsettling experience that Kristina and I felt during our experience on the shore of the lake by Valemount was due to the fact that it was in not a natural lake but an enormous reservoir. All of a sudden, the cold and unwelcoming water I perceived that day began to make sense.

3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

My informal tour of the Revelstoke Dam spurred a heightened interest in the city's environmental history, in particular the lasting effects of the Mica Dam and the Revelstoke Dam that I had noticed that day by the lake in Valemount and that Ryan had connected to a larger industrial presence. My curiosity brought me to the Revelstoke Archives where I began to piece together the remarkable history of the Columbia Project, the damming project that ushered in the mid-century development of British Columbia's interior. From the archived documents, I could surmise that the project brought together local, national, and international interests, and dramatically altered both the environmental and social landscape of the region. The archives contained print tourism campaigns and BC Hydro promotional materials that immediately caught my attention due to their hyperbolic promises and overt use of discourses characteristic of the post-War period. The documents staged nature as resource for power and for playground in language characteristic of the "high modernist" (Loo 2011; 2016) era that emphasized science, technology and power over nature. The materials fervently promised the public a modern, sleek, technological and idyllic future premised on engineering human's mastery over nature, while simultaneously maintaining the concept of an idealized wilderness for recreation. This material was instrumental in shaping the direction of this project and provided the primary material data for this chapter. My initial reaction to the material was a sense that its dated composition was outlandish in the way it projected the promises of the dam. Further, what struck me was that I was in fact living in the temporal moment that was projected in these documents produced half a century before. Loo provides a quote from W.A.C. Bennett, the BC Premier whose visionary changes to the social and environmental landscape of British Columbia fundamentally shaped the ways in which we interact with the world in the contemporary moment. This quote demonstrates the overt projections that motivated the damming of the Columbia Basin, which is my site of investigation in this chapter: "I see dams. And I see power. And I see development. I see roads, highways, bridges, and growing communities. I see cities – prosperous cities with schools, hospitals and universities. I see beautiful homes with housewives baking bread" (Loo 2016, 40). Upon this realization, I began to wonder if the lived realities of the dam's promises held up or came to fruition.

In this chapter, I describe how the flattening of the region from a distanced synoptic viewpoint allowed BC Hydro and the British Columbian government of W.A.C. Bennett to manipulate a vast landscape with the intention of reorganizing the very way of life of its settler residents. Tina Loo has accomplished extensive academic work on the damming of the Columbia River and I draw on several of her conclusions and findings in this chapter. Loo takes up James C. Scott's (1998) concept of high modernism to refer to the ideological underpinnings of the Columbia Project. High modernism "was characterized by a belief in the power of state-sponsored megaprojects – big projects informed by scientific expertise and rational planning – to deliver social benefit on a broad scale" (Loo and Stanley 2011, 402). Loo argues that high modernist development required a synoptic point of view, which in the context of the Columbia Project, "allowed rivers to be visualized schematically, in terms of their power potential, and without reference to the biophysical and social contexts in which they were built" (ibid). This assertion is of central importance to the overall aims of this thesis to challenge the synoptic view from an on-the-ground, proximal, and experiential engagement with place.

The promise of development and modernization rested on human mastery over nature: in this case the Columbia River, in its unmatched power, was positioned as the resource that would shuttle the area into an imagined future. In this chapter, I begin with the Indigenous history of the region and how the events set the stage for a developed, modern interior BC, which I follow with a brief introduction to the Columbia Treaty and its dams. I then extract the opposing viewpoints and voices that I could identify in archived materials that offer a proximal point of view. I searched for materials that could give an alternative, proximal viewpoints to the overwhelming BC Hydro material, viewpoints that would perhaps contest or resist the impositions to the land proposed by BC Hydro. Next, I analyze how BC Hydro proposed to turn picture into place by examining the images they used and the promises they made. Next, I provide a reading of a certain stream of BC Hydro promotional materials, the Columbia Newsletters, to identify the role of affect within the colossal changes that were occurring to the social and ecological fabric of the region. Finally, I incorporate my own experiential movement through the region, gaining insight into the area as tourist-as-method and attempting to evaluate the affective atmosphere and endurance in contemporary Revelstoke. I ask, did the promises made by BC Hydro and the BC government hold up or manifest? How did I experience moving through this heavily industrialized area? What is it like being a tourist in this space?

3.3 TOURIST-AS-METHOD: NOTES ON METHODOLOGY

This chapter combines data collected from my time in Revelstoke in the forms of oral histories, discursive readings of archived print materials uncovered in the Revelstoke Archives, as well as heuristic knowledge gleaned from an experiential 'moving through' of the environment. I arrange these 'cherry-picked' methodologies under my proposed tourist-as-method to account for the rich encounters with people and place that transitioned this vast space into my field of analysis. As a tourist in this space, I collected sources that were available for tourists; that is, I read the place as a tourist. Furthermore, to take on this research as a tourist in these spaces took on additional meaning given the region's slant toward tourism. The documents I examine from the archives suggest that the region was developed with tourism in mind, to create a hinterland that would serve the resource and wilderness escape needs of the urban elite. Incorporating these methods under the approach of tourist-as-method also accounts for my concomitant shuttling between proximity and distance, enabling this project to account for both ideological formations of place and the affective, personal, collective modes of placemaking that occur on the ground. I do not privilege one source over the other but instead examine how they work together and in competition with one another. I allow different sources of authority to speak with each other. I facilitate a conversation between BC Hydro documents, tourist brochures created by stakeholders like BCAA, newspaper articles, and scholarly texts. Oral histories help to contextualize the discourse analysis of industry material by offering lived experience as background and an additional crucial human quality. What emerged from several sources of authority are deeply political contestations over land, influenced by tensions rooted in competing conceptions of nature, home, and place. I highlight how nature is positioned and staged ideologically to open a discussion for how a sense of place comes into being. This chapter extends the condensed episodic interactions I have examined to this point into a larger spatial and historical analysis of this particular environmental history of Revelstoke and its surrounds. It is concerned with a spatial analysis that incorporates the proximal with the synoptic. That is, I am interested in how placemaking occurs both on the ground and from a distanced, discursive point of view. Often under resource extraction regimes, on-the-ground placemaking is buried under the force of industry needs, or more likely, how are we complicit with these regimes, re-structuring our daily actions effectively making place through highly complicit, yet ordinary, means.

3.4 THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ARROW LAKES BAND

From the beginning of European contact, the Kootenay region was used as a resource hinterland, first during the fur trade, then bringing settlers via the newly completed CPR railway for a sudden and intense silver boom. Next came explicit land grabs for settlers, and then the intense preoccupation with water, specifically the Columbia River and the seemingly infinite power it contained for human consumption and usage. To the average tourist, the First Nations history and presence in the area is almost invisible—one must actively seek out these stories while conversely, the dominant historical narrative is prominently told on (for example) tourist signs that dot the landscape and line the walls of the municipal library. Overwhelmingly, these dominant historical narratives boisterously privilege the railway, the recreational, and hydroelectric versions of history and subsume Indigenous historical accounts. Despite spending weeks sifting through the Revelstoke Archives, I could not find a single document within the Columbia Treaty folders that outlined attempts at including First Nations in project negotiations. The only document I found in the Revelstoke Archives was a typed document written by Ruby Nobbs for the Revelstoke and District Historical Association where she asserts: "the heavy precipitation and resultant dense undergrowth made this area unpopular with the native Indians" (Nobbs n.d., 1), demonstrating profound settler ambivalence to the area's first inhabitants. The presence and history of First Nations peoples in the Columbia Valley was alluded to only in conversation with a local woman I became friendly with, Carol, who told me that the flooding of the valleys for the reservoir lakes flooded sacred Indigenous burial sites. Upon further research, it became clear why there was so little information on the Indigenous presence in the region and why the only information I heard solidified Indigenous people in the past: the Sinixt people were deemed "extinct" by the federal government in 1956 (Pryce 1999, 68; Pearkes 2002, 21; Sinixt Nation n.d.).

This grave mistake of declaring and classifying an Indigenous group as extinct was enabled by a synoptic point of view that continues to invisibilize the Sinixt and their experience. The Sinixt people, who also recognize themselves by the English names Arrow Lakes and Lakes[6], are an Interior Salish-speaking peoples whose traditional unceded territory extended "along the Columbia River valley, the Arrow Lakes, the Slocan Valley, Trout Lake, and to

[6] I use these names interchangeably, in alignment with the Sinixt people's usage.

varying degrees, the Kootenay Lake area" (Pryce 1999, 33). The Columbia River had a central role in sustaining and aiding the way of life of the Lakes people. Indeed, Pearkes asserts that the Sinixt "were water-borne people. They lived at all times close to lakes or rivers. They travelled primarily by watercourse, moving from salmon fishing spots to the entrance to hunting grounds always in their canoes, navigating the narrow mountain valleys by following the valley's rivers" (Pearkes 2002, 46). They knew "which paths through the river were the most efficient and least demanding of human energy" (White 1995, 8), and knew where to portage. It is apparent that the arrival and encroachment of Europeans to the Lakes territory had lasting detrimental effects on the ability for the Sinixt to flourish autonomously.

The Sinixt survived multiple attacks to their very existence, even though these attacks extinguished the potential for the nation and culture to thrive. Each attack, which varied between overt and covert attempts at eradicating the Nation, depleted the population and territory of the Lakes' people. One such overt attack was a deliberate smallpox epidemic, "a time described as the Great Dying" (Sinixt Nation n.d.) that depleted the Sinixt population by almost eighty percent (Pryce 1999, 41). More covertly, the imposition of the 49th parallel and creation of an international border severely restricted the Sinixt's free movement between their winter villages and summer fishing camps. Because the way of life of the Sinixt did not fit with European conceptions of borders, nation, land, and territory, their crossing back and forth between the US and British North America meant that they were viewed neither as wards of the British nor the American state. This ambiguity allowed for racist sentiments amongst settler populations on both sides of the border to show: neither wanted to 'claim' responsibility for the Sinixt, which contributed to the misrecognition and invisibilization of the Lakes people. The Sinixt attempted on several occasions over several years to have their village kp'ítl'els, at the confluence of the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers, recognized as a reserve. Bureaucratic mismanagement on the side of Indian Affairs agents and officials instead instated a reserve further north, called Oatscott Reserve, where the land was unattractive and thus the only parcel still left for sale in the rapidly settled area. The Lakes people never permanently settled this reserve because, "it was not… home" (63). Without access to their homeland and territory, the Sinixt faced the difficult decision whether to leave their territory and join a growing diaspora on the Colville Reservation in Washington or other First Nations reserves in BC, or to stay and weather the problems of settlement (Pryce 1999, 59). Many chose to join the Okanagan Nation while others chose to go to

Washington where the synoptic states mistakenly categorized them as part of the Nations they joined: "these people self-identify as Sinixt, although the governments appear to have no knowledge of this" (ibid). By 1937 only one resident remained at Oakscott Reserve. When she passed away in 1953, the reserve was transferred to the control of the province and in 1956 the Department of Indian Affairs "pronounced the Arrow Lakes Band officially extinct" (68) despite the "US Bureau of Indian Affairs counting 257 Lakes Indians on the Colville Reservation alone" (ibid).

The descendants of the Arrow Lakes currently live in diaspora in Washington and in the Okanagan region of BC and steadfastly insist on their existence as proof of resilience and survivorship of the Sinixt. The Sinixt people contend:

> A visitor to the Columbia Basin will be unlikely to see any indication that there was ever a native culture that thrived for so long in this region. Most of the Sinixt traditional villages and burial grounds were flooded with the damming of the Arrow Lakes. We know of only one monument to the Sinixt. In the town of Edgewood, there is a totem pole that was erected in the late 1960's. It was commissioned by B.C. Hydro as a commemorative to an extinct race. Totem poles were made by Haida natives and never the Sinixt. But beyond this fact is the reality that the Sinixt are not extinct. (Sinixt Nation n.d.)

The synoptic point of view willingly failed to recognize the lived reality imposed on the Sinixt and instead applied a measure that fit within the Eurocentric way of seeing land, people, and especially Indigenous people. The distance inherent to a synoptic view rendered them invisible. While the timing of this declaration of extinction is suspicious in relation to the timing of the dam, I was unable to find any evidence that would correlate this declaration as a deliberate attempt to make way for the Treaty dams. Rather, a 1965 BC Hydro document titled *The New Outlook for the Arrow Lakes* and quoted in J.W. Wilson's text purports: "'It was known that there had been some activity in the Arrow Lakes by Indian tribes… Studies were undertaken by archaeologists from the University of British Columbia which found and examined some Indian camp remains at the south end of the lakes. It was concluded that the lakes had never been settled but had only been traversed by Indian tribes in transit between the Okanagan and Kootenay Lakes. No further action by Hydro was deemed necessary'" (Wilson 1973, 69-70). The language

here, such as the use of archaeologists and the discovery of “camp remains,” articulates the idea of Native bodies as firmly entrenched in the past. It turns Indigeneity into an anthropological subject, rather than a living and flourishing culture. Furthermore, the emphasis that the land had not been “settled” only “traversed” speaks to the European conception of land occupation where settled is equated with ownership and land is attached an economic value. It implies a permanency that views seasonal migration patterns as primordial and obsolete, rather than as a different but equally valuable way of life. More than this, the very nation-building that was occurring at the time was constructing a society where migration could not exist alongside the new and very permanent communities that BC Hydro were planning. Even though it was deemed unnecessary to take further action, more likely the state and BC Hydro would not have had to have even taken such lengths to clear the way for resource exploitation, symbolic or otherwise, given the shoddy track record of the Canadian and provincial government’s actions to secure and hold up Indigenous rights to land. Rhetorically at least, the declaration of extinction and subsequent commemorative marking of the so-called extinct race made by BC Hydro functioned to close the chapter on an imagined primordial era and begin the transformation toward a modern, settler era. The “extinction” of the Arrow Lakes people fits neatly into the imagined progress narrative that projected the replacement of all things ancient with all things new.

The resilience of the Sinixt people, however, has endured despite these attempts from hegemonic institutions to solidify these Indigenous peoples in the past. As a resident of the Kootenays, Pryce contends that the settler residents are largely unaware of the Sinixt history and presence. Indeed, amongst the locals I spoke with, no one could provide me with any knowledge or history of the Indigenous history and Indigenous visibility in Revelstoke was very low. Pryce suggests that since the 1990s, local awareness may have increased since Sinixt descendants occupied a highway construction site in Vallican in the Slocan Valley to protect their buried ancestors. The construction was halted when several village sites were uncovered. The Nation’s website informs visitors that despite setbacks, “the Sinixt have managed to repatriate and rebury 58 complete and fractured skeletal remains of their ancestors at the Vallican Site” (Sinixt Nation n.d.). It continues to assert that: “the Sinixt presence in Vallican is now the longest peaceful

occupation of Crown Land in Canadian History" (ibid). The Sinixt appear to be quite active in their continued resistance and are still fighting for recognition (Sinixt Nation 2016)[7].

3.5 THE COLUMBIA TREATY

The Columbia River Basin Treaty was ratified on September 16, 1964, opening the way for BC Hydro to commence construction on the three mega dam projects outlined in the treaty: Arrow Dam (also known as the Hugh Keenleyside Dam), Mica Dam, and Duncan Dam. The treaty itself was a strategic political move organized between Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, President Lyndon Johnson, and British Columbia Premier Bill (W.A.C.) Bennett, orchestrated to sell water resources to the United States (the Canadian hydroelectric benefits came later). Indeed, two of the three Treaty dams, the Arrow Dam and the Duncan Dam still exist solely as water storage facilities; neither of them generates power. The Treaty ensured that the U.S. would have access to 15.5 million acre-feet of storage water, which Canada was required to provide through the construction of the three dams and in exchange for an upfront payment of $64,000,000 for sixty years (Government of British Columbia n.d.). The Canadian Entitlement, as stipulated in the Treaty, ensured Canada's access to "one-half of the estimated additional hydroelectric generation capability at power plants on the Columbia River in the U.S. that resulted directly from the operation of Columbia Treaty dams in Canada" (Government of British Columbia n.d.). British Columbia, however, sold the first thirty years of this Entitlement to various American utility companies, leveraging the acquired funds to pay for the construction of the Treaty dams. The Duncan Dam was completed in 1967, Keenleyside Dam in 1968, and Mica Dam in 1973. Though not a Treaty dam, the Revelstoke Dam was completed in 1983 because the Mica Dam, which sits just upriver from Revelstoke, made it economically feasible to construct another hydroelectric project.

There are competing claims regarding the events that initially contributed toward the treaty. According to the archived BC Hydro material, the damming provided a method to control and manage the seasonal flooding that they deemed hazardous. One brochure proffers dams as a prescription for unpredictable natural disasters: the Treaty dams "regulate the flow of the rivers

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[7] See http://sinixtnation.org for current activities.

to prevent the annual threat of devastating flood damage in British Columbia, Washington, Idaho and Oregon… In the great flood of 1948, the erratic Columbia killed 41 persons, left 38,000 homeless and destroyed a community of 18,000… The [Mica] dam plugs the escape route for runoff water that formerly ran wild each year down the Columbia River from mountain snowfields…" (Information Services, B.C. Hydro n.d.). BC Hydro, as I will demonstrate throughout this chapter, epitomizes high modernist discourses during this particular historical moment, staging the damming project as *man's* mastery over an unruly nature through innovation and engineering. News media sources, depending presumably where the source falls on the political spectrum, either point toward the damming project as a feat for the area, sure to bring about modernization, riches, and the good life, or as a solely political move that would surely result in detrimental social and environmental effects to the area. Gleaned from archived materials, I surmise that depending on where on the political spectrum one falls, the project could be read as a fiscally intelligent way of leveraging the U.S.'s resource needs in order to benefit B.C. and Canada whilst creating a stable energy and industrial future, or, as a right-wing maneuver that drastically altered the interior's landscape, a gross manhandling of nature in its primordial state.

There was certainly local contestation to the Columbia River Treaty and the changes it would implement. A BC Hydro publication describes the effects on the settler residents of the Arrow Lakes as follows:

> Three new lakes will be created, several small communities will disappear under the rising waters behind the Arrow Dam and some new communities will be established. Greatest direct impact on the lives of people in the Columbia project areas will be felt from the Arrow development. Reservoirs behind Mica and Duncan dams will extend into wilderness areas where only a few property owners will be affected. In contrast, there are about 2,000 people living along the Arrow Lakes who will be obliged to move. While the lives of these people will be disrupted, the general impact of the Arrow project will bring a unique opportunity for redevelopment of the area it affects. Several of the existing communities upstream from Arrow Dam will be affected. Some of the residents will move to other communities, enlarging them so that they can become more prosperous an

> able to support increased services. New communities will be established which have been planned to meet modern conditions… (BC Hydro, Rebuilding a Region, n.d. 12)[8]

This passage reflects BC Hydro's use of modernity, development, and even domestication as the primary justification for the vast changes to the environment and resident's lives. I now turn to the contestations I was able to uncover in my experiential research using tourist-as-method, both visiting the archives and by speaking with locals that show the resistance and negative affects of suspicion, distrust and bitterness that existed amongst the settler residents of the Columbia Valley.

3.6 IN THE FACE OF CHANGE IN THE COLUMBIA VALLEY

3.6.1 Fragment: February 2016, Revelstoke, journal entry

Carol, a local woman in Revelstoke I became friendly with, grew up in Castlegar and remembers the "build-up surrounding the Columbia Treaty and the High Arrow (also known as Keenleyside) Dam." She spoke pointedly of the people and communities that had been forced off the land where they had lived for decades. She said that BC Hydro, in the majority of cases, undercut the price of the homes they bought from residents forced into resettlement, leading to lasting bad feelings. In particular, she mentioned the Ukrainian community whose dispossession led to their breakdown as an ethnic and cultural group in the area; she said that their identity and way of life was lost along with their land. Carol mentioned that many of the rural people from the Valley ended up moving to more urbanized centers like Revelstoke and Castlegar rather than deal with resettlement, effectively losing much of their autonomy and sense of self. She spoke of the contentions that arose regarding the resettlement of cemeteries and seemed to have been affected by the sometimes less-than respectful way BC Hydro went about dealing with the dead. She described the Columbia Treaty as "the time the government sold the river down the river."

[8] I am unable to find the exact source for this quote. In my archival research I was taking photos of documents and this quote is found on a BC Hydro document of unknown title or year published.

3.6.2 “It was Lovely”: Pastoral Fantasies of Nature in the Columbia Valley

In this section I look to testimony found in the Revelstoke Archives (Daem 1961; Fortheringham 1973) as well as scholarly texts (Wilson 1973; Loo 2004) to draw out and illustrate how the area existed before the flooding of the valley for the Columbia Treaty. What stood out from these sources are collective affects that stand in stark contrast to the flattening effects of the synoptic lens that BC Hydro and the province viewed the area through. Where BC Hydro saw a region entrenched in an unsavory and unappealing primordial past, the residents who lived there saw a bucolic landscape that not only met their needs but also fulfilled their personal fantasies, which were attached to settler imaginations of place that I developed in the previous chapter. Indeed, as Loo argues, “It is the synoptic view, the view from nowhere and everywhere, that inflicts damage on the very people who are supposed to be helped by development. The problem with the synoptic is that it is not a scale at which human lives are lived, yet it is how the state and its agents – the planners – perceive future lives and the future itself” (Loo 2016, 52). The actual experience of resettlement was much more emotionally charged and complicated than the simplicity Hydro attached to it and many residents were unwilling and resentful toward Hydro for enforcing a way of life that they ultimately did not ask for. As Wilson points out: “Most of all, it was a region which was permeated by social ways and standards which were not those of the urban majority of Vancouver or Victoria, where decisions were made” (1973, 14). The synoptic view enabled plans to resettle the residents, whose homes and communities would be flooded by the construction of the dams, like game pieces on a board that could easily be moved by the swift hand of BC Hydro. This distanced point of view did not consider how the residents perceived their homes or how they built a sense of place; rather, BC Hydro approached it with the cool pragmatism that seems to permeate technological futurism and allowed for Hydro to spatially plan towns and cities with the expectation that community would flourish similarly to how it had organically prior to Hydro’s involvement.

The settler residents of the Arrow Lakes settled there around the turn of the century and organized themselves spatially in relation to the lake, resulting in a smattering of landholdings and unorganized borders and built communities around the presence of the lakes. Wilson (1973) offers a more detailed illustration of this assertion: “[People] realized that a large part of their environment would be altered. And this environment was widely used and appreciated, for the

lakes were intensively used in the local forest operations and to some extent by the residents for fishing. But beyond that the people and their communities had always looked to the water for transportation and were thoroughly lake-oriented. Thus, any great changes in the condition of the lakes would be keenly felt by many people" (12). Similarly, Loo (2004) confirms that prior to the Columbia Treaty taking effect, the residents: "remained attached to the land and 'deeply tied to the lake, in practical as well as aesthetic ways'" (Loo 2004, 173). These passages suggest that residents built their sense of place, of home, and way of life in relation to the lake. They point to the organic characteristic of placemaking that emerges when people organize themselves spatially. These assertions suggest that the settler residents' sense of place was much more holistically connected to relationships between human and nature in ways that were less mechanized, more relational, and perhaps provided feelings of increased authenticity. The issue here is not that these hegemonic entities came in and began exploiting a river that had never been touched before, people have always used nature to facilitate and fashion their survival and way of life from the Sinixt to the European settlers that came to the region at the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, forestry and logging existed in the area prior to the Columbia Project, mining was a large extractive project that had previously altered the social sphere of the Columbia Valley, and the Lakes as they were played host to steamers that travelled their lengths carrying passengers. What the synoptic point of view did, however, was combine capitalism, industrialization, and mechanization to exploit a resource at a scale that had never been seen before in the region. Where previously people had organized themselves according the way the river or the lakes existed as they were, the synoptic point of view shifted the very paradigm of imagining nature: it imagined altering the very environment to bend to the will of humanity. From the synoptic point of view suddenly massive rivers were pliable, valleys could be flooded, and mountains could, metaphorically, be moved. "A basic spatial division between the mechanical and the natural… Mechanization was the mark of the modern; nature was a primordial past" (White 1995, 33).

Wilson's (1973) rendition of the Columbia Valley prior to the construction of the dams paints the region as having an un-marred pastoral quality. Wilson's prose assumes a certain authenticity about the region and the relationship between humans and nature:

> To them the valley was a kind place; though not developed in terms of commercial efficiency, the land still met many of their needs, many of their homes were free of mortgages, and neighbours were usually kind and helpful in matter-of-fact rural fashion. For some at least the valley was more than a kind place: it was a chosen place. And to anyone who knew the lakes at all and who did not view them through urban-tinted glasses, that was understandable. For it was not only, in rugged Canadian terms, a lovely place, as no one seeing its velvet-shadowed summer evenings could possibly forget. It was also a place of casual ways and little pretence [sic], where individuality could find expression largely untrammelled. (10-11)

Of course, the very idea of authenticity or an authentic relationship to nature is informed by romanticized notions of nature that imply the possibility for a transcendental and spiritual communion with nature. The language of authenticity is attached to this experience without exploring the pragmatism that also surely accompanied the settlers' spatial organization. While certainly aesthetic interpretations of nature existed, perhaps a sense of place could also have been formed through everyday, banal, ordinary interactions with space while the idyllic and peaceful description only appeared or manifested because of the threat of a mechanized modernity?

Interestingly, Wilson came to these conclusions because of his experiential movement through the valley and interaction with locals, much like that experience of a tourist. According to a cut out of an op-ed written by Alan Fortheringham in 1973 that I found tucked inside a folder at the Revelstoke Archives, Wilson was a resettlement planner with BC Hydro who wrote his 1973 text ten years afterward having apparently been moved by the plight of the resettled residents (Fortheringham 1973). Fortheringham himself visited the region during the build-up of the Columbia Treaty as a journalist, which he narrated in language reminiscent of the literary explorer or traveler (tourist), and came to a similar conclusion based on his experience:

> During that same time [as Wilson was traveling the Columbia Valley] a decade ago, an understanding boss shipped this reporter on a roaming vigil along those lakeside patches, hopping ferries and goat trails to Renata and Syringa Creek and Edgewood and Needles and Fauquier. There are some areas there quite as stunning as anything I've seen in Switzerland or Austria and Wilson meticulously

> details the jealous, resentful problems entailed in shunting these proud loners from the land they had settled and tamed. (Fortheringham 1973)

It should be noted that I found a few articles written by Fortheringham and Loo (2004) also cites an article written by him (189), which lead me to conclude he was empathetic to the cause of the residents. Though, according to Fortheringham, the primary insult or crime committed against the residents was the ripping away of the land from the people who had rightfully claimed, worked and settled the land.

It must be pointed out that this settler encroachment on the Arrow Lakes area was part of the fierce competition for land in the region amongst new settlers drawn to the area for the mining boom that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century that contributed significantly to the dispossession of the Sinixt people. Unsurprisingly, the settler testimonies I refer to here view themselves as the regions first inhabitants. Fortheringham (1973) emphasizes that these settlers had lived on this land for thirty-one years without entertaining who may have lived there before. Wilson (1973) affirms that these residents had crafted their unique and personal ways of life during the decades since their settlement. This language assumes that once a land is settled by people of European descent, it is firmly “settled” thus no longer empty or free for the taking. The language of settlement used by Fortheringham and Wilson is revelatory: settlement implies ownership. That the area was previously unsettled implies the idea of *terra nullius* where the environment was perceived as open, uninhabited, thus free to be taken and settled. Linguistically, ‘settled’ implies a static, finalized form. The irony that these settlers were then resettled is not lost, the difference is the ways in which the colonizing state treats Indigenous populations versus settler populations. On one hand, settlers are satiated by BC Hydro buying out their homes and land, and building new towns. On the other hand, the government refused to recognize the rights of the Sinixt to their land and instead set up a situation that enabled settlers to freely establish themselves as the rightfully settled resident population in the area.

Another common sentiment that saturated the region was the perceived loss of independence and autonomy that the residents felt and valued. The influx of high modernism and high capitalism was beginning to alter the everyday way of life of the residents. Wilson outlines the rhythms of life that were changing under modernity:

> Far fewer men in the region were entirely responsible for their own decisions. Where once they managed and worked their own lands, bought their own equipment, hired their own help, marketed their own logs, they now worked for a pay cheque on lands for which they were not responsible, to a schedule produced in Vancouver, by a day which stopped at 4 p.m. regardless of the state of the job. As for the young, it was already decreed that very few would know the whole life or, in community terms the organic life their fathers knew. (1973, 13)

This passage is symptomatic of one of the themes that I noticed emerging from the first-person testimonials (Daem 1961; Fortheringham 1973; Wilson 1973): the threat to independence and autonomy that the shift toward modernity presented. The shift from the frontier consciousness[9] that characterized the settlement of the area was imbued with feelings of autonomy, independence, and strength that came from working with and against nature, was suddenly challenged by the push toward centralized grid-living where traditional understandings of masculinity were threatened by imposing a dependence on the state and its resources. The way gender plays out in this is also fascinating, since modernity and civilization was thought to have feminizing effects, as I established in the previous chapter. Gendered assumptions position the pre-dam valley-dwelling man as admirable for his rugged qualities while simultaneously viewed as backward. Indeed, Wilson expends much energy explaining the character of the valley man:

> The Arrow Lakes are a man's world… Nature is still their antagonist, and while they now have the diesel caterpillar as an ally… they are still the handy, practical people they always were… Theirs is a life still governed by the elements, by snow and ice, by rain and water, sometimes by fire and wind… It is also a life with certain insistent demands which have no parallel in the city... (Wilson 1973, 11)

After this detailed portraiture of the Arrow Lakes man, Wilson swivels with the following description of the residents: "they were irregular, unkempt, and gap-toothed from the attrition of time" (13). I read this contrast as exemplary of the discursive tensions elucidated in chapter two where the backwards man can both stand for freedom and independence in his close alignment

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[9] The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 brought prospectors from all over to the region. Boomtowns sprung up throughout the Kootenays and violent clashes between the Sinixt and non-native people ensued in the new volatile frontier towns that teemed with racial tensions.

with nature, however, here we can see that the quick discursive turn to emphasize the unattractive and unappealing qualities of pre-modern lifestyles. The feelings of autonomy that were expected to form from a close, proximal relationship to nature shifted to a focus on recreation, where concepts of leisure began to influence the public's relationship with nature rather than for survival.

Tina Loo argues that: "the purpose of resettlement planning was less about helping people cope with change and to pick up the pieces of their lives than it was about self-consciously refashioning those lives. [Planner] Wilson and his colleagues aimed to give the Arrow Lakes District new prospects and its people a new attitude and position from which to engage the world" (Loo 2004, 168). Suddenly interaction with nature was not meant to be a result of necessity, it was meant to be for recreation and leisure. Modern citizens were required to be domestic first and foremost, participate in civil society and wage labour, enjoy the pleasures and comfort that technology provided, as well as to maintain ties to his primordial self through occasional pursuits of outdoor recreation. Everyday activities that took place in the pre-modern, backwards, valley such as gathering wood for fires, hunting, and subsistence farming were now to be performed as sport. These testimonies offer insight into what was happening on the ground, beneath the discourse.

In contrast to the rugged masculinity that Wilson speaks to, I put forth a testimony that perhaps speaks to a rural yet pastoral femininity concerned with beauty and family. In an article published in the August 3, 1961 issue of *Family Herald*, Mary Daem's editorial features a grainy black and white image of the landscape seen from her cottage door: a lake in the foreground and a mountain peak rising above the textured treescape. Daem writes of her and her friend Jean's experience: "My husband and I found our Shangri-la at St.Leon, about halfway between Nakusp and Arrowhead, also on the Upper Arrow. Both our homes will be under water when the dam is built" (Daem 1961). Her use of "Shangri-la" to describe her home is telling of the cultural moment within which she was writing, as well as reflective of a deep-seated sense of idolatry and appreciation of natural beauty. Shangri-la comes from James Hilton's 1933 novel *Lost Horizon*, which left lasting impacts on the Western cultural imaginary of both the Himalaya region of Nepal and of the very notion of an idyllic, hidden paradise (Hutt 1996). Loo confirms that many residents repeated this story of "Edenic narratives of a paradise lost" (Loo 2004, 189).

The accompanying text brings the reader into the landscape using romantic, pastoral language to illustrate the quality of beauty found in the landscape: “In the garden close to Jean’s house, a magnolia flowers. A holly tree produced enough berries for a cash crop one Christmas. Roses, rhododendrons, azaleas, lavender, heather and a Yucca tree which flowers every three years add to the symphony of color. In spring daffodils, narcissis and broom plants gild the fence with glory. All this beauty is shared in its abundance…” (Ibid)

Daem’s tone is nostalgic; she is illustrating a way of life that stands in stark opposition to the industrialized future promised by BC Hydro. For Daem, appreciation for nature comes from appreciating it for its own sake, for its beauty. She is writing on behalf of herself and her friend Jean, who along with her husband, make their living from the land. She positions herself and Jean in opposition to the modernization of the area: “Perhaps the lives of two women and their families seen unimportant in a scheme the size of this one. There is little sentiment in the building of a dam” (Daem 1961). Indeed, the emphasis on femininity that I read in Daem’s editorial aligns femininity itself with nature: a quiet and passive beauty. Alternatively, the discourse of technological innovation used by BC Hydro is marked by emotionless power and rationality: characteristics closely aligned with masculinity. In addition to an independent, subsistence way of life, according to Daem, the natural beauty on the homestead is worth preserving:

> My husband and I want our sons to grow up knowing the sight of a sunset over water. To wake up to birdsong, and to go to sleep with the singing of the wind. To feed the chipmunk which is so bold as to dart across the cabin floor. To learn to be happy without a crowd of friends or expensive toys. To find a clump of lady’s-slippers or a nest of a pine pippin in the woods behind us. And, when they are older, we want them to pull up a boat on their own spot of beach and see the lamplight shining through the cabin window and know that the pan is hot and ready for the fish they may have caught. We want them to look back, as do their older sisters, and remember the good times they have had by a quiet lake, where they may turn a key, open a door and be at peace. There will not be money enough in any treasury to compensate us for the loss of our little cabin and lovely beach. (Ibid)

Daem is engaging pastoral conventions, relying on the readers assumed shared impulse to retreat from the city to a dreamy rural space. Indeed, in her article Daem succeeds in pointing to the "solid satisfactions of the pastoral retreat: peace, leisure, and economic sufficiency" (Marx 1964, 23). Marx describes the pastoral ideal as a "serene partnership" (Ibid) based on an imagined reciprocity on an almost metaphysical level, a human-nature interaction "transcendent to the opposing forces of civilization and nature" (Ibid). Indeed, the conception of home for many of the residents could not be accounted for with monetary value. For these people who structured their lives around the lake and river, "'home' was much more than a particular physical structure of piece of land. It was the way the region looked, smelled, and sounded – all of which was transformed by the dam. The dissonance was jarring for many and alienating for some who struggled with the metamorphosis of the familiar into the strange" (Loo 2004, 190). Daem's description is sensorial, affective, and aesthetic in her interaction with space. For Daem, placemaking is dependent on these tactile and sensory perceptions. For Daem, this is home and she offers a window, albeit not a whole picture, into an alternative perception that points to the landscape as it were before the colossal industrial project.

Similar to chapter two, the nostalgic imagery of picturesque nature resonates with peace, calmness, and serenity with these residents. Where settler joy is attached to their primordial way and settler pain and trauma emerges from the burning of houses (which occurred in the process of resettlement), resettlement, and loss of autonomy – similar to the experiences of First Nations peoples across Canada like those discussed in this project of the Keeseekoowenin and the Sinixt. What is revealed by this comparison, of course, is the extent to which the synoptic view organizes lives, and that it is ultimately demonstrative of which bodies are valued in the given historical moment and society. The settler residents were coerced into re-organizing their way of life but were afforded a higher level of agency and respect than First Nations peoples because of institutional racism. So, while the methods and motivations were similar across the board, the manifestations emerged differently according to the impulse (undergirded by racism) to secure a settler futurity, one that was premised on the secure continuity of whiteness. Next, I look to the discourses that were rolled out by BC Hydro and the effects they had on a conceptual level.

3.7 PROMISES AND PROJECTIONS: TURNING PICTURE INTO PLACE

If the previous section looks to how a sense of place in the valley was conceptualized prior to the dams from a proximal perspective, this section looks to how BC Hydro sought to turn their vision, their picture, for the region into a reality. In its promotional material, BC Hydro deals in distance, both temporally projecting a distant future forward and using landscape imagery positioned from afar. Its promotional materials reveal the extent of the synoptic view integral to high modernist development. In this section, I analyze documents that I uncovered at the Revelstoke Archives to read how BC Hydro endeavored to turn picture into place by looking at the promises made in Hydro material as well as in documents published by tourism industry stakeholders. In this section, I am concerned with the ways in which BC Hydro reconceptualized nature from a synoptic point of view as something to exploit on a massive industrialized scale as well as as a wilderness entity that would exist as a sphere for human recreation. I take up Loo's (2016) argument that the synoptic view taken in both images and text flattened and simplified both space and time, allowing these promises to appear both within reach and necessary (42). I parse the dichotomous ways that BC Hydro produced nature as either resource or as playground.

Overwhelmingly, the images used in the BC Hydro material and news media documents are landscape photographs taken from a considerable distance, usually from up above looking down at the subject—whether it is a town, a highway, or a dam. Only in the newsletters, which I analyze below, did I come across close-up photographs of details, people, individual buildings, and individual elements of the environment. I still do not know what a turbine looks like; I still do not know exactly how water is turned into electricity; I am still unsure of the labour required for the maintenance of the dams, despite spending months reading through BC Hydro print material, but I am assured that the dam's power is impressive. For BC Hydro it was not about detailing the technological feats but about hammering home that the feats were awe-inspiring. These images, coupled with the modernist rhetoric and promises outlined in the texts, communicated the possibility of a modern future that both used nature as the resource to power this future while simultaneously creating and enabling access to nature as wilderness to be used in recreation. The imagined relationship was symbiotic: concrete and metal merging effortlessly and naturally with forest and rock. In this sense, these distanced images operated as a way of incorporating technology into the landscape.

To begin my analysis in this section, I provide an address made to the Advertising and Sales Bureau of the Vancouver Board of Trade on February 10, 1964 by Hugh Keenleyside, the Chairman of BC Hydro and Power Authority. He concluded his speech with the following:

> Over the years my work has made it necessary for me to give a good deal of study to Canadian economic history. I am satisfied that this Columbia agreement is the most profitable single, international, commercial transaction in the history of our country. Whether or not you fully agree with this assessment I suggest that now that the decision has been made, now that the die is cast, there is but one course that we should all follow. Let us forget the long record of controversy, of debate, of uncertainty, of wrangling, of accusation and counter-accusation, and join together in a united determination to gain the greatest possible advantage from this agreement on the use of our famous river. Let us rejoice in the fact that British Columbia is entering an era in which we shall have ample supplies of energy available to meet our most optimistic forecasts, when we can provide industry, commerce, and our homes with electricity at a minimum of cost; when we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that we are making the most beneficial use of the tremendous resources provided for us by a generous Providence. And let us use the benefits we receive to make British Columbia – one of the most beautiful areas of the world – also one of the most prosperous and progressive. And finally let me suggest that we work together to use that prosperity to build here in this magnificent land, for ourselves and our children and our children's children, one of the most enlightened and most kindly societies on earth" (Keenleyside 1964, 16).

Keenleyside repeats high modern rhetoric, pointing to the inevitability, unstoppable momentum of progress, urging and coercing citizens to go along with it. Part of selling the Treaty Dams to the people who were to be most affected by them was adopting and reiterating aims characteristic of high modernity. Central to this cultural moment was the state-centered mega project, which relied on the "rationality, objectivity, and neutrality of science and technology" (Loo 2004, 165). This language neutralized and depoliticized the mega projects, instead presenting them as pragmatic approaches to the demands of progress. We can see the

pragmatism in Keenleyside's address above; the proposed course of action is to accept that the government had in mind the greater good, that there is an unquestionable imperative for hydroelectric technology and that each citizen is responsible for playing their prescribed role in the mid-century suburban domestic ideal. The gesture toward children and future generations invokes an imagined settler futurity. Finally, he calls upon the scenery and the landscape, aligning the beauty with industrial spectacle as well as natural beauty. According to the high modernist visions of the future of BC peddled by BC Hydro and the provincial government, hegemonic ideological strategies swept through the interior of the province, eating up resistance and coercing the consent from skeptical residents.

BC Hydro's vision is exemplified in a color photograph of Castlegar (Figure 4) used in a tourist magazine I found in the Revelstoke Archives[10]. The viewer can see a man-made beach on the river with a low-key modern suburb close to it, laid out in grid pattern and interspersed with trees. The mountains are not the snow-capped peaks found further north in the valley. Instead, they are rather gently sloped and the treescape appears to have the texture of velvet. A bridge connects the town with less developed farmland, insinuating connection and ease of movement and travel. The river stretches into the distance, softened by low-lying cloud; the town side of the river is green, gentle, and soft, while the farmland side extends into rocky outcroppings and cliffs. This distanced view separates the lived, visceral, and aesthetic experience of nature, instead naturalizing the ordered grid of sterile suburbia. The feature in this image is the town itself not the splendid scenery, which is in fact simply positioned as a backdrop. Drawing the viewer's attention to the harmony between the built and natural environment reiterates the logic of the governed, planned community. It is suggestive of the river as a feeding tube from the resource hinterland that runs into the urban, sustaining it. The Columbia River was further domesticated in a more literal and material sense by bringing its energy into the homes of British Columbians to power their modernized post-war suburban lifestyles.

Figures 1-3 are examples of BC Hydro's planner's drawings, offering insight into how engineers 'saw' the landscape. Hydro's aim was to turn engineering plans into reality. In these drawings, the dam and surrounding landscape is presented in muted tones, either pastel or in grey

[10] Again, I do not have full bibliographic details for this source, only a photo of the page of a magazine found in the Revelstoke Archives.

scale. Large patches of a singular color are meant to portray, for example, the surrounding rain forest thus losing or papering over its ecological complexity. The editorial that accompanies Figures 1-3 asserts that by harnessing the power of the great Columbia, the region will be spurred economically through the resultant tourism industry, the construction of a recreation hinterland. The promises here are premised on the potential for not only the dams themselves to bring tourist curiosity but also for the improved highways, vistas, and access to recreation to bolster the region economically.

In addition to its production as a resource hinterland, we can see the production of the region as a tourist hinterland premised on the draw of scenery and recreation. Though the Columbia Project promised to unlock access to a vast wilderness for unlimited recreational potential, the details of this recreational potential were vague and seemed to rely more on the scenery and the aesthetic dimensions of the landscape than on specific activities. This is most likely due to synoptic view that forgoes details for broad strokes. These sweeping assertions bury the loss of existing recreation that was dependent on the undammed river under promises for new, better, wider-reaching, and improved recreational potential. Interestingly, as a 1976 BC Hydro report on the Revelstoke Project outlined, the recreational potential was imagined more in line with viewing, rather than doing:

> As the reservoir would cover a number of clear cut logging blocks which now exist along the lower river valley, it is thought that a better quality of viewscape may result. Certainly, mountain views with a lake foreground would provide good quality viewing for both highway travellers and boaters. Shoreline viewing by boat will therefore likely be an attraction in terms of (1) vista views and (2) enjoyment of the immediate detail landscape, such as cliffs, narrow canyon features and some waterfalls. (British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority 1976, 39)

The cover of a BC Hydro brochure for the Columbia Treaty Dams features an imposing black and white photo of the Mica Dam beside its bold, block title “The New Columbia.” The proportions of the enormous concrete dam compete with the dramatic slopes of mountains behind; its peaks cut out of the frame, directing the eye to the true feat, the dam. The surrounding landscape directs the eye to the dam: the mountains slope downward, the river feeds inward, the

water is churned within its confines, it is the master that transforms nature to power. The brochure's opening line is simple and precise yet speaks volumes regarding larger discursive and ideological work at play: "The enormous task of controlling the flood waters of one of the world's greatest and most erratic power rivers – the Columbia – is now a reality in southeastern British Columbia" (Information Services, B.C. Hydro n.d.). Simultaneously expressing a global consciousness, local nationalism, and man's mastery of nature, this line accomplishes several threads of work for BC Hydro. First, it positions itself as the entity that has taken upon the burden of managing this resource, a maneuver that places BC Hydro among the first men who conquered the new west through exploration, cartography, trade, and of course, the railroad. Second, it confirms its own projections and promises made throughout the lobbying and construction phase of the Treaty dams, earning legitimacy through a not-so-subtle pat on their own back. And finally, it places the project as a feat firmly within the larger trajectory of progress through engineering and industrializing. I now turn to the affective dimension found in a series of BC Hydro promotional documents uncovered at the Revelstoke Archives.

3.8 MEDIATING PROMISES, PRODUCING AFFECT: BC HYDRO NEWSLETTERS

In addition to the maneuvers and negotiations that occurred at a state level, BC Hydro had to convince the hearts and minds of the public of its quixotic plans to redesign an entire region with a God-like belief in their own scientific and technological capacities. For a project so dominated by the modernist discourses of science and technology and the lack of emotion that those categories imply, BC Hydro knew that the key to their success in resettling and restructuring the region relied on winning the support of the public[11], so they appealed not only

[11] The first issue published features a letter from BC Hydro Chairman Hugh Keenleyside on its front page, who remarks:

> We realize that the owners of property to be affected by the Columbia projects are deeply concerned. For some, the Columbia projects will disrupt a way of life that goes back through several generations. We cannot avoid this impact on your lives but we are doing and will do everything we can to help the transition take place as smoothly as possible… We are deeply conscious that resettlement plans can be successful only if they coincide with the needs of the people affected by them. We are conscious, too, that our programs in the Columbia Region can be fully successful only with your support and cooperation. (B.C. Hydro and Power Authority 1964)

to the rationality of the residents but also to their emotions. J.W. Wilson recommended BC Hydro begin publishing and distributing community newsletters (Loo 2004, 169). Hydro's aim was to shift the atmospheric mood through a mediation that operated with subtle force, indicative of the following principal: "A hegemonic equilibrium is achieved once discursive connections are made between dominant and vernacular uses and interpretations of place" (Larsen 2004, 945). While Loo (2004) reads these documents as examples of "BC Hydro's modernist faith in rationality: if people had facts, they could only conclude that the High Arrow development was good for the valley" (169), I pull out stories of resident testimony to argue that these documents are also affective artifacts. In an atmosphere charged by distrust and skepticism, BC Hydro sought to influence and adjust public consciousness by rustling up an atmosphere charged by hope, joy, excitement, and desire. Hydro's project of turning picture into place required their attention to the dynamic affective dimension that was playing out amongst, between, and across the local communities in the region as it underwent great change. Indeed, as Wilson pointed out: "It should not be imagined that the people of the Arrow Lakes were in any sense homogeneous or united against even the Columbia project… In fact many of those not personally affected regarded the Columbia development as simply an economic shot-in-the-arm for the region" (Wilson 1973, 12). Therefore, the issue Hydro was faced with surmounting was to level or even out the emotional response to the project, to build on existing good feelings to affect the atmosphere surrounding the project, or as Carol called it, the "build-up."

In this section I put forth the series of newsletters published and distributed by BC Hydro as examples of affective artifacts that documented the material and affective transition of picture into place. Twenty issues of the *Columbia News Letter* were published "from time to time" (according to the publication's subtitle) starting in 1964 and finishing in 1967. Each issue is a four-page pamphlet that documents the resettlement process with the intention of keeping residents up to date on the progress of resettlement as well as the construction of various dam-related infrastructure that would be of importance and interest to the residents. If the materials I have looked at until this point project promises of progress, it is in the newsletters that these promises begin to come to fruition and Hydro takes the opportunity to evaluate the positive affective responses to these happenings. Indeed, I suggest these artifacts are positive because they only document forward-directed affects and fail to register "disinterest or silence" (Stephens 2016, 185). They do not record negative affects of loss, contempt, unhappiness, or anxiety.

The *Columbia News Letters* mimic the style of a community newsletter, certainly a purposeful move to create a direct, domesticated, and approachable mode of communication that imagines Hydro as an authoritative but benevolent community member. In Wilson's depiction of the way the region was and how communities were organized prior to Hydro's involvement, he asserts that: "in most cases it was difficult to identify an acknowledged community leader. In this sense, there was no existing 'power structure' for Hydro to grapple with" (Wilson 1973, 12). This lack of formal community structure or hierarchy allowed Hydro to step in and, using the *Columbia News Letter,* become this community figure to set the tone for the changes that were to follow in the region. Of course, some residents recognized this tactic as a mechanism meant to "manufacture consent" (Loo 2004, 169). In my following reading of these documents I identify the shift of Hydro's discourse away from the language of mastery, conquering, and extraordinary feats I identified in the previous section, to one that, while still aligned with the aims of high modernism, exalts the ordinary experience of the everyday residents of the valley alongside the more extraordinary happenings part of the national project of dam building. Of course, this is distinguished from the affective readings I provided above as an ideological production of experiential viewpoints, which is still ultimately emergent of a synoptic point of view. To illustrate this point, I specifically pull out the features on residents from the newsletters for analysis though they offer a great deal of content related to the building process that would provide a rich ground for further scholarly analysis.

I refer to the *Columbia News Letters* as affective artifacts to describe how they both "record" ordinary affects in order to advance ideological aims, to "build up" a certain atmosphere that could enable affect to pass onto, between, and amongst bodies and objects. Here I detail the ways in which I read the newsletters through the affect theory of Lauren Berlant (2010), Sara Ahmed (2010), and Kathleen Stewart (2007; 2010) to demonstrate how affect can also function of ideological and cultural circulation. This section builds upon my previous analyses of affect as a contrast to the synoptic to illustrate how it also can also circulate in the figuration of nature as scale-making projects more generally. This further highlights the thread of connection between proximity and synoptic, joined this time by a different angle of the affective dimension explored throughout this project. BC Hydro succeeded in effectively setting up an economy wherein the dams were positioned as the panacea for the collective, regional achievement of a modern life: the good life. The dams became the objects that would usher in

prosperity, thus improving the quality of life, access to resources and commercial goods, and even social status of the region's residents. One possible interpretation that I consider based on Berlant's work on desire (2012) and optimism (2010), leads me to suggest that the dams in all that they stood for and offered were thoroughly affective objects. Berlant suggests: "when we talk about an object of desire, we are really talking about a cluster of promises we want someone or something to make to us and make possible for us" (ibid). Therefore, the newsletters further solidify the dams as an object of desire, whereby attachments are formulated and the good life is within reach through proximity to said object of desire (ibid). For BC Hydro, this meant redirecting attachments toward a built environment rather than a natural environment, and a new, mechanized way of life. To think about how affect transfers between bodies and objects thus illustrate how the newsletters were operational in contributing toward building affective attachments to the dam, I look to Ahmed who thinks of affect as 'sticky'. According to Ahmed, "affect is what sticks, or what sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, values, and objects" (Ahmed, Happy Objects 2010, 29). For Ahmed affect is motivational and forward directed, that is, it directs us toward something. According to her: "Objects are sticky because they are already attributed as being good or bad, as being the cause of happiness or unhappiness. This is why the social bond is always rather sensational. Groups cohere around a shared orientation toward some thing as being good, treating some things and not others as the cause of delight" (Ahmed 2010, 35). The newsletters very clearly position the dams as this 'good thing', as the source of happiness to which residents should direct themselves toward.

Stewart's concepts of ordinary affects and atmosphere are instrumental to this analysis. I focus on Carol's use of "build-up" as an acknowledgment of an atmosphere that was energized by non-material senses. The description of the atmosphere as build-up, speaks to the way Stewart describes being aware of being in something, something big: "everyone knew that something was happening, that we were *in* something" (Stewart 2010, 2 emphasis in original). I draw heavily on Stewart's (2007; 2010) work on affect theory here because of her focus on the banal, everyday and ordinary interactions that mark and characterize larger, mega-shifts as they occur. "An atmospheric attunement is an alerted sense that something is happening and an attachment to sensing out whatever it is. It takes place within a world of some sort and it is itself a generative, compositional worlding" (Stewart 2010, 4). An October 1967 issue features a story

on the general and grocery store to be operated by two brothers, Frank and Ray Underwood. It reads:

> "'This community is going ahead,' Ray Underwood declared. 'It's off to a real good start now, and the next few years will show a big improvement. We like what we see here.' 'New Fauquier was planned and laid out as a model community,' Frank agreed. 'And that means a lot. We'll have a community hall soon, and the Legion Hall moved, and we're talking about a golf course. And with more people coming in – boy, you just can't stop us!" (B.C. Hydro and Power Authority 1967).

The brothers are pictured standing in front of a building site, possibly their future store. This feature illustrates the ordinary affects of worlding. We can see the brothers attuning to the build-up, to the atmosphere, getting excited by what was snapping into place, materially. Things were coming together. Similarly, another 1967 issue features a local business owner titled, "Parkyn's Garage and Café Opens at New Burton" and reads:

> "Mr. Parkyn operated under the same business name on the Burton highway for two years, until BC Hydro acquired the property for clearing prior to filling of the Arrow reservoir. He's optimistic about the future of New Burton. 'Sure I'm optimistic,' he declared. 'I'm here. I'm in business – and building a brand new store!' He grinned, 'Isn't that proof?'" (B.C. Hydro and Power Authority 1967, 4).

Here, Mr. Parkyn is attuning himself to the atmosphere of optimism. A photo of Lloyd Parkyn standing assuredly in front of his new business accompanies the text. His sleeves are rolled up and his expression is resolutely staring into the distance.

One of the interesting things these newsletters provide is insight into the constant negotiations between distance and proximity. The newsletters feature content that narrows in BC Hydro's synoptic lens to a proximal, on the ground point of view. While certainly a departure from Hydro's typical distanced portrayal of the region I have detailed to this point, the newsletters still carry on Hydro's aim of focusing on the future and on the positive. The details found in proximity, that emerge from the testimonies of the residents, offer glimpses into the

ordinary grapplings with extraordinary shifts, happenings, occurrences. From these pieces, we can see the effects and operations of Stewart's ordinary affects. For Stewart:

> The ordinary is a shifting assemblage of practices and practical knowledges, a scene of both liveness and exhaustion, a dream of escape or of the simple life. Ordinary affects are the varied, surging capacities to affect and to be affected that gives everyday life the quality of a continual motion of relations, scenes, contingencies, and emergences. They're things that happen. They happen in impulses, sensations, expectations, daydreams, encounters, and habits of relating, in strategies and their failures, in forms of persuasion, contagion, and compulsion, in modes of attention, attachment, and agency, and in publics and social worlds of all kinds that catch people up in something that feels like *some*thing. (Stewart, Ordinary Affects 2007, 1-2)

I analyze the following passages with this in mind. I search for the meanings residents made of their situation as it was swept up in that wave of change.

The next piece I look at is titled "Mauchlines Retain Many Fond Memories of West Arrow Park" and reads:

> Comfortably settled in their new home at Nakusp, Mr. and Mrs. Mauchline retain fond memories of their many years of residence at West Arrow Park. And they see a bright future for the Arrow Lakes area. 'This is a great country,' says Mr. Mauchline, 'and I think that with all this development it's just now starting to come into its own'…

This passage is particularly revelatory regarding affect in that Mr. Mauchine exhibits an awareness that forces are aligning, points are under pressure, and nostalgia and optimism are bearing upon each other. For Stewart, ordinary affects "work not through 'meanings' per se, but rather in the way that they pick up density and texture as they move through bodies, dreams, dramas, and social worldings of all kinds. Their significance lies in the intensities they build and in what thoughts and feelings they make possible" (Stewart 2007, 3).

> ‘We had a good life in West Arrow Park, and were sorry to leave,’ Mrs. Mauchline agreed. ‘But now we’re here in Nakusp, and comfortable, and we like it. Some of our neighbors came here, too, and that makes it nice.’ The Mauchline property was purchased by B.C. Hydro in 1965 as part of the Arrow reservoir land acquisition program. ‘We got a fair settlement from Hydro,’ Mr. Mauchline continued, ‘no complaints about that at all’… Then a bit wistfully he added, ‘But I wish I were a few years younger because I see a real future for this area, with all the new and improved roads and the dams for tourist attractions… This country is a real sportsman’s paradise, and it won’t take the tourists long to discover it once the roads are fixed.’ (B.C. Hydro and Power Authority 1967, 2)

Mrs. Mauchline alludes to feelings of loss here, but this loss is made productive in the affective atmosphere. According to Stewart this nameable loss is all apart of becoming, of making meaning, and BC Hydro most likely chose to include this brief moment of sadness because of how it is instantly subsumed by positive affects. The following quote from Stewart explains how the minute details of everyday life, especially as they are narrated here, help to form a sense of what is becoming or happening: “nameable clarities like family or friendship or love or collapse or laughing or telling stories or violence or place are all atmospherics. All forms of attending to what’s happening, sensing out, accreting attachments and detachments, differences and indifferences, losses and proliferating possibilities” (Stewart 2010, 4).

This depiction of affect in the newsletters demonstrates how Hydro attempted to win the hearts and minds of settler residents on a proximate and emotional level. By presenting the positive stories of these residents, BC Hydro was attempting to rustle up an affective atmosphere that other residents could attune themselves to. To me, it appears a strategic move to ply the emotions of residents and coerce affective attachments to the new settlements through promises for opportunity and success. Furthermore, while this figuration of proximity and affect departs from my own tourism-as-method, they are important historical documents of experience that reveal how BC Hydro tried to impress affective attachments to the resettled area, which I evaluate from my own perspective in the following section. That is, these historical documents clearly outline the emphasis BC Hydro placed on the new, planned communities and attempted to steer residents into attuning themselves to such an atmosphere. In the following section I use

my tourism-as-method to evaluate whether this atmosphere endured into present day and its more complex figurations in Revelstoke's post-dam society.

3.9 CURRENT CONTEXT AND EVALUATION

3.9.1 Fragment: Revelstoke, February 28, 2016, journal entry

I stood at the edge of the water looking out at the spring-like day. The usually clouded valley was resplendent in the midday sun; I arrived in Revelstoke not realizing that the valley would be socked in by clouds more often than not. Fortunately, respite existed from the grey days on top of the mountain, above the clouds. Most days I would take the gondola up and emerge from the clouds into blinding sun and sparkling white snow. This day held the spring quality of crisp blue sky and warm sun; the light held the promise of warmer and longer days while the snow-covered alpine of the distant mountains, and brown leafless trees and muddy melting snow in town anchored the day in the February present. The hair on my exposed ankles rose with the cool breeze and I zipped up my winter jacket. As I looked across the river I thought about how high the water level appeared, as though it were swallowing the trees.

3.9.2 In the Shadow of Change: Revelstoke in the Contemporary Moment

The TransCanada Highway 1 passes through Revelstoke, acting as an arterial corridor bringing tourists and commercial products in and resources out, connecting compact central British Columbia communities across difficult rugged terrain. In the four months I spent in the area, I learned about the town and its position as a tourism and resource industry center. I accessed it as a tourist, both through on-the-ground experiential movement through space as well as through tourist literature, both historical and contemporary. Revelstoke in its current form is inseparable from its historical and contemporary configuration within the resource and tourist hinterland. It is portrayed as a localized image of community set against the overtly international draw of Banff or Whistler's ski tourism industry. Nestled in the Kootenay region its local residents maintain the lore of a secret, untouched, unknown ski haven. On the ground, the attitude amongst locals trends toward a closely guarded mountain paradise where the snow is

deep, the town is quiet, and keeping the secret safe is encouraged. Visitors ‘discover’ and ‘find’ Revelstoke, and once they do, they stay; in local vernacular the term “Revelstuck” circulates widely. This discovery of place leads to an articulation of the tourist versus traveller trope where social value is earned according to seasons spent. Newcomers are very cautiously accepted, and only under a ‘hierarchy of seasons’.

The image of Revelstoke hinges on an image of vast unspoiled (uncharted even) fields for outdoor recreation, demonstrating the imperative for Revelstoke and its surrounds to appear relatively unaltered and relatively unscarred by the material and economic necessity of resource exploitation, to be marketed to tourists for its spectacular, sublime and untouched qualities. Of course Revelstoke is not a secret “locals only” mountain town, a cultural myth propagated by a fairly exclusive local community, nor is its ‘pure wilderness surrounds’ unmarked by extraction industries. The presence of the Revelstoke Dam goes relatively unnoticed by tourists and seems to have been accepted as a taken-for-granted figure of the landscape, especially amongst the city’s newcomer population that I had the opportunity to become friendly with. It would have remained unremarkable to me had Ryan not suggested a tour of it; even still his suggestion was initially unappealing. It did not excite any part of me until we arrived there and Ryan told me its story.

Like perhaps all industrial projects, contestation against the immovable and immutable dam has long been swallowed up in its concrete, which is not to suggest that resentment does not still linger in the local consciousness amongst people who have lived in the area for their entire lives. I certainly came across people who expressed detracting opinions from the hegemonic party line, so to speak, while others spoke of the dam as benign, defending it as a source of jobs, which were thought should be reserved for locals. While the dam is an unremarkable part of the landscape for some, to others it may still elicit mixed feelings of both acceptance, and loss and contempt. Perhaps Ryan wanted to show me the dam to impress upon me the dramatic and lasting effects of the project on the landscape and local consciousness, perhaps he thought that as a newcomer, I should be aware of the contested history of the region. Indeed, on a daily basis people adjust to the dam itself and to the landscape transformations that the dams brought; on a daily basis the dam is ordinary. The language of reservoir has transitioned to lake and locals

perform and enact daily leisure pursuits and reap pleasure from interactions with the new built environment. The dam fits, for the most part.

The changes the dam project wrought on the environment drastically dissolved any sort of imagined line between society and nature. That is, like the shore of Kinbasket Lake, the promises of wilderness recreation made by BC Hydro to the altered landscape did not quite live up to the extent of it. The commodification of the river had the effect of distancing people from it; the reservoirs, or lakes, became dangerous, deep, and fairly inhospitable to human activity. A visitor's sign at the top of Mica Dam that I encountered on another tour with Ryan reads: "If you intend to operate a boat or canoe on Kinbasket Lake you should be aware that Kinbasket Lake is subject to sudden strong winds and rough waves. These dangerous boating conditions are made worse by cold water, substantial accumulations of floating and submerged debris and the remote location" (Figure 8). In regard to the clearing operation, a BC Hydro pamphlet projects: "many logs have been left where cut, to float on the rising water of the reservoir. Because of their location, these logs can be salvaged more economically after flooding has occurred… *continuing for a year of so after full pool elevation has been reached, the reservoir will not be suitable for boating or other recreational use. Thereafter, the prospects are exciting*" (B.C. Hydro Information Services 1973 italics in original). Evidently, the extended debris-clearing operation and the passage of time have not corrected the issue of "logs shooting up to the surface like battering rams," an assertion Ryan made. These issues are not contained to just Kinbasket Lake but more largely a common issue of reservoir lakes. I noticed a similar sign on the shore of Seton Lake, which is about four hundred kilometers from Revelstoke and the resulting reservoir from the earlier Bridge River Power Project. I pulled off the highway to take a break here, drawn in by the dock that extended alluringly into perhaps the brightest turquoise lake I had ever seen. Beside the lake was a large yellow BC Hydro sign that read: "Warning Carpenter, Downton and Seton Lake are hydroelectric reservoirs. Public users are advised to be aware of: changing water levels, floating debris, submerged hazards, prohibited areas" (Figure 9). When I went to leave, I saw another sign that stood out in its dated aesthetic: featuring the BC Hydro logo in the center, the painted brown timber sign reads: "Recreation Generation" (Figure 10), a clever play on words that attempts to mark the lake as a recreational space despite the other sign that carries more dangerous warnings. Thinking back to that moment beside Kinbasket Lake, I remember remarking upon the lack of boaters and people on the shore. It was a beautiful day and the

pristine lake appeared to me to be an inviting spot to spend the day on the lake fishing and enjoying the last days of summer. But it was empty. Rather than appearing pristine and untouched, however, it felt abandoned. There was something about the atmosphere beside the lake that day that made the absence of people seem curious, insidious even.

It is from these insights, gained from my methodology of tourist-as-method, that the promises made half of a century beforehand had not quite come to fruition to the extent of engagement with these picture-perfect places. While BC Hydro promised vast access to recreation potential, the dangerous state of the reservoir lakes suggest that the transition from naturally-formed lake to a human-designed and made reservoir means that the water is at its most basic, just a resource. The reservoir pools water for human usage, turning its ebbs and flows into kilowatts. Also, seemingly its recreational value is found in its role as a landscape, a backdrop, for viewing rather than for interacting. Rather than a space for forging dynamic, proximal human/nature relationships, the reservoir lakes are unwelcoming in their danger and exist (as another local referred to) as glorified "bathtubs" for surface, mechanized recreation, the character of its ebbs and flows unrecognizable. This stands in stark contrast to the speculative promises made by BC Hydro: "When the clearing operation is completed, Kinbasket Lake will provide access to a vast wilderness area of spectacular beauty. Access to the reservoir is available from the damsite, from Valemount, at the north end and from Golden, at its southern extremity"[12]

Another tour with Ryan, this time to fish the Columbia River from the Flats, further solidified the emptiness of the altered landscape. He brought muck boots for me to wear, laughing at my choice of sneakers. I clearly had not imagined that the Flats were really an expanse of mud, silt, and sand that we had to cross to get to the river: from a distance, the Flats looked easily accessible, the mud looked like hard-packed dirt that I could walk across. I walked through the barren space past trees that had been carried by the river during high season and left on shore in stunning shapes once the river had retreated during low season. The bark of the dead trees had been smoothed by the washing-machine effect of the river's movement. They looked like modern art pieces the way they haphazardly and beautifully intertwined with each other and other elements of the landscape. I stopped walking to squish my muck-booted feet into the mud,

[12] Again, I do not have full bibliographic details for this source, only a photo of the page of a BC Hydro document found in the Revelstoke Archives.

twisting my body back and forth to drive myself deeper and deeper into the mud. Ryan told me it was quicksand, I told him I didn't believe him. But the effect of the water and sand did feel as though it were sucking me down. Dead tree stumps and huge logs spotted the vast expanse of uneven, exposed riverbed. The barren landscape I was stomping across in too-big muck boots did not suggest that an entire population had thrived on this river and that this space had been hugely important to their sense of identity, spirituality, and very way of life. The river ran seasonably low and we failed to catch anything. Ryan told me that salmon populations were decimated by the dam projects. Looking back at this moment in the exposed riverbed allows me to conceptualize how the altered shape and characteristic of the river supports certain ways of life: as it is now, the river supports the centralized, industrialized, and globalized way of life we find ourselves in in the contemporary moment that stands in opposition to the way people organized themselves according to the river prior to its damming in ways that were more relational to an unaltered environment. Standing next to the river on this winter day, the river felt depleted; the moving water was a mere trickle in comparison to the deep, heavy flow it was described as prior to the dams (White 1995). It appeared starkly that the trade-off for our abundant way of life was this: a river plugged and manipulated, an ecosystem forever altered.

How does the nation come into being in this region? Is it through the widespread acceptance of this modern way of life? Is it through the daily, ordinary encounters with the changed landscape? While Riding Mountain National Park offers an explicitly nationalist space, the region affected by the damming of the Columbia River is much more nuanced. Revelstoke was made into what it is today by the damming of the Columbia River. It normalized state and industry intervention into the landscape as a positive force for the community. It normalized the rhetoric of wilderness recreation as the payoff for locals in the opening up of the area to industry. Because of this, Revelstoke appears to be in the middle of the local/national push-pull. Riding Mountain is demarcated by boundaries that one crosses into and out of while the effects of the Columbia River Project transcend this traditional concept of boundaries. "Indeed, what is interesting about the spectacle [of modernity] is precisely the ways in which [it] seemed to draw so many people in, albeit to different degrees, making it difficult to determine the boundaries between 'everyday life' and orchestrated displays of sovereign power" (Stephens 2016, 184). Therefore, what is interesting about the Columbia Project is its ability to normalize the presence of the dams and to normalize the way of life that the dam project ushered in.

3.10 FINAL THOUGHTS ON NATURE AS RESOURCE

My research has led me to believe that these large-scale industrial projects are extremely local in characteristic, which is at its heart the secret to its success. Alberta's tar sands have an incredibly strong and devout support base that spreads across the country. Seemingly, BC has succeeded in gaining support for its hydroelectric resource to the extent that it appears ordinary and logical, even in light of resistance to Site C. The success of these projects emerges because of their insistence on local nationalism though perhaps the same promises are being heralded, trading upon the affective attachments to the good life. They build upon and stem from largely local understandings of place like localized versions of myths of the northern frontier, of western expansion, and of natural abundance. Without a broad base of support, even these hegemonic powers could not convince a population ideologically of its benefits. Whatever the motives actually are, the success of presenting these resource extractive industries as beneficial to individuals is how they gained traction. Indeed, nationalism plays a role insofar as people begin to see the resource as their own and of their community. Especially when an urban/hinterland divide is apparent as in the case of Fort McMurray/Toronto or Kootenay/Vancouver, the local fervor can become even more intense. It becomes an issue of power where people laboring in hinterlands can feel alienated and disempowered by political forces that operate in urban centers. An evaluation of current tourism discourse in the area would be a fruitful analysis for additional scholarship that I am unable to attend to in this brief chapter on the Kootenay region. This scholarship could be well served by attending to the proximal/distance vacillation I apprehend in this project. The colossal changes to landscape and lifestyle that occurred at the hands of Bennett and BC Hydro happened in a way that feels immutable, as concrete as the dams that plug the river. At a Stop Site C rally in Vancouver in November 2016 I heard an Indigenous elder from the Peace Valley speak. He asserted that they are fighting the seemingly imminent changes to their territory and, most strikingly, that they will never stop fighting it even after the dam is built. The notion that the concrete is not permanent and that a flooded reservoir could drain challenged and surprised my understandings of time and place. My own complacency and focus on immediacy was impressed by this long-term commitment, and redefined what resiliency and resistance could mean.

CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have attended to personal and collective modes of placemaking in relation to hegemonic productions of wilderness and nature in the Canadian nation-building project. I have attempted to extract individual, small-scale modes of placemaking that are affective, aesthetic, and visceral, from the totalizing view of a synoptic state with the intention of unsettling the presumably settled. This project emerged out of the collection of fragments that I gathered during an investigative road trip and, on a more personal note, offered me the opportunity to complete a long-held dream of theorizing personal experience in an academic project, specifically the experience of movement and travel. To read place and space through an interpretive framework of tourist-as-method offered an opportunity to put into conversation ideology, discourse, affect, images, and experience by marrying several elements of various methodologies such as discourse analysis, archival research, oral history, and even some principals of ethnography. The opportunity to attend to heuristic modes of knowledge production and storytelling as knowledge production was profound and I believe opened the lid on the heterogeneity of these sites, effectively unsettling the settled. In this concluding chapter I evaluate and reflect on my methodology and conclusions, and recommend areas for further inquiry.

The investigative road trip I embarked upon almost two years ago required a leap of faith. The experience challenged several preconceived notions I held regarding the research process and ended up morphing into something completely different than my initial research aims. One of these preconceived notions I held was that through the process of going to a site, I could confirm the ideas and conclusions I had already drawn. It was not until afterward that I could conceptualize myself as having been in the field. Through the process of writing, this project was able to come into being; a metaphor I believe speaks to this project and its conclusions more largely. As Stewart (2007) discusses in the language of being in something, or coming into something, my research presented itself as floating balls that I was to collect and sort through. This sorting through was this project coming into being. That is, it was through this process of writing and allowing my experience to speak in conversation with academic texts and primary texts, that I was truly engaging with the sites, allowing the sites to speak and drawing conclusions based on this interactive process. The experimental and experiential tourism-as-

method was instrumental in allowing me to theorize practices of everyday life, and banal and ordinary moments that came into meaning later. Being on the ground enabled a unique viewing opportunity that privileged on encounters, with space, the built environment, and people, in the shadow of ideological figurations of place.

I want to reflect on the idea of unsettling the settled as though shaking out a blanket and watching for the specks that fly from it. From my interrogations of Riding Mountain and Revelstoke it occurred to me that the concept of settling is closely tied to Lauren Berlant's concept of cruel optimism: we are continually promised that a project or a political maneuver or figure will bring about this idea of being settled. It promises that after a brief bout of being unsettled, like the clearing for the reservoir lakes and the construction of roads and buildings in the national park, things will quickly return to a new and improved normal. Things will, in effect, become settled. This was the case in both Riding Mountain and the Columbia Valley region. What my research has shown, however, is that the idea of being settled is a myth that is widely and popularly taken for granted. The relationship between humans and place, between nature and humans, is always in flux. Holding up the promise of being settled is akin to holding up promises of happiness, security, prosperity, comfort, and pleasure, as I have demonstrated in both case studies. Furthermore, it offers an opportunity to unsettle the settled regarding the literal settler colonial context that assume a settled, European nation. In this sense, unsettling the settled can speak to the ways in which this thesis questioned Eurocentric spatial organization and consumption of nature that have become taken-for-granted truths. It has unsettled the idea of a progress trajectory where development is privileged over existing spatial schematizations and residential occupation. It is important to continually question the image of settled or the promise of settled because inevitably ripples spread from this promise affecting the ways in which we interact with our surroundings.

So, what happens when picture becomes place? I have attempted to demonstrate how moving through these sites as a tourist revealed the alienating disjuncture between two dimensional pictorial representations of nature and the embodied, visceral, relational interactions between place and individual. Tourism-as-method allowed me to move concomitantly between images produced from a synoptic point of view and the experience of being on the ground, or, in the image, to see and experience what happens when picture becomes place. The promises of

nature as playground and as resource became muddled on the ground. Nature as playground, as I demonstrated, is an incredibly vague concept that ultimately requires the interpretation of the visitor to the space. It does not take into account varying skill level, varying access abilities or barriers to access that exist. This logic then downloads the responsibility onto individual citizens to create and fulfill their own personal adventure. It requires imagination and perhaps even sometimes a willful ignorance to enjoy the fantasies of authentic, pristine wilderness. The alterations and mediations of nature that I found in the national park space and in the area affected by the Columbia Project changed and affected the environment and landscape in ways that are only noticeable or even become obvious from a close proximal interaction with these spaces. Furthermore, it was through interaction and encounters with people in the space that helped elucidate the lived experiences in heavily mediated and orchestrated spaces that would be invisible from solely a synoptic point of view.

Where to go from here? I am interested in a detailed investigation of the tourism industry in British Columbia and Manitoba in the contemporary moment. The social media accounts and emphasis on nature and wilderness imagery is fascinating and would provide a rich field for analysis. Further, the Destination BC strategic plan offers a text ripe for discourse analysis and would be a crucial piece in an iterative project looking critically at tourist campaigns. Like the BC Hydro campaigns from the mid-twentieth century, the current Destination BC Strategic Plan (Destination British Columbia 2014) is hyperbolic in symbolic language. The language used still heavily relies on the hegemonic productions of nature and wilderness as playground and resource that I have unsettled throughout this thesis. It also relies on the myths of freedom and individualism associated with nature but packaged in a fully contemporary mode of delivery that would require close attention to the neoliberal logics and environmentalist consciousness. The conclusions I drew in this thesis opens up channels for further research using tourism-as-method in relation to hegemonic tourist campaigns produced by such figures as state ministries. More broadly, the naturalization of nature as playground and as resource explored in this thesis could be further iterated upon with a similar investigation into Alberta's tar sands including: the greenwashing that occurs in oil industry campaigns; attempts at environmental restoration and focus on nature and wilderness in Fort McMurray, and the public spectacles of production exhibited in the engineering and construction feats that transformed irreversibly the social and environmental landscape of Northern Alberta.

I have argued that what is at stake in this project is resilience. The spatial and temporal aspects that this thesis dealt with demonstrates, indeed, that space and relationships are not static but continually in flux. I use the term resilience to speak to the ways in which nature, as a subjective entity or coyote, is able to persevere, adapt, mold, and endure through the ever-changing articulations humans develop with or against it. This thesis would have been surely improved by a focused and condensed engagement with First Nations peoples that I was unable to perform. In the spirit of Indigenizing the synoptic I included the Indigenous experience (albeit from a distanced point of view) and Native Studies critique of Eurocentric conceptions of land and nature to account for a history that is often occluded in dominant narratives. This thesis would have benefitted, however, from a close study of the contemporary relationship between the First Nations who originally inhabited the sites of inquiry of this project to determine how they see ongoing relationships between humans and nature, and to hear and abide by their recommendations for de-industrializing and reciprocity. Indeed, the resilience I witnessed in the Indigenous peoples that spoke at the Stop Site C rally in Vancouver was moving, and it is this resilience combined with Indigenous knowledge that could lead the way in reimagining social structures that are more in tune with the environment for less damaging futures. Therefore, I conclude on a hopeful note of resiliency and a call for redefining relationships between human and nature that is premised on reciprocity and grounded in close, proximal interactions with nature.

FIGURES

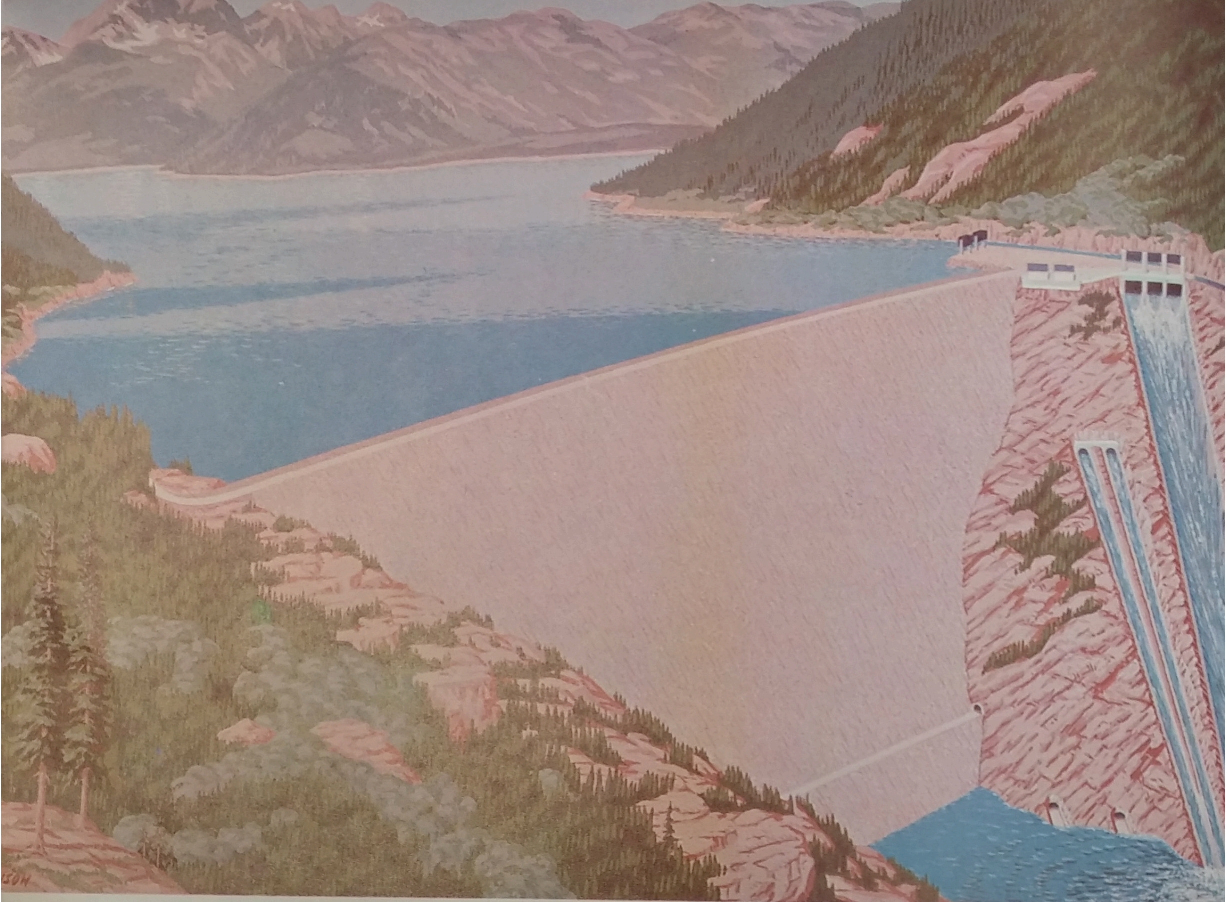
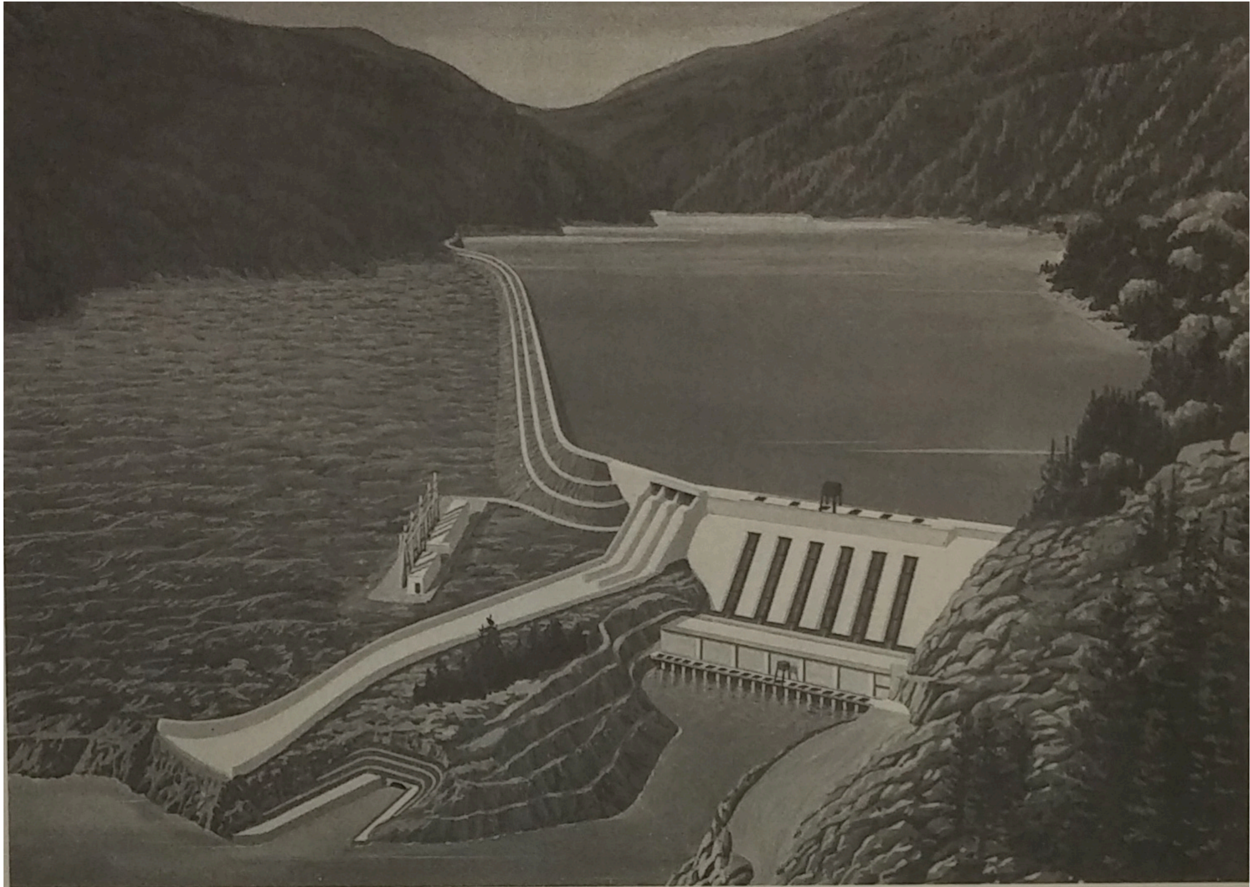


Figure 1. Bruce, Donald. "Columbia Power." *B.C. Motorist.* Vol. 4. no. 1. Vancouver: B.C. Automobile Association, January-February 1964. Retrieved by author from Revelstoke Archives on March 7, 2016.



Artist's concept of Revelstoke Dam and powerhouse shows concrete section of dam spanning Little Dalles Canyon, with earthfill embankment sweeping across terrace to west side of the canyon. Spillway extends downstream from left of dam and six penstocks down face of dam will carry water to powerhouse immediately adjacent downstream.

Revelstoke Dam

Figure 2. No bibliographic details for this image. Retrieved by author from Revelstoke Archives April 15, 2016.

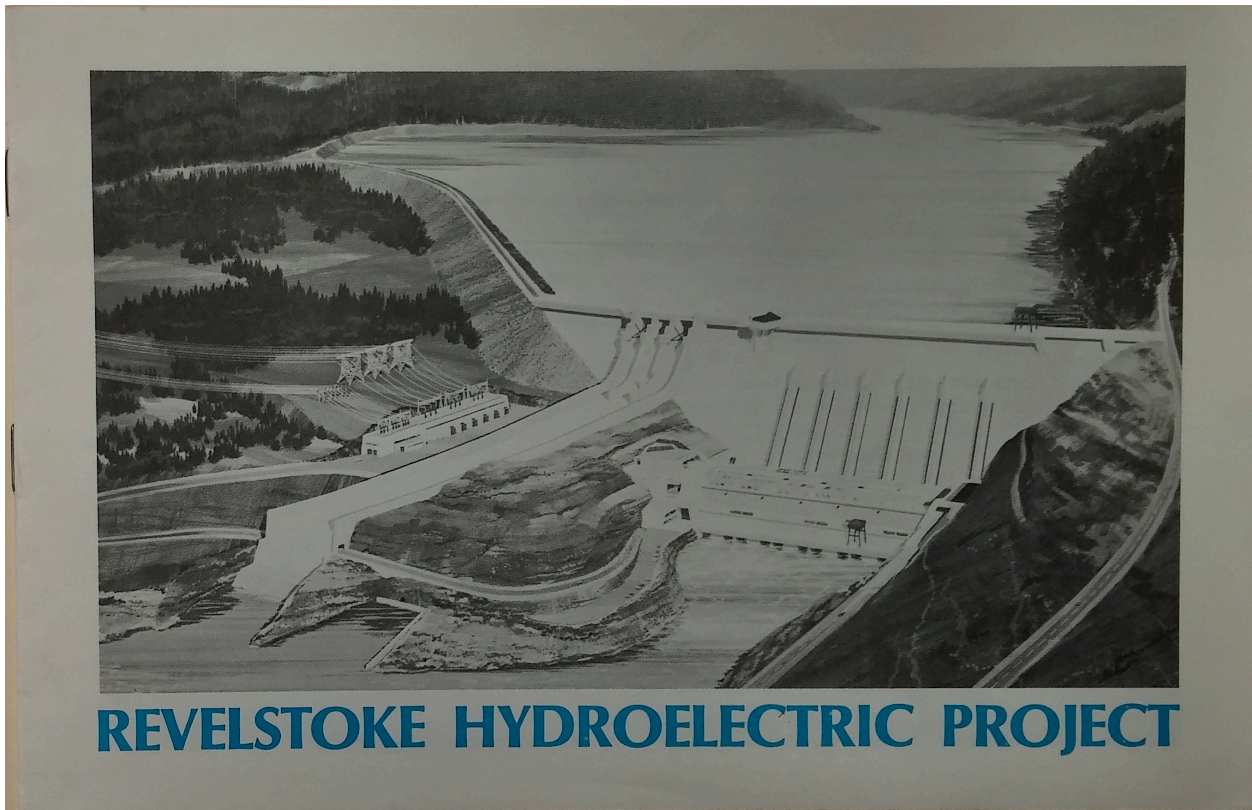


Figure 3. "Revelstoke Hydroelectric Project." B.C. Hydro Printing Services. Retrieved by author from Revelstoke Archives on April 15, 2016.

Figure 4. No bibliographic details for this image. Retrieved by author from Revelstoke Archives March 7, 2016.

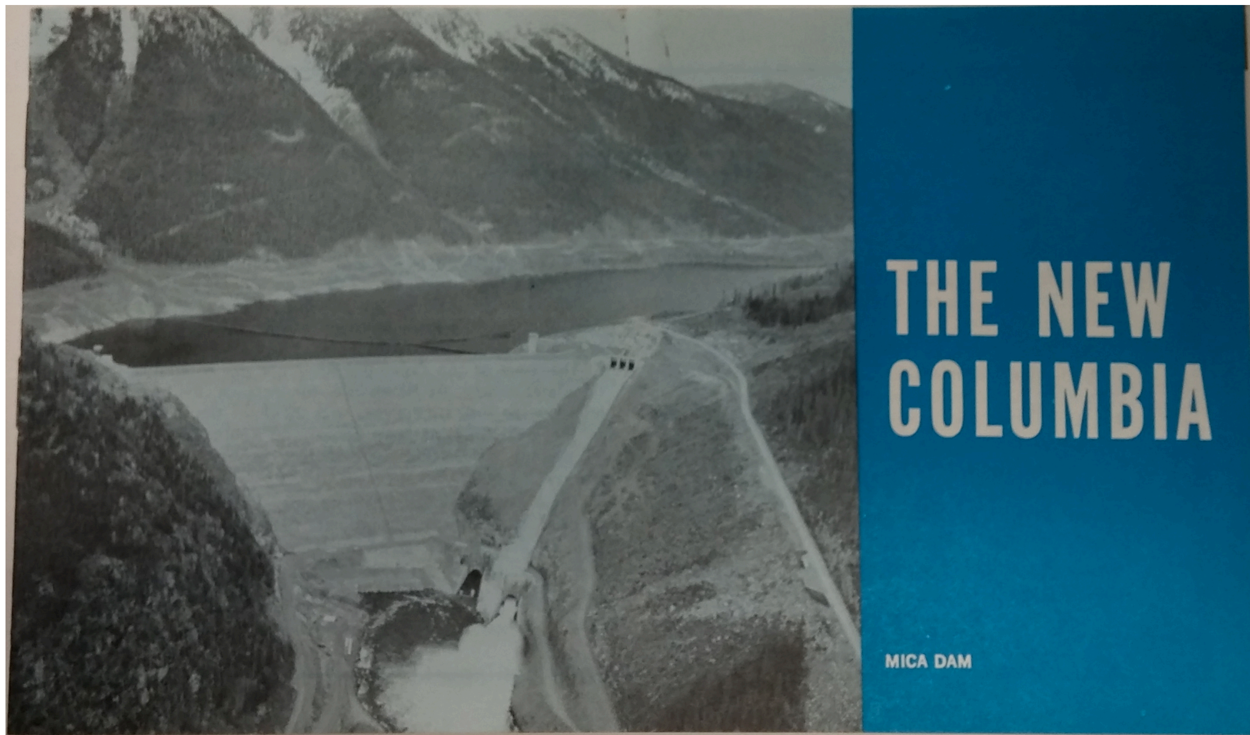


Figure 5. Information Services, B.C. Hydro. "The New Columbia." B.C. Hydro Printing Service. Retrieved by author from Revelstoke Archives on April 15, 2016,

Figure 6. Author’s photo taken from the top of Mica Dam March 9, 2016

Figure 7. Author’s photo taken from the top of Mica Dam March 9, 2016

Figure 8. Author’s photo taken from the top of Mica Dam March 9, 2016

Figure 9. Author's photo taken on the shore of Seton Lake March 23, 2016

Figure 10. Author's photo captured in the parking lot next to Seton Lake on March 23, 2016

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CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

Name of Applicant: Brenna Ward

Department: Faculty of Arts and Science \ Communication Studies

Agency: N/A

Title of Project: Pipe Dreaming: Investigating the Affective Ecologies of Resource Extraction in Alberta

Certification Number: 30004915

Valid From: September 10, 2015 to: September 09, 2016

The members of the University Human Research Ethics Committee have examined the application for a grant to support the above-named project, and consider the experimental procedures, as outlined by the applicant, to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

Dr. James Pfaus, Chair, University Human Research Ethics Committee

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Title of Project: Pipe Dreaming: Investigating the Affective Ecologies of Resource Extraction in Alberta

Certification Number: 30004915

Valid From: September 21, 2016 to: September 20, 2017

The members of the University Human Research Ethics Committee have examined the application for a grant to support the above-named project, and consider the experimental procedures, as outlined by the applicant, to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

Dr. James Pfaus, Chair, University Human Research Ethics Committee