The Machine in the Garden

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Abstract

The Machine and the Garden

Traffic Calming and the Role of Tranquillity in Re-reinventing the City

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In this study the current conflict over traffic on the Island of Montreal is found to originate in the tension between a belief in nature as an ideal home environment and a belief in technology as an ideal means to resolve social problems. These ideals emerge in the nineteenth century industrial city in response to anxieties over urban life felt by the upper classes. Concerns over health, safety and propriety led to the acceptance of moral instructions that normalized the countryside as the location for family life and generated support for unprecedented investments and developments in transportation technologies to allow people live on the urban fringe. These factors have lead to a situation where a large proportion of society reside in a thickly populated countryside and have adopted mass automobile usage. Current concerns over health, safety and the environment pose challenges to this lifestyle. Conflicts over vehicular access to central neighbourhood streets, the opposition to urban highways, and the drafting of the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) all indicate support for a reduction in automotive traffic and the development of a natural urban environment. This support is indicative of a value system that recognizes tranquillity as a natural attribute of home life. Reducing traffic and producing tranquillity are linked to earlier moral instructions and direct the re-invention of the city and society's continued expansion into the countryside.

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Introduction

Thesis Question and Description of Topic

The research question asks what are the origins of support for a reduction in the use of the private automobile. The thesis traces and challenges the origins of claims to purity or natural urban development and explains why these claims have become pervasive. The work provides for a theorization in which the private automobile is viewed as a major component in questions surrounding the ideal residential environment, the composition of the ideal central city, as well as the use of space in the expanse of its metropolitan radiance.

The title "The Machine and the Garden," introduces the concept of "The Garden," as the ideal of nature and the perfect environment. Nature is understood as always healthful, safe and beneficial. The concept of the garden provides the city with the natural urban environment, comprised of public parks, and private homes that are surrounded by lawns and backyard gardens.[1] "The Machine," is the private automobile. It navigates the road space between the natural urban environment and provides connectivity between individuals and activities atomized throughout the urban expanse.

This pattern of habitation is the result of a tension between society's faith in the possibilities of technology and the ideal of nature. This tension provides for the juxtaposition of contrasting elements of nature and technology in the urban environment

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[1] Botanist and 1994 Montreal Mayoral candidate Pierre Bourque campaign promised was to make the city a garden.

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and a history of conflict over developments in the city. The tension can be seen in the contrast between the construction of a city centre dominated by skyscrapers and the building and devotion to urban natural parks. It can also be witnessed in the history of vacillation between incorporating parkland and aerial gigantism in the construction of urban highways. The tension can be found in the current conflict over road space for automobiles and efforts to beautify the city by widening sidewalks to accommodate shade trees and flowering plants. It is, however most commonly found in the continued movement of society away from the highly developed city core to more tranquil and 'natural' communities at the city's edge.

This insistence on tranquillity provides for a discussion on the seemingly timeless question regarding the border between individual and the social and 'natural' world. It is explored in this thesis through narratives depicting 'traffic' and its distribution. These narratives indicate that while a major shift is taking place in regard to the elevation of automotive transportation, a societal reliance upon all forms of transportation services including the private automobile is increasing.[2]

Theoretical Framework

The investigation takes as its starting point the hypothesis that society's current concerns over the effects of transportation are part of a historical process that has its origins in

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[2] The word elevation is used both figuratively and descriptively here. See Chapter V, "The Turcot Complex and the Fall of Progress."

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efforts to provide relief from anxieties located in the urban life of the industrial city. The investigation proceeds to examine the historical 'construction' of the ideal urban environment viewed as aporia to a discussion on current concerns over the private automobile. This point of departure was decided upon based upon the observation that the use of the private automobile is located in a cluster of activities and technologies connected with the city's development, which are in conflict with an emerging vision of the city as ultimately tranquil and peaceful, health promoting and entirely safe.

The drama recognized by this conflict is continually in play; it is a common topic in the news. The media routinely reports on topics such as the opposition to flight paths, and protests over the development or expansion of institutions. These stories stress that these items have a negative impact on the livability of a location. A current example of this conflict pits the railway against neighbourhood residents. At the time of writing this introduction, residents of the central Montreal neighbourhood of Pointe St. Charles are organizing a petition to mitigate the sound of train cars coupling in the local rail yard (Rega, 2009). This story follows an item published days before concerning legal action over the sound of commuter trains in the city's west end district of Notre Dame de Grace (Rega, 2009). It is important to note that in both locations people have lived with the sounds of the railway for over a century.

Within the conflict described above I recognize that a historic change in values has taken place. People used to accept the character of a neighbourhood, (noise included), or move

away. Today, people appeal to the normative discourse on ideal health, safety, and tranquillity to deliver arguments that a neighbourhood is in an intolerable condition due to the imposition of a feature that existed long before they moved in.

In the social history found in the following chapters, narratives illustrate that conflict over the impact of transportation occurred in the past. During the 1800's, values dictated that neighbourhoods were reserved for neighbours and the intrusion of outsiders was violently opposed. These narratives connect the values of the 1800's with those found in current conflicts over transportation. In particular, the rejection of 'traffic' in both situations is based upon the value of keeping the integrity of an area by raising concerns over danger and pollution that could be caused by the subjective outsider. However, these concerns over transportation change continually, and show a great deal of morphology in this history. For this reason I have chosen to include insights of theorists who investigated the origins of the specific values expressed during this era, as well as others who provide for a theory of social change.

Durkheim (1964), Simmel (1971) and Veblen (1965) provide a survey of the observation and sociological thinking that is concurrent with an important period in the social history presented in the work. They wrote at a time when populations were becoming increasingly urban and there was great concern over the social body. It was an era when transportation had not yet developed to the point where it would allow the city to reach a high level of decentralization. Durkheim's *De la division du travail social,* published in

1893, expresses concern over social solidarity, while Simmel's 1903 portrait of a pathological metropolitan mentality paints a picture of a society from which people must escape in order to maintain mental health. Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, published in 1899, provides this thesis with a partial theory of how these anxieties were overcome. His observations point out how the upper class developed strategies of avoidance, which in turn were adopted by the masses.

The theory of organic solidarity recognizes that during the period of industrialization people were forced to work and live in situations of increased interdependence with strangers. Durkheim recognized that this situation created stresses in society. However, he argued that society would overcome these anxieties and become unified based upon a new understanding of the social body as atomized but integrated. This theory of organic solidarity is reflected in the social history presented in this work. In the twentieth century we witnessed a fragmented society become unified through a romance with progress. This romance is responsible for destroying earlier concepts of the street as an extension of the home and allowed neighbourhoods to be replaced with office towers.

This observation provides for the hypothesis that traffic calming, or reaffirming local control of streets is related to the loss of status of progress. Progress could be viewed as an intervening variable. The loss of an interest in progress has allowed societal values to reemerge, which promote life on a small scale, or a "Human scale" as it is called in anti-

car literature (Kunstler, 1996: 106-107). This is evident in the current concept of the city as a conurbation of villages such as the Monkland Village and the Gay Village.

The project of providing structures, which limit the size and/or scope of urban social interaction, is the focus of the history found in this work. Simmel's, metropolitan mentalities provide this investigation with the observation that nineteenth-century urbanites required protection from the uncertainty of interactions within the social body. Simmel found that people employed strategies of avoidance when confronted by the 'other', but were able to socialize in a milieu that exhibited a measure of familiarity. This observation is reflected in the urban project of producing segregated socioeconomic spaces highlighted in this work. This situation is elaborated by the observation that the most desirable urban road designs provide for optimum in privacy and isolation. It is argued in this work, that the (economic) value of isolation demonstrated by these roads informs on calls to control traffic throughout the metropolitan area.

Veblen's (1965) theory of leisure class provides this history with two important theoretical arguments. First, his observation of the habits of the leisure class includes the recognition that the higher strata have a historical preoccupation with nature. Secondly he reveals that the 'tastes' of the upper class influenced the behaviours adopted by other classes. This observation and theory provides the work with a theoretical approach to understanding both the inclusion of nature in the urban environment and provide for a theory that accounts for its high social position.

In this thesis, the works of more contemporary theorists are employed to flesh-out the theoretical foundation laid by Durkheim, Simmel and Veblen. Foucault (1980, 1990), Derrida (1992), and Elias (1982) provide this theoretical framework with a theoretical logic of inquiry that allows me to locate the authority of the value system, which connects the historical development of the city with the current conflict over the nature of the city.

In this work deconstruction provides for a focus on the meaning of terms frequently connected with recent initiatives to control traffic. In this history, terms such as traffic, suburbia, quality of life, noise and nature are traced back to their origin, and their original and historic meanings are compared with their common usage. The difference illuminates the subjective reading that has been attached to the term by current authors and policy makers. Terms such as "Quality of life" and "Nature" are found to be phallogocentic. This is a term authored by Derrida, which identifies language that provides a powerful authority to a voice in an argument without the reliance upon elaboration or specification. These terms, when relieved of their mythical authority, can be seen to advance arguments based upon the appeal of custom or a natural order (Powell, 2007: 17).

Derrida's concept of the 'undecidable' is used in this work to derive meaning from the language found in contests over the flow of traffic. The contests are founded in the logic of binary thinking. One side wants to build bigger roads and the other wants to block off existing ones, however, both sides in this contest provide a text concerning quality of life,

safety, and the environment. The moment of undecidablility disappears in this contest as each side rejects the evidence that determines each other's position. This event illustrates that the arguments produced by each side are symbolic in nature, and only intelligible within the context of particular belief system.

Within the text of road calming, the construction of borders and the creation of outsiders is evidence of a belief in the reconstitution of purity. This belief system argues that social problems/anxieties can be eradicated through a purification of the social body. This theory provides for the persuasive power of arguments of pollution and the danger of 'outsiders' that is found in the rhetoric surrounding traffic calming. It also accounts for legitimization of the strategy of replacing transportation infrastructures with its binary opposite, nature.

According to Foucault, the location of authority in society is found in the politics of the body. Foucault argues that the state regulates society through a production of knowledge dedicated to health and safety (Foucault, 1980:172). This knowledge is presented as both objective science and as part of a natural order. The language of health and safety is viewed as providing irrefutable truths that cannot be morally denied. An analysis of the discourse found in news reports, government documents, and public consultations connected to this study illustrates a strategic reliance upon the mythological use of scientific objectivity and an appeal to the natural order. As we will see in Chapter III and

V these items are used to produce language to petition the government to employ its apparatus of regulatory power against the free flow of vehicles.

Elias (1982) provides for a theory of process implied by the historical perspective of this thesis. Elias elaborates upon Veblen's (1965) theory of social change based upon a top down dissemination of tastes, and reiterates the autocratic origins of nature in society. However, his most important contribution to this work is his argument that the civilization process is a historical movement connected with amplifying mercantilism, and that civilization is the project of bringing new locations under the control of conducts and manners that reduce conflict and provide a safe space for economic exchange.

In the social history found in this study, traffic is viewed as outside of civilization and therefore in conflict with the morals of society. This concept allows me to press Elias's (1982) argument of a civilizing process into two ways to understand traffic calming. First, there is a growing acceptance that traffic calming provides for a pacification of space. Secondly pacification is connected with a pecuniary value. As we will see in the history, recent conflicts, and the city of Montreal's new Master Plan, a pacified space has more economic value than a traditional neighborhood, which accommodates large flows of vehicles and many activities.

The Objective of the Study

The objective is to provide an explanation for the changes in society that allow for conflicts like the one outlined at the beginning of the introduction to this work. While this study is centred upon transportation, it is conceived as a resource for further research into conflicts that arise between the integration of items and activities that are not residential and calls for higher levels of safety, security, and tranquillity in society.

In this study there is a focus on the use of the private automobile, because contests over its legitimate access to an area occur more frequently than with any other form of traffic. This is because the automobile is the most invasive mode of transportation found in society. Automobiles pass more often, in closer proximity, and in greater numbers to the individual than any other mechanically powered mode of transportation. This situation invites concerns over the health and safety of the individual as well as concerns over environmental degradation. The document *Réinventer Montréal; Plan de transport 2007: document de consultation* identifies the problems of automobile usage as; nuisance, noise, the cause of accidental injuries and death, poor air quality and global pollution.

The Approach: Logic of the Inquiry

The approach taken in this investigation is to deconstruct claims to suppress, reduce, restrict or eradicate the use of the private automobile, (often referred to as 'traffic calming' and traffic control in this work) in order to identify the origin of the argument against the free flow of vehicles. The research is primarily concerned with the North

American city, with the Montreal census area highlighted as a case study. This work

focuses upon conflicts in this geographic location to illuminate current attitudes toward

traffic and efforts for its reduction. Data is collected from a variety of sources. First

works of a historical nature are examined to provide a theoretical and historical

background for study. Secondly, two interviews were conducted with long standing

residents of Montreal's central neighbourhoods in order to provide a witnessed account of

the effects of change in these environments and to trace the attitudes toward traffic that

accompanied them. In addition to these interviews, my own reflections play a role in this

exercise. The remainder of the data is collected from highly accessible public sources.

Newspaper stories and letters provide for the bulk of the data collected and are used to

identify and analyse the discourse of traffic calming. This effort is assisted by official

government publications, and the attendance at public forms held by the government to

discus transportation policy. These forums not only offered access to the official

government position, but provides a great deal of insight into the belief systems of those

in opposition.

Chapter Outline.

Chapter I is a literature review, which describes the theoretical framework of the

research. It is used to explain the historical events found in subsequent chapters as well as

produce theory regarding the thesis question. The work of Elias (1982), Veblen (1965),

and Baumgartner (1988), Urry (2004), Simpson (2005), Simmel (1971), Hall (1966),

Derrida (1992), and Foucault (1980,1990) comprises an abbreviated list of literature

employed to investigate the key concepts and phenomena that surround the current practice of identifying problems associated with traffic and producing efforts to overcome them.

The intent of this chapter is to identify the meaning of tranquillity and traffic. This exercise serves the research into a hypothesis, which is that traffic calming is connected with the social norms of social exclusion found in industrial society. The work of these scholars provides for an investigation of this hypothesis by illustrating how tranquillity and traffic came to be understood as binary opposites. The values indicated by the opposition are seen to play a seminal role in the legitimization of traffic calming initiatives. In addressing the thesis question concerning the pervasiveness of the phenomena the theorists are employed to identify the origin of values and the process in which they have disseminated.

Chapter II introduces a historical approach to investigating the thesis question. The chapter identifies the historical location of the mentalities that provide for the spacial arrangement of residences currently found in the North American city. The narratives found in this chapter illustrate that dissatisfaction with the urban environment has produced a longing to live in the countryside since antiquity, but conditions in the industrial age transformed this ideal into a social movement. The chapter describes the social environment that preceded the nineteenth-century decision to decentralize and/ or reform the city and the goals these initiatives were based upon.

According to Mumford (1963), in the late nineteenth-century Christian moral instructions flourished in industrialized cities. Ames (1972) and McShane (1994) agree that moral instructions called for the reform of the city's housing for workers, and the building of parks and playgrounds as well as novel middle and upper class' residential areas in the countryside. Also, at this time, technological advances and economic competition encouraged cities to embrace grand projects to increase their status and compliment a growing interest in civic pride.[3] The result is that a modern successful city is viewed as one that has skyscrapers, green spaces, large scale attractions, gentrified neighbourhoods and an ever expanding ring of decentralized urban development.

Kunstler (1996) instructs that the impetus for this orientation came about as a consequence of widespread feelings of insecurity prompted by rapid industrial expansion. He states that during this era the city experienced an increase in population pressures, inequities, immigration, and poor living conditions. These events heightened concerns over bodily health, crime, and moral contamination. Foster (1983) found that the middle and upper classes left the city. They were attracted to the wide-open spaces of the countryside surrounding the established city where they found solitude and the opportunity to escape the social realities of the city.

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[3]Kunstler (1998: 26-27) locates the beginning of this movement as the Colombian Expedition of 1893. This expedition was held in Chicago and highlighted the achievement of American architecture and technology. It launched public support for civic works in order the beautify America cities- the Cities Beautiful Movement. Scharff (1991:9) adds that it was at this fair that America was introduced to the petroleum powered internal combustion automobile.

The introduction of the private automobile decades later offered the potential for a mass movement to the countryside and instituted a discipline of mobility upon society, which allowed cars to coexist with other forms of transportation. The architecture and legislation that provided for this discipline increasingly favoured vehicular traffic over travel by foot to the extent that large areas of an urban environment are now only easily, safely, and legally accessible by motorized vehicle. It is this legacy that provides for the contest over space that is found in this work.

Chapter III is divided into two sections. Section 1 reiterates the stages of development found in the preceding chapter and introduces the conflict over tranquillity and traffic found today. It is a case study derived from historical events located in the Montreal census area. This chapter presents the social problems of the nineteenth century found locally, which are identified with the movement to reform the city. The social environment of the time is shown to trigger initiatives to raise the stature of the city as well as provide the rationale for its population to relocate to the countryside.

Section two highlights the narratives of citizens that petition authority to reduce traffic on their street. The narratives include the story of a safety committee's effort to block off a thoroughfare between two suburban west- end neighbourhoods in order to eliminate all traffic that does not originate locally. Also included is the story of a mother of two young children in one of the city's central neighbourhoods. She mounted a protracted fight with

the city administration to reduce traffic in front of her property. These stories detail the contest between the transportation needs of the population of the Montreal Census area in general and those who feel a high level of entitlement to their location.

Chapter IV is a description and analysis of the current Montreal Transportation Plan (*plan de transport 2007/2008 Réinventer Montréal*). The document is described by it's authors as a break with the past in that it assists the appeal for local entitlement and resists the traditional role of the city in providing unfettered access to automobiles. The plan takes away kilometres of street from cars moving people from one part of the census area to another and offers the territory back to the local people in the form of wider sidewalks, bicycle paths and reserved bus lanes.

The plan envisions a change in attitude toward transportation, which will result in more people using active transport, (walking, cycling,) and using public transportation. The shift in attitudes toward public and nonmotorized transportation is expected to develop as a result of a promotional campaign, a reduction in resources to promote car usage, and an investment in public and active transportation facilities.

Highlights of the plan include a modern electric or hydrogen-powered tramway and 'Green Neighbourhoods.' The Green Neighbourhoods are residential areas that are to be transformed to include more flora and attract less motorized transportation. Outlined in this chapter are some criticisms of the plan. They include the concern of local industry

and the trucking industry that a concentration on tranquillity limits their ability to operate and is therefore inconsistent with the economic reality of the city. They advise that aspects of the plan will force industry and commerce to relocate to outlying areas where they will incur an increased reliance on transportation in order to operate. They advise that this situation is counter productive to the plans expressed interest, which is in limiting overall traffic and reducing regional green house gas emissions.

Chapter V is a report on the conflict surrounding three large scale projects Transport Quebec is investing in on the Island of Montreal. They are the rebuilding of the Turcot interchange, the 'modernization' of Notre Dame Street East, and the expansion of Autoroute 25. These projects illustrate how society wrestles with the autopoiesis of the automobile and the implementation of the nineteenth- century instructions on nature and tranquillity.

Discourse analysis is the main tool used in this investigation. Data is collected from a variety of sources; these include press releases, news items, government publication, public hearings and demonstrations. Through an analysis of the statements made by both the builders and blockers of these projects, the origins of traffic calming are illuminated and the belief system that sustains the phenomena is revealed as a mythological understanding of purity to resolve social problems.

Chapter I

Traffic and Authority; A Review of the Literature

The approach to investigating the research question, regarding the origin of traffic calming in this thesis employs no highly formalized methodology. For the most part the investigation relies upon a narrative of the history of the North American city collected from the works of social historians such as McShane (1994), the early critic of suburbia Goldston (1970) and the works of transportation theorist Rea (1971), and Pell (1966). These scholars provide an outline that describes the phases of development the contemporary North American city has gone through to inherit its built environment. This chronology is repeated later in the work with narratives that correspond to specific situations in the Montreal census area in order to produce a social history and case study of issues of transportation.

The role of other scholars such as Elias (1982), Veblen (1965) and Baumgartner (1988) in this work is to provide analytical tools in which to further investigate this history in order to arrive at a conclusion regarding the research question: Recall that the research question asks what are the origins of support for a reduction in the use of the private automobile. The thesis traces and challenges the origins of claims to purity or natural urban development and explains why these claims have become pervasive.

Traffic

The word traffic is important to this conversation. In regards to road usage it is commonly connected with the flow of motorized vehicles; traffic is commonly understood as the inconvenience of being amid or amongst motorized vehicles. However, historically it refers to people travelling on a common road and specifically denotes a connection with disrepute; either located within their person or associated with their trade. This is because mobility produces a contest over belonging, which is decided upon a subjective reading of the traveller. Simpson (2005) illustrates this concept with the examples of the slave plantation and Native reservation. These institutions were normalized through successive legislation and worked to restrict the movement of African Americans and Natives and make them conspicuous figures on the open road. Outside of their normalized space Africans were experienced as fugitives and Natives as an exotic 'other' regardless of the intent of their journey.

The invention of traffic blurs the lines between the public and the private economy, since it suggests that some members of society are 'naturally' enfranchised to occupy a road held in common trust, while others are not. Scharff (1991) views this enfranchisement over the public road- space as stemming from an androcentic concept of mobility. This view is cofisistent with the western tradition of reserving the public sphere for masculine pursuits. The history of this prohibition of women in public resonates in the contemporary term "trafficking in prostitution." Trafficking in this sense is connected with the assumed immoral motives of disenfranchised women who walked the streets (5).

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An example of this usage is found in editorial of the March 24, 1900 edition of the *New York Times*, in it the Mayor Van Wyck defends his position that New York does not have a crime problem by comparing the city with other jurisdictions. The editor writes:

> Let us grant, since he insists that he is better informed than are his critics as to the number of destitute women in Regent Street, London; or gamblers in Albany or Saratoga. Over these he has no power and has no responsibility over the means by which they secure immunity for their vile **traffic** (Anonymous, 1900:3).

The control of traffic is based upon an authority to organize the movement of people in the interest of providing for good and moral life/ environment as understood by enfranchised members of society. As we will see in the narratives presented in subsequent chapters, traffic control or calming has been achieved through both mob violence and an appeal to the state for intervention. The aim of either of these actions is always the protection of the integrity of the street from the burden of providing transportation links to the wider society.

The stories of 'mob' violence dates back to the nineteenth-century and early twentieth century, and should be viewed in contrast to the current method of dialogue with the state. The major contrasting features separating dialogue and violence are that the former demands self-restraint, minimal contact with the outsider, and an understanding of the state as an authority. In contrast violence commands direct action and recognizes local authority as providing for a legitimate course of action.

The Role of Progress

A movement away from violence toward an acceptance of the outsider as part of society is connected with an interest in 'progress.' Progress is the concept that society is and must move toward perfection. At the turn of the twentieth century this interest in perfection allowed for the integration of technology into society. It provided for an atmosphere where the unfettered movement of goods and people were viewed positively. Transportation (as opposed to traffic) became understood as a part of the goal for the betterment of society. It became inseparable from progress as it was viewed as vital to economic growth. This allowed the state to promise and often deliver on grand transportation projects designed to increase the speed and volume of movement in society. According to McShane (1994), these projects were understood to have a negative impact upon residential areas but were viewed positively by the public due to the belief that they were a benefit to the greater good of society (65, 225).

The Civilizing Process and the Natural Order

The origin of the state in assuming the duty to aid economic growth is located in Elias's (1982) description of the civilizing process. He states that during the renaissance, sovereign power and the feudal system gave way to the nation state and market economics. This change provided the state with a monopoly of force, which it used in order to ensure a pacified space where cooperation and the integration of society satisfied an emerging interest in mercantile activity. Elias (1982) describes the state monopoly of force as essential to the civilization process. He found that every social interaction is

framed within an understanding of the state's ability to provide for punishment. Elias (1982) specifies that the state rarely uses force to regulate the conduct of citizens because they respond well to its threat and this mitigates the need for its use. In this way, the civilizing process can be viewed as the non- reflective production of self- restraint based upon the recognition of the state's monopoly of force.

An example of the forces the civilizing process exerts on an individual can be seen when a lone car stops at a red light in a deserted area. The driver does not anticipate any danger of collision or chance of being sanctioned by the police by proceeding through the red light, but decides to stop and wait for the appropriate signal. The driver obeys the sign because he is civilized. He recognizes a public space as governed by regulation and controls his impulses. He practices self-control in anticipation that all others will do the same and ensure safe passage through intersections at all times.

From this example we can see that his actions are not consistent with an external reality, but reflect internal processes. The driver does not proceed because of three forces he has internalized. Elias (1982) found that the social actor experiences the panopticon effect of having lived his life under the surveillance of, first, his parents, and now the state. This allows him to irrationally fear that the state will inexplicably notice his infraction and he will be punished. Secondly, he fears social degradation; in general he is always in anticipation that if he does not abide by regulations he will be seen as a less civilized person. In a case such as this, where he is alone, a third force provides him with fear. This

force is a social opinion of himself. He fears that he will not be able to view himself in a positive light in front of others due to a diminished appreciation of himself as a law-abiding citizen (292-296).

Foucault (1980) provides an additional aspect to understanding the driver's behaviour. In addition to responding to the instrument of repression, the social actor conforms to expectations because he recognizes the role of the state in providing for his pleasure. Foucault (1980) argues that society would reject regulation if it did not satisfy personal desires (119). With all these forces weighing upon the driver as he approaches the light his decision to brake and wait for it to change is an automatic response, which alleviates anxieties and satisfies his will to conform; it is not a calculation of external risk.

However, as we have all witnessed, traffic regulations are not always observed. It is possible for a driver to not obey a sign because he did not notice it, but this situation falls primarily outside of the theory and the narratives found in this work. Within this work it can be assumed that transgression is understood as liberty, or the placing of self interest over that of society. As we will see later in this work; not all traffic can be controlled by signs. The signs are ignored when they interfere with people's desires and there is an absence of state force. In this vacuum the discourse on safety calls for the regulatory apparatus of the state to physically block- off areas in order to discipline mobility and provide for pacified space.

Aristocratic Tastes and the Position of Nature in Society

Another area of the civilization process of importance to this work is the dissemination of

tastes within society. Elias (1982) presents the argument that much of the groundwork for

civilization was done by the aristocracy in the late middle ages. They developed tastes

and manners to distinguish themselves from the mercantile class that was approaching

them in wealth and influence. However, as the upper strata refined their habits, the

mercantile class appropriated the aristocracy's behaviour and tastes to provide evidence

for the legitimacy of their elevated position. Veblen (1965) sees this transfer of behaviour

and tastes as prevalent throughout history. He argues that the values of the 'leisure class,'

(those with the economic resources to avoid menial work) provide a templet of the good

life for the masses to emulate. Veblen (1965) identifies conspicuous consumption and

absence from the labour force as attractive behavioural models for the lower class. He

argues that these items, which indicate wealth, continually provide society with the

distinction between a superior lifestyle and one that is inferior, and are viewed as the

conventional basis for reputability (8, 26, 29). He writes:

> The prescriptive position of the leisure class as the example of reputability has
> imposed many features of the leisure class theory of life upon the lower classes
> with the result that there goes on, always through society, a more of less persistent
> cultivation of these aristocratic traits (Veblen, 1965: 242).

Veblen (1965) views landscaping as an aristocratic trait that democratized to become part

of the general fabric of society. Elias (1982) offers the view that nature is connected with

the civilization process. He found that nature has historically been part of an effort to

provide purity for society. He writes that the primitive, or uncivilized, experience nature

as a dangerous and as a wild space of little significance to people's daily life, but by the sixteenth century as trade routes between populated areas became pacified spaces, a new concept of nature developed. The fear of wilderness gives way to an appreciation of nature as a place of relaxation and beauty (297). Veblen (1965) argues that the leisure class' interest in rusticity instructed them to import nature into their home environment and that this love of nature was appropriated by lesser classes. The use of nature is currently an integral part of the urban landscape. It provides us with suburban lawns and city parks. Mumford (1963) argues that these items are not enjoyed in and of themselves but as architecture that provides for social distancing (22-27).

Social Distance, Avoidance, Moral Instruction and the Urban Form

Simmel's (1971) description of the mental life of people living in the metropolis describes the individual's need for social distance in an urban setting. He identifies the problem of maintaining a boundary between individuality and the demands of society as the 'deepest problem' of modern life. He states (the individual) "Creates a protective organ for itself against the profound disruptions with which the fluctuations and discontinuities of the external milieu threaten it" (Simmel: 1971, 326).

He writes that the protective organ filters out all occasions of social interactions except the ones advanced by the ego's mentality. Reputability plays a part in explaining the effort extended in the development of this organ. Simmel (1971) describes the organ as providing for strategies, which protect the reputation of the individual. The first strategy

relies upon intellectualism. It reduces all social interaction to a regiment of impersonal transactions in order to avoid emotion laden human contact. The strategy has at its core the ability to allow individuals to conduct themselves with exactitude in an environment that may be chaotic. The second strategy Simmel (1971) describes is referred to as the blasé mentality. He viewed it as a common trait found among the population of the metropolis. He recognized that individuals can become indifferent in an urban environment. He viewed this trait as a pathological state brought on by being overwhelmed by stimulation over time. Reserve is another strategy employed to preserve self identity. Individuals, he noticed, limit social interaction in order to defy being redefined by unknown social actors. This form of reservation is sustained by an aversion to others. The last strategy Simmel (1971) mentions, is an exhibition of individual distinction. This strategy relies upon a disingenuous display in order to hide the ego behind a mask of distinction.

Simmel (1971) presents an argument that the psyche of a highly urban person depends upon constant and reflexive tactics of avoidance for protection. The use of tactics suggests a process beyond that of the non-reflective self-restraint found in the civilization process. Hall (1966) uses public transportation to illustrate the use of tactics to avoid social interaction. He writes:

> Crowded subways and buses may bring strangers into what would ordinarily be classified as intimate spacial relations, but subway riders have defensive mechanism which takes the real intimacy out of intimate space in a public conveyance. The basic tactic is to be as immobile as possible and when part of the truck or extremities touches another person withdraw if possible. If this is not possible the muscle in the affected area is kept tense. For members of the non-

contact group, it is taboo to relax and enjoy bodily contact with the stranger . . .
(riders must keep their) eyes fixed at infinity and not brought to bear on anyone
(Hall, 1966: 112).

Hall's (1966) description of behaviour in intimate spaces suggests that we are burdened

by casual interactions with strangers and offers a rationale for the concept that morality

can be achieved through architectural designs that promote high levels of social

distancing or privacy. Isolated tranquil streets and the rustic reduce the opportunity to

experience impulses and situations that can lead to social degradation. They provide for

the moral conduct found in strategies of social distancing without the effort of

maintaining high levels of self restrain. In this way, we can see how the integration of

nature into one's lifestyle provides relaxation. It provides a respite from the anxieties

over social interaction found in public space.

The desire for social distancing in achieving the 'good life'/ moral life in a perfect

environment provides for a schism in the direction the history of the city takes, which

directly leads to the current problem of traffic. One side of the divide provides for efforts

to re- invent the city as a pacified place, free of people with morally undesirable traits. It

is advanced in the nineteenth- century by social reformers who believe that the city can

be redeemed through morally uplifting architecture and the eradication of degrading

locations (Ames, 1972, Scharff, 1991:9).

The other side of the divide is anti-urban and embraces a school of thought that the city is

the 'natural' site of corruption, and that only relocation to the countryside and segregation

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from those incapable of moral conduct can provide for a good life/ moral life. This mentality moves to construct new communities where 'good' people can live among themselves and escape the corruption of 'other'. However, this project requires more geographic space and transportation due to its reliance on differentiated space for all activities, peoples, and the incorporation of nature.[4]

The first side of the schism, the effort to re invent the city, runs into the problem that it is a built environment with structural realities constructed of concrete, tradition, and social realities that are not easily dissolved by moralized social reform. The social realities of poverty, vice and an affinity for activities deemed vulgar (both pastimes and employment) cannot be eradicated without structural change.

Social realities support a binary conception of the city as the opposite of the suburb, (The city is the location of the exciting and suburbs the pacific). Goldston (1970) views this binary relationship as providing for reciprocal exchange of population between the two locations based upon a position in the life cycle. The excitement of the city acts as an attraction, which pulls successive generations of young adults from the suburbs into the central neighbourhoods. They move in and replace more family oriented adults who leave the city centre to raise children away from vulgar social realities. Their children will in turn return to spend their young adulthood in a central neighbourhood. In this way both

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[4] Suburbia's high use of geographic space is among the most common arguments against this habitat. See Kunstler (1996), Goldston, (1970), Pell (1966).

the vulgar and the exciting, and the honorific and placid, hold the city and its surroundings in a tension of competing desires.

These tensions represent a paradox concerning the 'nature' of the city's central neighbourhoods. They are desirable places to live because they are near the centre of activity but they are also places to avoid because they are not peaceful. Traffic calming seems to resolve this tension by offering a further differentiation of space. It pacifies neighbourhoods by reserving more space for local residents and pushes non-residents away through a reduction of transportation resources and attractions. The problem this pacification of space and 'ownership' of space provides to transportation, whether it is a commercial trucking industry or a private automobile is it that it redresses traditionally mundane movements of people and goods as 'traffic' and therefore invites the government to exercise its regulatory powers.

The Discourse of Traffic Calming

The discourse of traffic calming depends upon the reproduction of commonly held 'truths.' These truths are linked together in an effort to project an irrefutable picture of reality. Foucault (1990) points out that these pictures change as the authority to produce reality changes from one powerful institution to another. In this way discourse is the presentation of authority through the use of specialized descriptive language connected to a given field (1990: 30-32).

The discourse in support of interventions to promote traffic calming is consistent with those found in other areas where political technologies concerned with safety are applied, such as gun control and smoking restrictions. With traffic calming, the discourse takes on one more language; that connected with the protection of the local and global environment (Transportation Plan, 2007-08). The discourse consists of two strategies; one applies a myth of scientific objectivity to risk analysis, while the other applies the myth of a natural order to argue that a situation can be risk free.

The scientific argument is sustained by statistical analogies, which may or may not critically support the cause of a localized reduction in vehicle uses, but provide an argument for objectivity to support intervention. The goal of the statistical evidence is to promote the view that life in the city continues to be dangerous and that by applying a vigilant safety plan it can be made not only less dangerous, but ultimately 'safe.'[5]

Foucault (1980) identifies the origin of this discourse with the emergence of a modern medical establishment. He found that doctors were among the first managers of urban space. During the renaissance they used statistics to analyse populations and the use of space to identify the determinants of disease. Their concerns covered questions of environmental pollutants, as well as the size, density, movement and morality of the population (150-151).

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[5]See Transportation Plan, 2007: 113.

Foucault (1980) explains that the role of providing for health is transferred to the state in the eighteenth century where it becomes the essence of political power. His theory is that with the population growth in Western Europe came pressures to organize the labour force to optimize productivity. He writes, "The biological traits of the population become relevant factors for economic management and it becomes necessary to organize around them apparatus, which will ensure not only their subjection but the constant increase in their utility (Foucault, 1980: 172). According to Lupton (1999), the public was enlisted to help with the project of producing a healthful labour force. Beyond the use of force, the state provided information for the public in order for them to conduct their lives. Foucault (1980) writes: "The imperative of health: at once the duty of each and the objective of all" (Foucault, 1980:170).

The other strategy present in the discourse appeals to the concept of natural superiority. It suggests that an area with few cars and even fewer trucks is 'naturally' a normal residential environment regardless of the history of the location. It maintains that an area has degenerated and been made unliveable by the presence of vehicles. These vehicles referred to as 'traffic' can be viewed as a vulgar intrusion in otherwise honorific place. Within this strategy terms are borrowed from abnormal psychology to stress the point that the vehicles represent an aberration and are not part of the healthy functioning of society. In the medico- scientific discourse car usage is described as a dependency or an addiction (Transportation Plan, 2007: 25). It is an analogy with a pollution of the body, which can be made pure through rejecting the insult.

The strategy of referring to a natural order relies upon phallogocentrism. The term

authored by Derrida describes a word or term that commands an authority that is self-

evident and needs no further interpretation. Foremost in this discourse is the term

'Quality of life[6], it is a term that needs no qualification and cannot be quantified, and can

only be viewed in a positive light. The concept of safety for children is also ubiquitous

within the discourse and also can only be viewed as a desirable goal.[7] It appeals to no

other rational but its own authority to be persuasive and does not invite qualification or

quantification. Both terms offer powerful arguments for intervention. They are based

upon the aporia that the practice of citizenship and responsible government rests upon

paternalistic actions on behalf of safety and the enjoyment of life.[8]

Foucault (1980) explains why both parents and the government assume the responsibility

for children's safety. He writes that within the apparatus to ensure the health of the

workforce, a privileged position is presented to the development of the body. Within this

strategy a focus on the development of children from infancy to maturity is highlighted.

The activity of raising healthy children is advanced over all other roles and positions the

institution of family maintains. It becomes a civic duty of the parent to protect the child

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[6] See Chapter IV- Quality of Life; The Central Concept & Why Quality of Life?
[7] See Chapter III -Coursol Revisited and Anger on Bluebonnets Hill
[8] Phillips (2005) found that hedonistic pleasure can not be advanced by government initiatives. Hedonism does not fit with the demands of a social or collective right and can not be advanced as a quality of life issue.

from danger. The obligations of parenthood include the hygiene of the child, the safety of his environment as well as a regimen of physical exercise (172-74).

Traffic calming contains what Derrida (1995) refers to as a "Phantom Ideal." It is a belief in perfection that provides the state with the authority to intervene. Derrida (1995) uses the example of the 'War on Drugs,' here the 'phantom ideal' is that there is an original naturalness of the body. Derrida (1995) argues that the naturalness of the body cannot be reconstituted regardless of any effect of a repressive regulation of prohibition. He argues that regardless of the measures taken in the 'War' the body/ social body will continue to be surrounded by and ingest man-made substances. He refers to the war on drugs as a false alibi, which perpetuates the notion that purity is achievable while avoiding the question of at what price, and by what means. Derrida writes, "There is no natural, ordinary body: technology has not simply added itself, from the outside or after the fact, as a foreign body. Or at least this foreign or dangerous supplement is "originally" at work and in place in the supposedly ideal interiority of the "body and soul" (Derrida, 1995: 244-245).

In concert with the war on drugs, traffic calming suggests that purity can be restored to the social body. It represents a false alibi, in that the denial of traffic cannot recapture the purity of natural environment. In spite of this, traffic calming is socially desirable because it provides for control over the unknown and possible dangerous other. Inherent in the discourse on traffic calming (also highlighted in the War On Drugs) is an argument

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that prevention can mitigate an unacceptable risk (especially to children). This can be witnessed by the frequency of which the legitimization of traffic calming is based upon arguments that imagine the outsider as a dangerous driver who misuses the street and creates an atmosphere of fear. This subjective reading of the traveller links the pre-automobile argument to restrict pedestrian traffic with current arguments for traffic calming. [9]

Ewald (1993), in his thesis on the proliferation of risk uses traffic (population of car drivers) as an example. He theorises that because accidents happen, traffic as a whole represents an insidious danger to the individual. This suggests that each unknown driver poses a latent threat to society that can be actualized at any unforeseen moment. The concept that every car represents a persistent and latent danger creates a situation where traffic calming is always justified (221-222).

Section 2

The Expansion of the Automobile

Urry (2004) considers traffic as part of the system of automobility. He describes the system as based upon a hybridal relationship between the car and driver that provides each with continuous avenues for expansion. It is a system based upon autopoiesis; it creates its own needs and satisfactions and in the process continually replicates needs and satisfactions. The system of automobility is global, enormously flexible, self-organizing,

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[9] See Chapter III, "Anger on Bluebonnets Hill and Coursol Revisited."

self- generating and has at its origin society's desire for movement unfettered by time tables. It challenges the larger societal goals of safety and environmental protection envisioned by traffic calming initiatives because of its autopoietic nature. Automobility internalizes all the arguments of the safety technologies including traffic calming and uses them as the bases for further growth.[10] The nature of the system of automobility is such that as neighbourhoods produce initiatives to unburden streets from outside traffic, automobility expands to claim more territory/ society for car culture.

Urry (2004) views the end of mass automobile use as dependent upon a tipping point. He describes this point as having properties similar to a Kuhnian paradigm that collapses when challenges to its scientific validity result in its rejection. However, current traffic calming initiatives are not representative of a tipping point, because car culture is still expanding.[11] Traffic calming is more inline with the expansion of a moral order described by Baumgartner (1988). Baumgartner describes the moral order as a powerful aversion to outsiders and an intense focus upon the private economy. He argues that the suburbs hold the largest pool of voters and are the major political force of our time.[12] This suggests

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[10] In Automobile Politics, Paterson, (2007) argues the car companies produce advertisements to reaffirm the automobile's 'naturalness' when affronted by critics. It reproduces cars as socially responsible, 'green' within the discourse in the environment and the hallmark of domestic safety to readdress concerns about accidents.

[11] Between 1987 and 2003 the increase in car usage on the Island of Montreal was 1.5% annually (Transportation plan, 2007:33).

[12] Baumgartner is referring to the population proportion found in the United States. However Statistics from Canada bear out a similar trend. According to Statistics Canada (2006) the fastest growing areas in Quebec are the outlying suburbs of Montreal. The city and the island suburbs have shown little to no growth in the past five years, with some West Island municipalities recording a decline in population.

that traffic calming is essentially a reformation of territory for an unjust redistribution of the burdens and benefits of a society to favour those who can best afford an anti urban environment.

The Political Spectrum and Traffic Calming

This last statement brings into question the history of involvement of the left in traffic calming initiatives. The left engages a classic democratic dialogue in which it defends the position of equality or collective rights, while the right advances the cause of individual liberty. The left was instrumental in providing arguments against 'progress' that advanced the interest of the establishment over the disenfranchised.[13] However, current appeals for traffic calming come from citizens representing a cross section of society, and contain the same argument, that the burdens of traffic are unfairly being placed upon them.

Dagger (2000) offers the possibility that the ideological divide of the right and left is no longer the locations of grass root initiatives. He writes; "It is not always easy to separate concerns that are both personal and public from those that are merely personal" (Dagger, 2000:29). Dagger (2000) is specifically speaking of citizen groups that profess to represent the public's welfare. His argument resembles that of Wellman (1974). In this work on the local resistance to the proposed Spadina Expressway in Toronto, he states

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[13]See Chapter III- Resistance to a Downtown Highway.

that public interest can more accurately be described as the interests of "publics," they are advanced by the group as a "communities of interest" (1).

The emergence of a community of interests, petitioning the government offers a stark contrast to the nineteenth-century portrait of class based mob violence presented earlier in this chapter. The mob violence was possible because the state had not yet become recognized as a legitimate authority over local affairs on neighbourhood streets. The civilization process accounts for this transformation. Elias (1982) refers to the process as an unfinished project that is always conquering new territory. This instruction illuminates Baumgartner's (1988) argument of the emerging power of a pacific suburban moral order. The integration of these morals in the urban psyche can be viewed as evidence of the process of civilization taking place.

Points of Insatiability

Veblen (1965) provides an argument of path determination that accounts for the ubiquity of traffic calming. He states that the quest for reputability has no point of ultimate satisfaction. It is propelled by a contest within society to acquire the highest elevation of status available (31). Phillips (2007) reinitiates this point with his thesis on quality of life. He argues that quality of life is a goal of society connected with a quest for status and features the pursuit of happiness as its underlying rationale. This pursuit puts society on what Phillips (2007) describes as the "Satisfaction treadmill." It demands that

individuals, streets, neighbourhoods, and cities strive for more tranquillity in order to attempt to satisfy the insatiable (29-30).

Traffic Calming and Legitimacy

Montaigne through Derrida (1992) provides a link between the pervasive desire for more tranquil neighbourhoods and the drafting of traffic calming legislation by the state. He conceives that "Custom" is the mystical foundation of law. It is all that is needed for desire to be transformed into legislation. Custom in the case of traffic calming rests upon the phallogocentric argument that quality of life and safety have always been the goal of society (12). Durkheim (1964) adds to this conversation by specifying that the timing of a custom's transformation into written and codified law, represent the moment when its legitimization is called into question (75).

Derrida (1992) continues this conversation of law and justice with the observation that the two concepts are not readily reconcilable. His argument is that law cannot be justified by reference to custom alone. It begs the question; on what basis can contests over traffic be resolved? It argues that the desires for tranquillity and those of transportation be weighed by the possibility of producing the most good for society.

Conclusion

The demand for traffic calming links the city with the suburbs and the nineteenth century attempt to solve social problems through isolation. It has become commonplace because

it has been established as a 'natural' solution to alleviate anxieties that are prevalent in society. These anxieties are based upon a perceived disorder in the social body that provides for the view that travellers may inflict insult on the 'property' of local residents. Tranquillity, or the rejection of commotion caused by the 'flux and flow' of society is viewed as the essential element in the construction of the ideal residential environment.

The argument for the elimination of traffic originating outside the immediate neighbourhood rests on the imagined possibility that purity exists. It is found in the insistence of avoidance located in the current moral order of the suburbs and the nineteenth- century Christian reformer's prescription to leave the filth and wickedness of the city for the countryside.

This is because the urban neighbourhood street has always been viewed a location of danger. In earlier days it was the unknown motives and character of pedestrians that needed to be guarded against. Today it is the unseen effects of air pollution and the presumptive recklessness of the traffic/ driver that provides for concern. This situation allows for the competition over space found in traffic calming. It pits the resident against the traveller who's 'dangerousness' is understood within the discourse of health and safety and the environment. The result of the contest is that the traveller's way is blocked because he is subjectively viewed as an interloper who can offer no legitimate claim to 'damage' the neighbourhood.

Traffic calming will continue to provide for more pacified urban space. It is propelled by values that not only provide for its attractiveness, but deliver an avenue for interventions on its behalf. It is connected to several items on the course of indefinite expansion; the quest for ultimate safety, satisfaction, reputability and to guard against the autopoiesis of the automobile and its structures. In the following chapters we will visit the contest between transportation and the concept of local entitlement to the street. We will investigate the systems of values and beliefs that have organized these events. In the final chapter of this thesis we will look at proposals for new large-scale developments and see how the current competition for space provides for an image of the city's future.

Chapter II: From Garden to Metropolis; The Decentralizations of Cities

Introduction

In this chapter a history of the North American city is presented in two sections. The first

section is primarily concerned with morality and its contribution to the development of

the city, while the second describes the technological innovations involved in providing

for our contemporary spacial arrangement. Together they illustrate the challenges society

faced when it changed from one that was primarily rural, decentralized, ethnically

homogeneous, and engaged in small scale production to one that is urban, pluralistic,

centralized and organized around the efficient production and distribution of

manufactured goods.

This change, the focus of much sociological thinking in the nineteenth-century was

described by Durkheim (1964) as a move from mechanical solidarity towards organic

solidarity. It is a movement from a social system based upon similarities with others to

one based upon cooperation within a highly differentiated population. It is a change

Durkheim (1964) found to be accompanied by high levels of anxiety and tension in the

social body. This chapter, "From Garden to Metropolis," describes attempts to alleviate

these anxieties through the reformation of the city. This project involved efforts to

eliminate slum areas by reformers, and the larger project of building new residential

locations in the countryside. These new locations allowed people to escape the social

problems of the industrial central city and build homes in natural surroundings. It is the

bridging and binding together of the city, decentralized by this project that is responsible for of the conflict over traffic society is currently experiencing.

The new residential locations described above are now commonly referred to as 'suburbs' and their distinctive features will be described later in this chapter. The two most relevant features of the suburb in providing for traffic calming are the role they play in defining a city's transportation obligation, and the instructive role they occupy as models (both moral and architectural) for the possibility of the city as a location of tranquillity.

Transportation and tranquillity provide the theme for the majority of the narratives in this work. The technological innovations in transportation presented in this social history were developed in direct response to the demand for tranquillity. This infrastructure was built to provide access to the sparely populated edge of the city for families dependent economically on employment located in the central city. These technologies, however, effect the tranquillity of the areas they pass through and provide for a contest between those who use an area primarily for transportation and those who view it as part of their home environment. In this chapter we visit the history of building and blocking avenues of transportation and how this process determined the shape of the contemporary North American city.

Section 1 of the chapter touches upon the social problem of the North American city of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth century. These problems can be witnessed

as complaints over noise, health, and the proposed immoral nature of the lower classes, ethnicities, and individuals. Theses social problems are highlighted in a medical manual and the newspaper reports discussed in this chapter. The concerns over the health of the society, listed above, provided the social reformers of this period with the moral authority to persuade the city's most influential citizens to physically distance themselves from other socioeconomic classes and the negative effects of industry.

Section 2 of this chapter concerns the actual movement from the city to the suburbs. Technological innovations in transportation figure prominently in this discussion. The examples cover a wide breadth, both historically and geographically, however, particular attention is paid to innovations found in New York City from the mid nineteenth-century to the early twentieth century. This era and location are highlighted because it provides a template for transportation initiatives found in other industrial cities. The lessons of this history have shown to be particular instructive for the City of Montreal, which is the focus of the research found in the following chapters.

The history and geography of the two locations have several features in common. These features are; the relative age of development, the experience of rapid population growth, the limitations and challenges of an island topography, and a concern over the status of the city in competition with other centres.

Section I: The Origins of Suburbia

According to Robert Goldston (1970), (a critic of both car culture and suburbia), the term

suburbia dates back to the ancient walled city of Babylon: *'Ur'* refers to walls of the city

and *'sub'* is the area exterior to the walls. The author found that in antiquity both Athens

and Rome referred to this area as- *sub urb*. Goldston (1970) describes these ancient

suburbs as an area devoted to recreational activities that require more space than the city

could afford. They were places of elaborate gardens, spas, gymnasiums and villas. It was

the place where wealthy citizens initially visited, but could not reside there due to the

vulnerability of the area to attack by the city's enemies. The first residential suburbs

came about at the height of Roman imperial power, when the state's military provided for

security far beyond the city's walls. It was during this age that wealthy citizens chose to

live in permanent housing in the countryside (13).

John B Rea (1971) (a critique of the anti- car movement) provides a view of the origin of

suburbia, which is substantially contradictory to the vision Goldston (1970) provides. Rea

(1971) envisions the *sub urb* of ancient Rome as populated, not by the entitled, but by the

disenfranchised. He writes;

> The early suburbs were slums . . . They were inhabited by people unable to live
> near the centre of the activity because of poverty or because they were newcomers
> and not acceptable as full-fledged residents. These people huddled together
> outside the walls, a district called by the Romans the *sub burbs* (Rea, 1971: 227).

The term appears after the Middle Ages in the writings of the English antiquarian and surveyor of London, John Stow (1525-26 to April 1605). He reported on the habit of London's elite. He observed;

> The manner of most noblemen also to house themselves (if they possibly may) in the suburbs of the city, because most commonly, the air being there somewhat at large, the place is healthy, and through the distance from the body of the town, the noise is not much; and so consequently quiet[14]

John Stow's comments suggest an influence of social class in the development of suburbia. This notion is reinforced by English writings produced during the industrial revolution. In these works suburbia continues to be connected with notions of the aristocracy and rural estates (Harris, 2004: 20).

In North America rapid industrialization recreated the challenges to society that prevailed during the industrial revolution in Europe. In particular, the problems of overcrowding, disease, fear of crime and immorality, forced society to examine life in the city. Within the discourse on social problems, North American reformers imported two terms from England and arranged them in binary opposition. The pejorative term 'slum' was used to encapsulate the social conditions found among the inhabitants of the less economically advantaged areas of the city. Conversely, the term suburbia was used to describe freedom from the social problems of the city through geographic relocation to the new residential development (20, 56).

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[14] Stow, John (1618) through (Goldston, 1970:12) probably original found in *Survey of London,* published in 1598.

The arrival of immigrant populations that were non Anglo-Saxon in origin contributed to an anti urban mentality. The prevalence of ethnic and racial prejudice was supported by the scientific authority of social Darwinism. The tone of newspaper reports on the living conditions of the city immigrants fostered suspicion and intolerance in the general population. The reporters conflated the cramped unsanitary conditions of the immigrants with a lack of moral character. These concerns over purity aided in producing a moral and physical prerogative to escape the city.

An early example of this reporting is found in the December 10th through 18th 1872 news stories that accompanied the of the arrival of an immigrant ship at New York harbour with five hundred Italians on board. These people were desperately poor having been "Swindled" out of all of their belongings (luggage) by their carrier or its agents. *The New York Times* reported,

> The number of indigent Italian immigrants was materially increased yesterday... the majority are wretchedly poor and unskilled. It is asserted that a proportion of them are professional beggars and that a few belong to the criminal class...A young man named John Meyer informed a Times reporter that several fierie fights took placed among the Italians during the passage and that knives were freely used, by which three men were seriously injured... Complaints were made by the more respectable that during the voyage they had been robbed by their fellow passengers... Two of the passengers examined by the superintendents office yesterday frankly admitted that they came to this country to make money honestly if they could, but to make money anyhow (Anonymous, 1872:2).

Health

Concerns over health, sanitation and purity also figure strongly in the decision of the economically advantaged to move out of the city. The moral prescription of purity, like

racism, was fortified by scientific evidence. Dr Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia identified

a vapour called miasma. He believed it emanated from filth and was the root cause of

disease. Health advisers told people to avoid living on busy streets because the wind

could bring contaminates into the home through the tiny cracks between the doors and

windows (Mcshane, 1994: 23, Home and Health Illustrated, 1907:29)

The city also produced novel mental health problems. By the 1900's city living was

believed to be responsible for a disease of the nerves that had reached epidemic

proportions among North America's more privileged classes. Neurasthenia was said to be

the result of an overexertion of the nerves, which could only be treated by withdrawing

from the social demands of the city. Neurasthenia was the 'invention' of Dr. Beard, an

American neurologist and electrotherapist. In the 1860's he coined this term to classify a

broad spectrum of 'affliction of the nerves' that were prevalent in society. They included

obsessive fear, self-doubt, and suspicion. The condition was found almost exclusively

among white protestant middle or upper class American males (Kimmel, 1996:134-135,

Rollin, Henry, 2004:548). During this same era, Simmel (1971) witnessed the prevalence

of a pathological but somewhat less debilitating psychic condition that he felt was

exclusive to urban areas. He attributed what he describes as the blasé mentality to a

mechanical fatigue of the nerves. Simmel wrote,

There is perhaps no psychic phenomenon which is so unconditionally reserved to the city as the blasé outlook...Just as an immoderately sensuous life makes one blasé because it simulates the nerves to their utmost reactivity until finally they can no longer produce any reaction at all, so less harmful stimuli, through the rapidity and the contradictoriness of their shifts force the nerves to make such violent responses, tear them about so brutally that they exhaust their last reserves of strength and remain in the same milieu (329).

Kimmel (1996), in his work on the construction of the American masculine identity, found that the cure for this condition was generally to retreat to the country for rest, but in extreme cases the patient was told to distance himself from society and indulge in wilderness camping, cattle driving and other pursuits of the primitive. Kimmel wrote,

Neurasthenia Beard claimed, was the result of "overcivilization" - changes like steam power, the periodical press, the telegraph and science had so speeded up the pace of life the people simply could not keep up despite their tireless efforts (134).

In addition to overcivilization, Beard also believed that a lack of moral judgement and an 'immoderately sensuous life' could bring on the condition. He claimed sexual excess and masturbation provoked the malady and wrote: "Men could be considered responsible for their own insanity"[15]

The Slum

The slum developed out of conditions found in the neighbourhoods of older North American cities. These areas were not planned in regards to social enmities. They were the by-product of narrow commercial or military interests. A typical city began as a trading post or fort located on a navigable body of water and grew in proportion to its

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[15]Beard through (Kimmel, 1996: 34)

ability to provide a desirable transportation link between resources and the population and industry of Europe.

Between the War of Independence and the Civil War, America developed a system of production based upon local cottage industries and artisans that were scattered across the nation. These areas of industry were, for the most part, connected by inland waterways and not conducive to large scale production and distribution. During the American Civil War this system was overstressed by the demands for materials and was replaced by large factories and the railway.

The pace of this change was quick. In 1861, at the beginning of conflict the United States had 30,000 miles of railway, and built 20 000 more before the war ended four years later. The building continued after the war, and by 1880 the nation's cities and towns were connected by 200 000 miles of track. By this time most of America's industrial output had moved from the small scale manufacturing in the countryside to factories concentrated along rail sidings in the nation's growing industrial cities (Goldston, 1970:10, Goddard, 1997:32, Rea, 1971:205).

During the ninetieth century, the streets of these new urban industrial cities were often the principle location for social life. The streets acted in proxy for shops, taverns, theatres, playgrounds and laundries, which had not yet been established. The street provided for both social and domestic life, and as such was policed by locals to protect it

from the incursion of strangers. The strangers were kept away because of a fear of crime and a subjective reading of the other, which discouraged the interaction of classes, ethnicities, religions, and races. An example of volatility of the situation was reported in the September 28th 1857 edition of the *New York Times*. It reported that a military parade on Broadway was attacked by a gang of "rowdies." The story illustrates the level of incivility found in contests between locals and the greater society. It reads, "Brickbats flew lively for a time, and several pistol shots were fired." The report continues to say that James Meehan and James Honlan where injured in the mealy and were not expected to survive" (4). In spite of the violent opposition, the parade continued along Broadway and was attacked once more by a gang identified as the Dead Rabbits as it passed through their neighbourhood. The Times reported that this conflict involved another round of gunfire, but no one else was severely injured.

Class and the Discipline of Mobility

During this period transportation options were limited and highly disciplined. Private individuals usually travelled the city on foot and shared the streets with commercial horse-drawn vehicles. As the century progressed and industrial production increased the number of draw horses on city streets proliferated. The animals produced unprecedented levels of filth and traffic congestion. However, the engineering community believed that these conditions were temporary, and would be overcome with the institution of novel technologies. In spite of their beliefs, early attempts to institute mechanized transportation on city streets failed because locals did not want to lose control of the

street. A graphic demonstration of this attitude took place on March 14th 1840 in Philadelphia when a mob composed mostly of women and children stoned railway workers, tore-up rails and ties, and re-paved a road with stone blocks. Their sense of entitlement dictated that no locomotives would find its way to their street (McShane, 1994:1).

According to McShane (1994), early steam powered streetcars faced the same fate. With fares too high for the working class, the noise, smoke, and potential for accidents made them an unwelcomed intrusion into working class neighbourhoods. The history of the steam carriages (a carriage powered by a small locomotive engine) on city streets is short and left little in the way of a technological legacy. This is because steam carriages weighed more than a ton and damaged streets at a time when locals were responsible for their maintenance. In America, the most common usage of this technology was not for transportation, public or private, but as entertainment. The steam carriage is best recognized as the calliope, the mobile pipe organ that was part of the parade that advertized the arrival of a circus (McShane, 1994: 2, 26, 87 89 97).

Bicycles were also not welcome on city streets. The first pedal driven bicycles came to North America in the 1870s and were abhorred by several segments of society. First, in an era rife with class conflict, riding a bicycle was decidedly a middle or upper class activity. It was a display of conspicuous consumption that was violently opposed in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Secondly, people of influence were also against the new

fad of bicycle riding. The technology upset the discipline of pace dictated by a pedestrian society. As previously mentioned, people shared the street with horses pulling wagons and carriages. Both the heavily laden animals and pedestrians moved at about the same customary pace. The interpolation of the swiftness of a bicycle upon society was viewed as reckless and ill mannered; like a person running through a crowd. It is for this reason that social reformers viewed bicycles as a menace. In 1878 several US cities, including New York, Chicago, and Washington banned them from the streets (McShane, 1994: 116).

The assaults on individuals using private transportation can be traced back to the time when the privately owned carriages became popular. Carriages were the ultimate symbol of class distinction, being afforded by only 2% of the population. The first automobilist also found city streets inhospitable. In 1903 *The New York Times* reported that Mrs Gottschell, a society lady travelling through Harlem suffered a head injury as a result of stones being thrown in the direction of her electric automobile by Italian immigrant children. The incident was one in a lineage of assaults on vehicles in US cities that contained overtones of a class war (McShane, 1994: 45-46,118,177).

Noise & Traffic

The concept of noise figures prominently in the discussion of transportation and urban life. It is a term, which is dependent upon a subjective reading of the source of a sound. The definition of noise according to the 1955 edition of the *Funk and Wagnalls New*

Practical Standard Dictionary is; "1, A sound of any kind, especially a loud or disturbing sound. 2, In acoustics, the confused sound obtained by a number of discordant vibrations" (898). The 1970 edition of the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* adds, " 1, Loud outcry, clamour, or shouting: din or disturbance. 2, common talk rumour: evil report scandal-1734." The dictionary also specifies that for a period of time noise was connected with melody and music (1332).

In the context of this history I argue that 'disturbance' or 'disturbing' is the key concept that gives meaning to the word noise when linked with the unpleasant consequences of urban life. Stow's sixteenth century survey of London indicated that the sounds of the city were objectionable, but he does not elaborate on their source. It is quite possible that city- life during his lifetime may have been quiet compared to later centuries. His city was spared the sounds of any machinery we would recognize. Stow never heard the sound of a machine that was not driven by man, animal, wind, or water. He did not live to hear the Watts Steam Engine (1769), Hargrave's ''Spinning Jenny' (1770), or a Stephenson locomotive, (1827). However his concerns over noise were real, and provided a justification for the nobility to abandon the city. Stow's concern over noise in an era where nature powered everything opens up the concept of tranquillity to a conversation about a subjective reading of sound and traffic.

The nobles of Stow's time found reasons to abandon the city without ever being disturbed by large flows of vehicular traffic. Most of the traffic in Stow's time was pedestrian. In

his age the common man would not be carried unless he could not walk. Riding was for women, children, the infirmed and the dead. Men with elevated social positions, however, did indulge in the luxury of riding, they were toted about the city in sedan chairs by Chairmen. In Stow's time horse drawn vehicles did exist however, they were few in numbers. His streets were not filled with herds of draft horses and crowded by people riding in horse drawn buggies (Rea, 1971: 211, McShane, 1994:3).

The streets of London filled with horses and wagons after the Watts Steam engine was fully employed to power industry, shipping, and the railway. It is at this time that both the wealth of the empire and those who had become wealthy, were carted around in horse drawn vehicles. Concerns over the unprecedented number of horses and vehicles provided for the first traffic calming initiatives in modern history.[16] Many citizens were alarmed over pollution and safety and demanded carriages be banned from the streets of the City of London, but the action failed because riding had become too popular. In place of a ban, a stiff tax and restrictions on the number of vehicles was imposed. In addition sidewalks were built to elevate pedestrian from filth and provide for their safety (McShane, 1994: 3).

The absence of horses and heavy industry suggests that the noise Stow refers to was the routine sound of others pursuing their daily lives. The noise that offended the noble men was the sound of manual labour, animal husbandry, and socialization. In the countryside

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[16] The Roman Oppian Law of 215, demanded that women not ride in carriages except during specified religious festivals. (Dillon, & Garland. 2005:383)

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these sounds would also be present. However, because of the availability of space to provide for social distance; "the noise is not much; and so consequently quiet" (Stow, through Goldston, 1970: 12).

We find the same phenomena replicated in North America as it industrialized; there was wide spread industrial pollution, traffic congestion, overcrowding, ethnic tension, outbreaks of diseases, noise, and an increase in wealth and poverty. In North America the instructions to leave the city are not directed to nobility as specified by Stow's society, but anyone with the economic means to escape the situation. The following quotation found in a manual of health indicates the strength of the moral force the suburban ideal took on when developments in technology made it possible for the upper classes to overcome the challenges of geographic distance. The competent committee of homemakers and physicians advises:

> God made the country, man made the town. It (the Country) is man's natural home. In the beginning God placed man in a sweet roomy garden. This was his home. Fruitful fields and grand old forest, purling brooks, and singing birds, country breezes and smiling flowers,-these are the environment of health.- A wellspring of the joys of home. If your daily toil is in the city, build your home as far from the din and turmoil as circumstances permit.

> Amid the rush and din of day and night traffic, the weary nerves cannot rest; the air is impure; disease lurks on every side, but a quiet home just beyond the traffic gives pure air, land for a garden, daily exercise, and a clean environment for the family. The fact that 98% of all crime is committed in the city is sufficient proof that the county is a better place to locate the home and bring up a family (Home and Health Illustrated, 1907:29).

Section 2: The Exodus

An example of these instructions can be seen by the development of transportation technologies in New York City throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. The city provided benchmark technologies that would allow all those who could afford it to resettle away from the harmful environment of the central neighbourhood. They left the city for larger homes, backyards, quiet streets and a cleaner environment that the quote above clearly informs homemakers is the place to raise a family.

McShane (1994) notes that the movement of the city's population to the suburbs of New York, was also seen by reformers as the salvation of the city. Reformers Frederick C Howe and Tom Johnson predicted that once mechanised transportation improved to the point where crowds disappear the finely built homes in the city could again become sought after properties. However in the 1800's an aversion to steam and difficulties traversing certain neighbourhoods limited mobility and contributed to New York City having districts with the highest population density in the world (McShane, 1994: 226, Hood, 224: 135).

The system of horse drawn carriages, streetcars, omnibuses and wagons the city depended on were extremely taxing on the environment, the health of the citizenry and provided a very inefficient form of mass transportation. Public works records for 1908 show that New Yorkers had to contend with two and a half million pounds of horse droppings and six thousand gallons of urine per day as well as make their way around the

15,000 horses that fell dead in the streets each year (McShane, 1994: 33-34, Flink, 1975:34).

The use of horse drawn vehicles on crowded streets offered little speed advantage over walking and in actuality only saved the rider energy. The horse drawn omnibus, for example, moved only two miles per hour quicker than a pedestrian. It was, however often a slower way to get around due to stops to board and let off passengers. The addition of rails turned the omnibus into a horse drawn streetcar and provided for travel at more than twice the speed of the average pedestrian. However it was encumbered by a schedule, fixed route and the fore mentioned stops for passengers. Because of these limitations, walking remained in some instances, the fastest and most convenient way to get around the city.

The horse as a motor for mass transportation had another limitation. It had a limited range. A draw horse can pull a cart approximately twenty miles before it required an overnight stay for rest. Because of these limitations the horse could not move the masses out of central neighbourhoods to homes in the countryside (Ackerson, 1983:102).

In the ninetieth century, in spite of these limitations cities began to decentralise. In New York City it began at the turn of the century with sail powered ferries, carrying businessmen from Manhattan to homes in exclusive areas off the island. Commuter rail service followed in 1832 with the horse drawn Harlem Rail Road that took men from

Manhattan to homes at the edge of the city. At the same time the first government initiatives to promote commuter service came into being. In Boston, a social welfare program was developed to help decentralize the city by subsidizing the fares of 2000 riders (McShane, 1994: 9, 13).

The level of innovation found in New York in the 1800's is perhaps not best expressed by wind powered ferries and horse drawn commuter train, but the concept of bypassing neighbourhoods by going over or under them. This project started after the Civil War when a system of elevated tracks was built to carry steam powered locomotives over neighbourhoods that could not have been penetrated at ground level. Even before this time, plans had been developed for a subway system.

In 1850 the founder and publisher of *Scientific American,* Alfred Ely Beach designed a subway based upon pneumatics. It was powered by large fans that blew a car carrying 22 passengers the distance of three blocks through a tunnel under the city's streets. Beach intended to develop a system of tunnels underneath the whole city, but this plan was never approved by city officials. It is widely speculated that corruption in the form of kick-backs from rail companies was responsible for rejection of his plan. However, the administrations official reaction was a concern over construction; city official claimed that tunnelling would destabilize the buildings above (Marshall, 2006: 21-22).

In 1887 the city reversed its decision and made plans to build a subway system. London and Boston, had subways in operation, and the city felt pressed to modernize its transportation system in order to maintain its status as a great city (Hood, 2004: 28). There was a new century approaching and the spirit of progress refocused capital and political will toward technology. Recent innovations in technologies promised an era of spectacle and wonder and New Yorkers envisioned their city as being at its forefront. *The New York Times* reported:

> The growth of the population and of traffic will always tend to restore those conditions - that is, the condition of traffic that outruns the possible accommodation until swifter trains and almost unlimited capacity of the underground road postpones a recurrence of our woes until the second or third decade of the new century. By that time we be able to fly to Harlem comfortably in four minutes" (Anonymous. 1887:4).

On March 24th 1900 New York began to build the world's most elaborate subway system by hosting a celebration complete with church bells, ship whistles, marching bands, a twenty-one gun salute and a firework display. According to the reportage of the day, a smiling Mayor Van Wyck, sporting a silver shovel said; "No Roman citizen ever entertained a keener pride and glory of the imperial city than does a New Yorker in the fame of his home city"(Anonymous, 1900: 2).

It took four years to build the twenty-one-mile subway system, which included a tunnel between Manhattan and Brooklyn. It was the most successful suburbanisation project of all time. It reduced a two-day journey by horse; to a round trip taking hours. As the

subway was being constructed, neighbourhoods were being erected in the farmland ahead of the tunnel's progress (Hood, 2004: 108-109).

According to United States Census data, in spite of the subway, the population of Manhattan continued to grow for another ten years. It peeked at 2.4 million people and reached its highest population density, 40,927 people per square kilometre in 1910. After that, the population and density began to decrease in Manhattan and built up in the boroughs. The ease of movement and depopulation of the city's core, allowed for a concentration of business and the subsequent contest of skyscrapers to replace neighbourhood housing in areas of Manhattan. Currently of New York's five boroughs, only the diminutives Staten Island has a lower population than Manhattan. Manhattan represents 19.2% of the city's population. It is home to 1.54 million people and an attraction to 7.6 million daily visitors who take advantage of the businesses, commerce, entertainment and educational opportunities found on the island (Demographia. viewed 2009:1-4, Rea, 1971:203, Marshall, 2006: 16).

For most other centres in North America, the streetcar would remain the hallmark of modern public transportation for the first half of the twentieth century. The introduction of the electric streetcar in 1890 was instrumental in decentralizing cities. Electricity dissipated the fear over rails on common roads that steam inspired, and elevated society's opinion of progress and its reverence of the engineer. The electric streetcar allowed for the development of the streetcar suburbs. These areas came about when an alliance

between private street rail operators, real-estate developers and municipalities got together to open tracks of land on the city's edge. An example of this arrangement is provided by the Ottawa Electric Streetcar Authority. This Ottawa area initiative was made up of a consortium, which included both street rail operators and land developers. The Ottawa Electric Railway and the Ottawa Land Association bought farmland together in the town of Hintonburg west of the city. They divided the land into housing plots and serviced them with a streetcar (Harris, 2004:63-64).

The original design for the new neighbourhoods came from English Protestant moral instructions. In England land developers and rail operators conspired to build communities based upon the values of the Christian evangelical movement of the nineteenth-century. This movement aimed to protect "womanhood" by developing neighbourhoods of single family homes in isolated areas. In 1883 Ebenezer Howard wrote a blueprint for organizing these surroundings for developers. In <u>A Peaceful Path to Real Reform</u> he describes his concept of the 'Garden City'. Mumford (1963) describes theses cities as a series of towns separated by walls of vegetation called green belts. Within these towns social amenities such as hospitals, schools and churches were planned in order to allow residents to withdraw from the central city. To allow for a maximum of privacy the houses were separated from the street by areas of lawn and from each other by backyard gardens. In the early twentieth century, garden cities and derivatives appeared in conjunction with new streetcar lines and commuter train service in major

urban centres in Canada and the United States (Mumford, 1963:23-27, Harris, 2004: 23, 63-65).

The Highway

The automobile is often considered the author of suburbia, but in the early days of urban decentralization the automobile was not a mode of transportation, but a 'toy.' The automobile first caught the mass imagination of Americans during the 1893 Columbian exposition held in Chicago. As part of this exposition, which highlighted the cultural evolution of America since Columbus, the *Times- Herald* newspaper sponsored an automobile race, which pitted unknown local builders against the established manufacturers of Europe. The Duryeas, a local family of bicycle builders built an internal combustion engine powered car that overtook the more sophisticated European competitors (Urry, 2004:32, Scharff, 1991: 9). This event caused an enthusiasm about cars and drivers, and focussed attention on the possibilities of progress in American, but initially did little to change the way Americans lived. This is because North America had navigable waterways and a comprehensive rail system, but very little in the way of a road system (Forester, 1983: 33, Beasley, 1997:79).

In New York City, however, high quality roads had been in development before the emergence of the automobile. The hostility of residents in certain areas towards travellers demanded road designs to circumvent neighbourhoods. The first of these road designs was the freeway. It was a limited access road designed to connect the city to affluent

neighbourhoods on its edge without passing near neighbourhood homes. The second road was the parkway. These roads were reserved for carriages and passed through parkland owned by municipalities. Like the freeway they separated carriage riders from city residents. The third highway was developed as a consequence of the success of the first two. It is a limited access four lane road with banked curves and angled on and off ramps. It allows for a horse and carriage to move at high speed. These roads were appropriately called speedways (McShane, 1994: 221-223).

Between the World Wars, the need for high speed high flow roads increased with the popularity of the automobile. The parkway was initially the most popular design. The parkways are the legacy of the urban natural park architect Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903). They were employed not only to help move vehicles throughout the city, but provide for an opportunity to experience the beauty of nature. However, by the 1930's, an emphasis on technical efficiency produced four lane high speed 'parkways' that bisected neighbourhoods in American cities and provided far less natural scenery. Citizens realized that these roads had a detrimental effect on neighbourhood life, but supported their construction in the name of progress. Berman writes, "the vast majority of modern men and women do not want to resist modernity: they feel its excitement and believe in its promise, even when they find themselves in its way.[17]

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[17]Berman, 1982: 313 through Paterson (2007)

It was this type of excitement that possessed New York and its parks commissioner in the 1930's and turned much of the city's waterfront parkland into highway. Bernstein (1937) a writer for *The New York Times* reported that this initiative produced no protests by residents. The main obstacle in placing an expressway in Riverside Park was the fact that the green space was too narrow to accommodate six lanes and a medium. The result was a giant feat of engineering, which resulted in the highway being constructed on terraces of land reclaimed from the Hudson River. The north bound and south bound lanes of the parkway were places at different levels in order to give drivers and unobstructed view of the river. Other users of the park were offered an unobstructed view of the futuristic motorway (Bernstein, 1937:187).

It was not until after WW2 that the potential of the speedway was mated with the automobile in America. This highway design was rediscovered by the American military during the European conflict. In Germany it was called the Autobahn, and it allowed German troops to control the interior of Europe during WW2. General Eisenhower was impressed by the road system. The speedway design was well suited to the American automobile. Compared to the conventional two lane American highways that linked urban centres, it allowed for quicker travel in greater relative safety. Eisenhower also appreciated the totalitarian regimes recognition that roads foster national unity, national identity, and provide security (Baudrillard, 1988: 107, Laderman, 2002: 39-40).

When General Eisenhower became president of the United States, America accelerated the development of a comprehensive road system. The cold war offered a compelling reason for the U.S. to invest in its highway system. The modern highway was sold to the American public as a tool to repel communist invaders and provide corridors for the mass evacuation of cities. The Federal Highway Act, signed into law in 1956 mandated 25 billion dollars for the construction of 40,000 miles of new road over the next twelve years. The consequence of this construction was the rapid decentralization of urban populations along the high flow corridors that ran between urban centres and military installations (Laderman, 2002: 39-41).

The highway design and subsequent spacial rearrangement of cities was not limited to the efforts of Eisenhower's administration. In correspondence with the system of automobility, this highly autocentric view of the world has grown to influence society world wide. China's new six lane highway is an example. It is understood as a symbol of the nation's position as a leading economy (Paterson, 2007: 1-4). In Canada, the new highways systems were anticipated and built in concert with the construction of the U.S. interstate system. Ontario's modern highway 401 is an example. Construction began in 1950 with a decision to build a four lane bypass north of Toronto between Oshawa and Highland creek. In the 1960's it connected with a similar construction in Quebec, and by 1972, it reached the Ambassador Bridge to Michigan. (The Detroit International Bridge Company: viewed July 26).

These systems did more to decentralise cities than any transportation initiative developed before or since. They moved populations out of the central neighbourhoods to the green fields on the outskirts. This movement already dictated the use of an automobile since no other system was in place to accommodate this mass migration. This migration dictated a new form of human habitation; a society, which included the routine use of the automobile. The automobile allowed society to consume more countryside than could be afforded with other forms of transportation. The technology allowed the masses to experience differentiated spaces for all social and economic situations. The car allowed people to distance themselves from industry, pollution, poverty, crime, and to use land in the manner of the aristocracy. People without exceptional means were able to live in single family homes surrounded by lawns, hedges, flower gardens and other non productive uses of nature in an urban form now commonly referred to as suburbia.

According to Canadian Geographer, Richard Harris, the current use of this term suburbia has eclipsed its traditional usage. Harris (2004) found that the term was historically connected with all new organized developments found at the edge of an established city. Today structures that are over fifty years old and well within the urban expanse are commonly referred to as suburban if they meet the following criteria;

1 Low density housing, typically detached or semidetached.

2 A proximity with an urban fringe

3 High level of home ownership/occupation

4 Politically distinct

5 Middle or upper- middle class population

6 Elusively residential, meaning residents must leave the suburbs to work (Harris, 2004: 9)

The Growth of Suburbia

Today suburbia provides for the preferred living arrangement for half the population of North America. This population lives in urban oriented communities outside of the central city. These communities exist for the same the reasons they were found outside of the walls of cities in antiquity. People choose these locations because ideally they offer space for recreation, tranquillity, and the possibility of avoiding the social problems of the city.

They also live there because it is affordable. The suburbs offer an economic advantage over the city by providing housing at a relatively lower cost as well as provide substantial savings on municipal tax. This allows for individuals to afford larger more prestigious homes, or obtain the most affordable rental units. This accounts for both the "Monster House" construction found in communities that ring Canadian cities and statistics that indicate that poverty in Canada's three major cities is shifting away from central neighbourhoods to the suburbs (Bourne and Ley, 1993:15). In short, the conflicting socioeconomic constitutions of ancient suburbia offered by Rea (1971) And Goldston (1970) both describe the present day reality of suburbia.

The Coveted Cul-de Sac

The current need for affordable housing and the high cost of land is creating suburban areas that defy the image of suburbia described by Harris (2002). Municipalities referred to as suburbs mimic the central city, offering high-rise office space, and areas of high density housing. In spite of this trend, developers still find that tranquillity is in high demand among potential home buyers in newly developed areas. The most coveted properties are the homes located on a Cul-de-Sac. A home on a Cul-de-Sac commands 20% more value than one on a more accessible road (Nielsen, 2009).

The Cul-de-Sac is the pinnacle of residential street design. It provides the highest level of isolation an urban street can offer. Typically it is an arrangement of six houses, which have no side windows and are placed in a circle and face a small park. With the addition of an eight-foot privacy fence this arrangement offers the best possible situation to avoid acknowledging the social environment.

In addition to not seeing neighbours, Cul-de-Sacs provide for a high level of privacy in another way. They are a highly effective form of localized traffic control. Traffic is limited on a Cul-de-Sac because the circular road offers no destinations to encourage the incursion of strangers. In the words of an urban planer; "The Cul-de-Sac embodies desires by residents to control their physical setting" (Lucy& Phillips, 2006: 250).

The Cul-de-Sac is the embodiment of the urban dream of the nineteenth-century. It provides the perfect moral home environment. It offers the control over territory 'fought for' by the inhabitants of the industrial city and ends class conflict though segregation. It is a moral space modelled after aristocratic instructions. The Cul-de-Sac is an environment that is highly invested in nature and void of economically productive activities and strangers.

The Cul-de-Sac also provides for morality by appealing to the parental duty to safeguard children outlined by Foucault (1980) in the first chapter. He says that the protection of children is the most important duty of the family. The quiet streets reduce exposure to the 'traffic' or the population of risk described by Ewald (1993). However, Lucy& Phillips of the American Planning Association view the safety provided by the Cul-de-Sac as mythological. They found that the control over traffic these roads provide results in an illusion of safety that is not born out by statistics. Calm streets provide for an environment with a poor safety record due to several factors, including dangerous behaviour patterns children develop when they are unfamiliar with traffic. These behaviours leave them less prepared to navigate busy streets and intersections outside of a Cul-de-Sac environment (Lucy& Phillips, 2006:255-256).

Children are also put at risk by what the authors describe as parental overconfidence. Parents view the quiet street as a playground and do not provide appropriate supervision. Parents allow children to run into the street without looking, and only give the child

instructions when a car enters the area. The authors found that this situation provides for the majority of accidents involving cars and children at play. These unfortunate accidents often involve family members and occur because neither the child nor the adult has developed a vigilant approach to road safety (Lucy& Phillips, 2006: 258-259).

Lucy& Phillips, (2006) found that Cul-de-Sacs and other road designs that provide isolation promote injury and accidental death of children for several reasons. First, in comparison with more accessible roads they increase the response time of emergency vehicles. Secondly, they promote a high mileage lifestyle and this increase in car usage provides for a higher likeliness of an unfortunate incident. This argument is strengthened by their observation that the vast majority of traffic fatalities are not found among pedestrians and cyclist, but among the drivers and passengers of vehicles.

They also found that as a safety initiative to protect young children from accidents, traffic calming has little effectiveness. Young children- preschoolers are the least likely age group to be hit by a car. They make up less than one half of a percent of this accident population. They hold this position because preschoolers are the least likely group to be found walking the streets (Lucy& Phillips, 2006: 256-257).

In spite of its deficiencies in providing a safe environment, the Cul de Sac is coveted due to its role in providing for sociability. According to Simmel (1971) a shared knowledge of the "ego" of the other is necessary for sociability to take place. The Cu-de-Sac

provides this knowledge; it is an environment that is intimate and socioeconomically familiar in comparison to the urban as a whole.

The demand for this style of landscaping and architecture is not only found in North America. It is fast becoming the preferred architectural design for the economically privileged of China, the Phillippines and the Middle East (Speck, through Nielsen), and as we will see in the chapter on the Montreal Transportation Plan, it offers a template for the re invention of the city.

Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter Durkheim's concepts of organic and mechanical solidarity were alluded to in the description of the movement of American population from the rural to the urban form. In this chapter we witnessed the adaptation of the social body to this change. In Section 1 of this chapter, lessons of the Bible and instructions of the aristocracy are elevated in response to anxieties over the new social arrangement. Even the romantic notion of living at one with nature is contemplated as a reaction to the social situation.

In Section 2, the notion of progress provides for the movement of society towards organic solidarity. Through novel transportation technologies it employed the values concerning the virtues of nature and social distancing to release society from a heightened level of anxiety and the intolerance that divided it. With grand projects it stirred civic pride and

nationalism by providing the social body with a common interest in the mythological objective of perfecting the world. The promise and excitement of this project reversed the earlier assessment of risk and allowed the neighbourhood street to be given away to the society. This new sense of entitlement to move freely allowed for the development of the transportation systems needed to decentralize the city.

It should be noted, however, that decentralisation is based on an attraction to the security found in mechanical solidarity. It is based on a belief in the reconstitution of the alleged purity of pre-industrial American. Progress provided for this mythology, it promised society that after putting in a days work in the socioeconomically diverse, highly industrial city, people could fly back to homes in the countryside. This notion of purity, (in group segregation and a clean natural environment) is paramount to the discussion of the conflict over the inclusion of transportation and outsider populations within the residential mileux and will be sustained in the following chapters.

The next chapter, "The Montreal Matrix," is a narrative of the history of transportation in Montreal. In this history the movement towards a decentralized city will be examined with more precision and in greater depth. The history presented in the next chapter illustrates that decentralization was not only driven by overcrowding, and the influence of evangelical moral instruction, but by specific circumstances and events. The chapter also locates the turning point in history, when progress became less highly valued and an interest in reacquiring 'ownership' of the street emerged. It investigates the ideology

behind this change as well as the value system, which supports the ubiquity of the demand for traffic calming currently found in society. In the following chapters tranquillity and safety will emerge as the counterpoint to arguments over the expansion of high speed urban roads and automobile use in general.

Chapter III: The Montreal Matrix

Introduction

In this chapter the history of the dispersion of society throughout the Montreal area is treated as a determining factor in the question of research regarding the origin of support for a reduction in the use of the private automobile. This is because the choices made in history have left us with a built environment that provides for a normalized set of expectations regarding city life, the proper place to raise a family and the use of a car.

This history is divided into two sections. Section 1 concerns the origin of the dispersion of society. It begins with a sequence of local events pertaining to the fear and disillusionment of living in Montreal during the 1800's. It continues with narratives concerning the subsequent rise of a romantic vision of living in nature and the rise of faith in technology.

Section 2 investigates the current state of these items. It is a story of society's search for perfection though investments in technology and nature. It concludes with traffic calming being used to provide a tranquil environment for the enjoyment of locals at the expense of the free flow of traffic.

The first narrative of the history is **The City in the Woods.** It is the story of the city's unique beginnings. It illustrates a situation in which an extravagant and highly imaginative plan based on notions of purity is abandoned for one that provides a fit with

the commercial ambitions prevalent at the time. The second narrative, the **Summer of 1932,** is based upon an account provided by the Traill Sisters. Their report illustrates the challenges the city faced due to rapid growth and a lack of planning. The sisters' observations identify the base deficiencies in city life that concerned the early reformer and influence the current municipal administration. Their list of complaints is used throughout the chapter as a checklist of the challenges Montreal had to overcome in order to be transformed into a competitive, livable modern city.

The next section, **The Natural Solution,** refers to the role of the countryside in the development of the city. It reiterates the nineteenth-century concept of nature as a 'cure-all' for the problem of city living and interpolates classism within this argument. This section dovetails with the next section, **Smallpox and Reform.** This section details the conditions of overcrowding and disease found during the mid to late nineteenth-century in Montreal and introduces the notion of social reform through the writings of Ames (1972) and Guyot (1889). It also presents narratives that demonstrate how the social and environmental conditions of this time inform on the decentralization of the city.

The Section, **City of Spectacles and Wonder,** is a portrait of the city as space converted into place through demonstrations of grandeur. It demonstrates the ambition of the city for recognition as a world centre regardless of the impact on the residents of central neighbourhoods. This section focuses mainly on the decades of the mid/ late twentieth century, which left the city with large-scale projects, requiring large flows of traffic. The

history is illuminated by the life histories of Walter B and Phil l. who have witnessed the transformation of the city's central neighbourhoods from an area defined by a mix of residential, commercial, and industrial activities to one categorized by a high-rise downtown business district surrounded by gentrified residential neighbourhoods.[18]

The following section, **Tranquillizing the Countryside** can be viewed as a legacy of the changes brought about by the mid century investment in spectacle and grander. This vision promoted the city as noisy and the suburb as a separate space dedicated to tranquillity. This section highlights the impact this suburban mentality had upon an institution, which could not accommodate a change in attitudes towards property rights when the location became connected with suburbia.

The next section, **Resistance to a Downtown Highway**, locates the point in history where the romance of modernity and progress is rejected and a new set of values emerges. These values provide for a resurgence of local entitlement to the neighbourhood and cause a long anticipated highway project to be suspended. This section is followed by a section called **Calming City Traffic and a Shift in Ideology.** It is the denouement of the narrative that brings us from Montreal as an imagined city in the woods, to a city of narrow filthy streets, to the era of superhighways, and then to the current plans to demolish the highways and give the streets back to the locals. This section chronicles changes in ideology beginning in the 1970's, which impact upon views of entitlement to

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[18] See Appendix A&B

the roads in central neighbourhoods. The narrative illustrates a shift from left to right regarding the support for road calming, and provides the political background for the expansion of property rights and the adoption of a suburban moral order within the city.

The last section **"Coursol Revisited and Anger on Bluebonnets Hill,"** are recent narratives, which introduce the conflict over road use by local property owners. The two stories, one located in a central neighbourhood, born out of the nineteenth-century urban reform movement, and the other an affluent suburb founded upon instructions to raise families outside of the city, show the breadth of support for traffic claiming at the current time. The conflict between traffic and the desire of the locals to control neighbourhood streets found in these two historically highly differentiated areas demonstrates the ubiquitous appeal for limiting traffic flows.

In describing the current transportation situation the concept of Goldston's (1970) 'Matrix' is introduced. The term is employed to describe Montreal as a city that supersedes municipal boundaries, and exists in a social realm of physical connections between the locations of significant interactions. It deconstructs the conventional place-based definition of the metropolis as composed of the suburban /urban binary and replaces it with individual agency. Within the concept of the matrix, the city is recognized as a 'kaleidoscope of events' that take place in as wide an area as people are willing and able to travel with regularity. It is the mapping of this web of connectivity that provides for the geography of the matrix.

The City in the Woods

In the last chapter it was mentioned that many North American cities began as trading posts and military installations. These outposts were not viewed by their founders as in need of institutions to promote civic pride and the enjoyment of life. With the introduction of large scale factory style industry during the nineteenth-century these cities remained faithful to this concept of instrumentality. They would remain as civic 'backwaters' and host to calamities such as 'great fires' and epidemics until a veneration of progress provided the impetus to rebuild the city as ordered, hygienic, and as centres for wonder and spectacle.

In 1642 the purpose for establishing the first European settlement on the Island of Montreal was divorced from the commercial or military ambitions that dictated American settlements mentioned in the last chapter. The foundation of this initiative is found in the dreams of two mystic visionaries, Jean-Jacques Olier and Jerome de La Dauverière. They were both visited by the Virgin Mary and instructed to build the 'purist' Catholic society in the new world. Their visions were embraced by the Catholic elite in France, who saw Protestants rising in power in Europe and successfully colonizing North America (Bernier, 2001; 25-25).

La Dauverière was a convincing mystic. He was known for fervent prayer, good deeds, and performing a vigorous purification ritual. He denied himself any kind of physical

pleasure, practised self flagellation and wore a hair belt, shirt and gloves, which kept his body in constant contact with two thousand sharp metal points. He is said to have been able to describe the topography of the Island of Montreal in detail from what was told to him in visions (Bernier, 2001; 25-25).

They founded *La Société de Notre Dame de Montréal pour la conversion des Sauvages de la Nouvelle France*, which developed the plan and raised the capital investment to found this city. Their dream was of a city of indigenous people whose lost savage souls would be redeemed and placed in the service of a Roman Catholic God. However, the locals were not interested in being 'saved.' They were part of a highly organized trading society that was violently opposed to outsiders placing a settlement on the St Lawrence River. At this time the river was already an important trade route, which had been the focus of disputes among the aboriginal population over ownership (Ville de Montréal: The Apostolic Project).

After less that a decade the plan collapsed in debt and disillusionment and a more commonplace rationale for the settlement was developed. Its potential as a port saved it from being abandoned, however, it brought the settlement into the paradigm, which governed the development of other European settlements in North American founded in this era. In concert with the theme presented in the last chapter, Montreal would eventually become a place where people lived short lives in overcrowded, unsanitary conditions, and in the service of industrial labour (Ames, 1972:115-116).

The Summer of 1832

Less than two hundred years after its founding Montreal had a population of 40 000 and showed the stresses of the industrial age. Though decades before the city would feel the brunt of the industrial revolution, the infrastructure and institutions established earlier could not cope with the influx of Europeans displaced by the new age. In one summer four hundred ships delivered 25 000 people to stations along the St Lawrence River. Montreal in the 1800's was a city of single family, homes, which became overcrowded with lodgers during waves of immigration. This situation of overcrowding in Montreal was greater than any other city in North America (Ames, 1972). Filth, disease, class chauvinism and ethnic prejudice made people hesitant to walk the streets. A description of the city by literary figures Catherine Traill and her sister Suzanne Moodie illustrate the condition the city was in (Robertson, 1965: 36-37).

The sisters sailed separately from Britain and Catherine arrived in Montreal on June 19, 1832, and Suzanne landed in September. Catherine reported that it was common knowledge that the conditions onboard an emigrant ship propagated a stench that fouled the air for a radius of a mile. However, neither of the sisters were fully relieved to disembark in Montreal. They were instead filled with dread. Catharine wrote in her journal:

> We were struck by the dirty narrow, ill paved or unpaved streets of the suburbs, and overpowered by the noisome vapour arising from a deep open fosse that ran along the street. This ditch seemed a receptacle for every abomination, and

sufficient in itself to infect a whole town with malignant fever (Traill through Robertson, 1995:36).

They were additionally distressed by the oppressively hot and humid climate, the grey stone architecture, and the few inhabitants they saw. Suzanne wrote in her journal:

> The day was intensely hot, a bank of thunder clouds lowered heavily above the mountain, and close, dusty street were silent, and nearly deserted. Here and there might be seen a group of anxious- looking, care worn, sickly emigrants, seated against a wall among their packages, and sadly ruminating upon their future prospects" and Moodie continued (All the people,) "Those who was able, fled panic stricken to the country villages (Moodie through Robertson, 1995: 37).

It was reported that during the summer of the sister's arrival, a hundred and fifty people a day passed away from cholera, and by the time cooler temperatures arrived, the death toll had reached ten thousand.

During the sisters' short stay in Montreal they were able to define the city as:

1 - Having a chronic lack of sanitation

2- Being architecturally unexceptional

3- Having an uncomfortable climate.

4- Being populated by undesirables

The Natural Solution

One of the nineteenth-century responses to the list of challenges offered by the Traill sisters is found in the interest of cultivating nature into social life. This practice is premised upon a romantic vision of environmentalism. It is a belief that man's true

potential can only be reached in a state of nature. Rousseau, one of the best known authors of the concept believed that most of our illnesses were caused by the distance society placed between man and nature. In nature, man resists disease because he maintains a more robust constitution in light of the rigour of constant exercise needed for survival. Nature also relieves man of the psychic compilations civilization produces; nature allows man to live by his genuine passions and shed a life of competition and the stresses of inequity contests incur (Rousseau, 1964).

Veblen, (1964) adds that the nineteenth- century imperative to embrace nature is not holistic. It is tempered by class consciousness and produces a stratification of the natural world and the activities associated with it. Honorific, or the upper strata of nature serves to enhance leisurely pursuits, it provides a physical backdrop for social engagements such as picnics, and visits to the beach. Also, as Kimmel (1996) and Belasco (1983) emphasize, strenuous 'primitive' activities where nature is experienced as a challenge (sport) are also appropriate for the otherwise idle higher classes.

The vulgar, or lower strata aspects of nature are those that imply a relation of servitude to the environment. The vulgar include animal husbandry, tending crops, and allowing invasive plants and animals to control a property. These items are considered lower class because they exhibit either an economic dependency on nature or a lack of resources to master it (Veblen, 1964: 134).

Private carriages played an important role in the institution of nature in society. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the use of a carriage was reserved for a small segment of the population who had the extraordinary economic resources required to house and care for horses. The carriages were not used for domestic errands such as grocery shopping, or for trips to the office, they were used for pleasure, in particular to escape from the industrialized city to leisurely engagement in pastoral settings (McShane, 1994: 30- 31).

The carriage and the trips to countryside solidified the social status of the upper classes. They demonstrated that one had the proper instruction to appreciate the beauty of nature and the resources to possess it at will and in comfort. However, by the 1850's the economically privileged class had become concerned over the future of this pastime. North American cities were becoming expansive and it was more difficult for the upper strata to find areas where they could place a geographic/social distance between themselves and society. For a period of time, the carriageways of urban cemeteries became popular destinations, because they approximated the romantic pastoral setting found in the countryside. However by the 1860' new locations were developed, which lacked the graveyards connection with morbidity (McShane, 1994: 33).

Two initiatives to escape the city came to light in this period. One is easily understood through Goldston's (1970) portrait of ancient suburbia as a healthful playground and /or Kimmel's (1996) argument that embracing the primitive can reconstitute health. This

initiative is the construction of hotels, inns and manor houses located in the countryside at an easy day's journey from the city's core. Here families could vacation and experience activities in nature until obligations forced their return to the city. The other initiative, a derivative of the visits to cemeteries mentioned above, is the development of an urban park with a rustic signature and proximity to the city's centre.

The first example provided for an escape from the city, its foul air, heat and humidity, and subjectively undesirable populations through geographic relocation. It is highlighted in this chapter as the history of the Maples Inn. The inn was constructed in 1890 as a private manor house, but was soon refurbished to accommodate guests. It stood a day's journey from the streets and boulevards where Montreal's economically privileged lived and provided for activities, both genteel and primitive (Sims, 1983: E4, Matthews, 1985: 110).

During the summer months it became the local focal point for social engagements for both short term visitors from Montreal as well as the community that resided in the areas growing number of fine summer homes. In time the area became more accessible to a greater part of the city's population when train service and the leasing of modest cottages, and apartments allowed for people without exceptional economic resources to spend part of the summer away from the city in a healthful environment (Sims, 1983: E4, Mathews, 1985).

The second provision for carriage riders was made by the City of Montreal. In 1874 the city made a landmark investment in nature. It purchased an area of relatively undeveloped land on Mount Royal for one million dollars. The land was to serve as an urban natural park. It was conceived of as a theatre of forests and meadows one could enjoy from the comfort of a carriage. Frederick Law Olmsted, architect of Manhattan's central park and the originator of the parkway was retained to design the park, but his plans were never completed. The 'city fathers' were unwilling to provide the necessary funds to plant specified foliage, and to purchase all the lands the park required (Murray, 1967: 167, 170).

Olmsted reacted to budget shortfalls with reservations, he believed he was creating a work of art; a poem fashioned from nature, which could only be realized if his plans were completed to specifications. The budget restrictions threatened an essential part of his plan: his roads. His understanding of roads allowed him to designed carriageways that followed the mountain's topography and made them seem to be the product of nature. These paths highlighted selected scenery and followed a grade that did not over burden draft animals. The roads were also designed to keep society at bay. His carriageways did not provide for areas for persons to congregate and spoil the metaphysical experience of the voyage. Olmsted believed natural scenery had a direct effect on physiology, providing both a prophylactic and a remedy for debilitating mental conditions (Murray, 1967: 163, 167). He wrote, "Charming natural scenery acts in a more directly remedial way to enable men to better resist the harmful influences of ordinary town life, and recover what

they lose from them. It is thus, in medical phrase, a prophylactic and therapeutic agent of vital value" (163).

Olmsted's artistic vision was not fully understood by the city fathers, so he appealed to their sense of fiscal responsibility. He underscored that the land value adjacent to his project would increase dramatically after the parks completion, allowing the city to recoup the all funds needed for the parks completion though the higher tax revenues these properties would generate. In spite of this argument, the budget was not increased and when substitute carriageways were completed, the park was open to the public (Murray, 1967: 170-171).

Murray (1967) refers to the mountain park as a three dimensional commentary on the Victorian concept of man and nature. It is one, which contains the moral qualities and emotional attachments that had previously only been found in Christian worship (163, 171). Today the mountain park is a testament to societies continued reverence of nature. It is highly regarded as an asset by the citizens of Montreal as well as the civic administration. It is guarded by non governmental organizations dedicated to making sure urban development does not detract from the property's beauty. The current administration has also aided in the protection of the park by initiating a charter in the city's master plan that secures the mountain integrity. The charter protects the land from intrusive developments. It addresses issues of further construction by the city and institutions that abut the park. It also protects vistas and views of the mountain from

visual pollution through securing selected locations around the city from the threat of high-rise development (Montreal Master Plan. 2004: 9 Doc. 1.4). The protection of Mount Royal Park is connected with issues of transportation. Initiatives concerning the mountain park are featured several times in the *Plan de transport 2008* and the *Charte des mielleux de vie montréalais.*

Smallpox and Reform

When Mount Royal Park opened, Montreal was a city in the midst of smallpox epidemic. The city had a large population that lived in housing that was overcrowded, lacked adequate sewage, sanitation, and clean water. In spite of these conditions many of Montreal's most economically advantaged continued to live near the city centre. Local middle and upper class Anglo-Saxons preferred this location to the countryside probably because it was well serviced and was the locus of English Protestant institutions at a time when religion was central to social life. The importance of secularism is highlighted by the practice of Protestants to procure Protestant medical care during the smallpox outbreak and Catholics having refused to be inoculated with 'Protestant' serums (Guyot, 1896:16-20).

Harris (2002) claims that both French and English speaking middle class Montrealers were a decidedly urban oriented group. They resisted the pull of suburbia more that any other group in North America in the pre WW II era. Beyond religion, Montreal's island geography and climate provided additional difficulties for decentralizing the city.

Because of these preferences and obstacles toward suburbanisation the city remained centralised, but developed distinct socioeconomic based neighbourhoods (Harris, 2002: 27-29).

The socioeconomic status and geography of these neighbourhoods was described by nineteenth- century sociologist Herbert Brown Ames. He called Montreal two cities; one located above a hill and one below. Above the escarpment was, the "City Above the Hill," it was the home of the economically privileged. It was the location of clean, well maintained thoroughfares with large fine homes with indoor toilets and running water. The "City Below the Hill," housed the industrial class, Ames wrote, "Looking down from the mountain top upon the two areas, the former is seen to contain many spires but not tall chimneys, the latter is thickly sprinkled with such evidence of industry and the air hangs heavy with the smoke"(6).

The inhabitants of 'city below the hill' frequently lived as individual borders or as families in cramped quarters in badly constructed buildings. This situation was most pronounced in 1860, when 75% of the population of Montreal shared occupancy of a room with another individual. By 1890, overcrowding had eased as people began to move away from the city core into new neighbourhoods. The rate of the construction of what was then understood as 'suburbs' can be appreciated when it is recognized that the population of Montreal was decreasing in density while doubling in size every decade. However, this release from the pressure of population growth was not distributed equally among all classes. In disadvantaged areas high levels of overcrowding persisted into the

next century, and with it high levels of illness. In the first decade of the twentieth century the infant mortality rate in Montreal was one in four, with most of the death being the result of the unsanitary conditions (Ames, 1972:.41- 48, Harris, 2004:52-53).

By the mid nineteenth-century, in spite of a general trend toward an improvement in living conditions, an intellectual and moral investment in reform had not developed. The catalyst for change came in the aftermath of the smallpox epidemic of 1872-1885. The devastating effects of the event promoted a new vision of the city as an organic whole in which no one deemed capable of moral fortitude should reside in the unhealthy living conditions regardless of class (Ames, 1972: xii).

It was not the death toll that created a change in consciousness, but the stigma attached to Montreal as a result of the epidemic. Montrealers had learned to live with high death rates. In a city of approximately 120,000, during the period between 1872 and 1880 an average of five to six hundred deaths a year occurred as a result of smallpox. These deaths were found predominantly among the very young children of working class French Canadians. The parents of these children seemed to view these events as part of the normal course of life. The city's elites did not reflect upon the deaths in the city's industrial neighbourhood, often because they assumed the responsibility for the tragedies lay in the poor constitutions of the French Catholic race (Guyot, 1896:14). They were also distracted from the city's problems by examining the plight of the poor through exotic abstraction. Ames (1972) wrote, "The citizens of Montreal should for a time, cease

discussing the slums of London, the beggars of Paris, and the tenement house evils of

New York and endeavour to learn something about themselves "(7).

The epidemic came to North America when a couple returning from vacationing in

Europe brought the infection to Boston. The pair travelled by train to Chicago where they

fell ill, the illness was detected, and they were treated. In Boston, six persons who were in

contact with the couple fell ill and four recovered. The Pullman car they road on later

arrived in Montreal where the disease spread from a conductor and a porter, to the staff of

the Hotel-Deu Hospital, and then to the general public.

After 1881the epidemic subsided and returned in April of 1885. The late outbreak of

1885 was much more virulent, and bought international attention to Montreal's

propensity for disease. That year, before the winter came, smallpox killed 3164 persons.

American yellow journalists branded the city as the infamous "Hot Bed of Smallpox."

and caused the city to fall into economic recession. Mrs M Guyot wrote, "The large

employers . . . now talk feebly about the damage which the publicity has done to trade...

Perhaps the cost indirect and direct to the businessmen of Montreal will wake them to the

necessity of sanitary reform in the city" (Guyot, 1896: 9).

The problem of disease, according to reformers, is that too many people lived in close

quarters. As Dr Russell of Glasgow wrote in 1887, "The closer people live to one

another, the shorter their lives are." (Russell, through Ames, 1972:106) Virtually all

reformers recognized Dr Russell's message, and rationalized that only the countryside provided a remedy for the evils of the industrial city. However, the wages provided to industrial workers in Montreal did not provide for food and lodging and the routine employment of public transportation. Living outside the city core incurred the hardship of a long walk on snow-covered roads in the winter and enduring the heat and humidity of the summer months (Ames, 1972:109, Harris, 2004:159).

In response to these challenges, Ames (1972) presented the option of reinventing the city. He advocated instituting green spaces, or as he called them, 'breathing places' and providing the industrial class with sturdy modern rental units in close proximity with their work place. His business skills and social conscious advised him that rows of attached houses surrounding a courtyard with a playground would provide investors with a profit while offering the industrial worker a safe, affordable, moral, and private place to raise a family. Ames wrote, "Our industrial population will and must live packed together, and the pertinent question for us to consider is: how can the evil effects of this necessary condition be reduced to a minimum" (Ames, 1972: 106).

The Roman Catholic Church was also concerned with the living condition of the industrial class. They saw the city as full of temptations, which infected the home when families and borders were forced to live together. They agreed with Ames (1972) that every family should have its own home and unlike New York City's tenement blocks, every family should have its own doorway leading to the outside. They saw the hallways

and stairways of apartment buildings as places that were hidden from public view and therefore offered occasions for immoral temptation (Harris, 2004:34, Rémillard & Merrett, 2007: 163).

An example of the housing that was developed in the spirit of this social movement stands on Coursol Street in the city's central district of Little Burgundy. The houses are not designed to Ames specifications, but do provide for his objective of providing for light, air and privacy and promoting family life. They were built by the Canadian Pacific Railway to house railway workers at a time when the company was the neighbourhood's chief employer. They were built in rows as Ames instructed, and have a playground nearby. The homes are mostly private dwellings, however, some have a separate front door leading to a bachelor apartment. They differ from Ames' units in that they are not centred around a courtyard. They instead have a private garden and a service alley. These items provide a good deal of separation from the homes on the street behind and allow light and air to enter home.

Fear of Strangers

These houses would have been reserved for skilled permanent employees of the railway. However, Little Burgundy was also home to the volumes of itinerant labour the railway employed. These people suffered from fluctuations of employment opportunities contingent upon the varying fortunes of the industry. They were also hampered by their numbers. Immigration brokers with contacts in Italy exaggerated the opportunity the

railway provided and sometimes the city had to contend with over a thousand underemployed or destitute workers (Ramirez & Del Balso, 1980:8-9).

As with the Irish Catholics that arrived with Traill and Moody the social problems and the living conditions the Italian workers encountered was viewed by established Canadians as the product of inferior mentalities and biology. Anglo Saxon Canadians believed that immigration threatened civilization, and felt that only white Protestants could be easily assimilated into Canadian society. In the early part of the century they feared the Irish as the pathogens of cholera. At the turn end of the century the suspicions fell on the Italians who lived 100 borders to a single home, and were defined by accounts of violence and criminality (McLean, 2008: 179, Ramirez & Del Balso, 1980:6).

Established Canadians were suspicious of simple banal activities engaged in by the Italian immigrants. According to an early settler of the Mile- End/ Jean- Talon area north of downtown Montreal, Italians were forced to segregate from society because of the reservations Canadians held over the immigrant's practice of growing foodstuff in household gardens. They moved to the city's edge where they would have access to arable land and still maintain a proximity to the work opportunities in the city. As one settler said, ". . . I worked here, and nearby I had a large garden because the land was free for whoever wanted to work it, and nobody would tell us not to . . . Every evening I would come home from the garden loaded with vegetables" (Ramirez & Del Balso, 1980: 24).

The railway made other important contributions to the development of the city and the distinct character of its communities. In the late 1800's it was common for people to take train rides to the countryside where they engaged in leisurely or recreational activities. One popular destination was a horseracing track overlooking a hill several miles west of the city. When automobile racing came to North America, the racetrack was the site of one of Canada's first sanctioned automobile race and the site of the sports first Canadian fatality.

The hill, then called Bluebonnets Hill is actually part of an escarpment that runs much of the length of the Island of Montreal. It is the hill that separates the two cities of Montreal that Ames refers to, and it also separates the city's downtown commercial district from Little Burgundy. Around the turn of the twentieth century the racetrack moved, and the roadbed is preserved to this day as a residential circle, featuring several homes and an elementary school.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, in the area of Bluebonnets Hill two villages were established. The one predominately above the hill developed along the lines described in the quote from the 1907 edition of *Home and Health Illustrated* found in the last chapter. It was a place where people of Protestant Anglo- Saxon descent built large homes far from industry and traffic on lots located on quiet streets. Here businessmen could leave their wives and children in what was understood to be the perfect home

environment and take the railway and later a streetcar to the heart of the city's financial centre. [19]

In line with Ames' (1972) description of Montreal as two cities, the town above Bluebonnets Hill is a place of relative affluence in comparison to the town defined by industry that developed below. The residents of the town below followed the decentralization of industry from the city's core. They were employed in the industrial centre and transportation infrastructure of the nearby Lachine Canal and the Turcot railway yard.

On a walk through the area I found that homes below the hill are frequently not as large as those of their neighbours above and many buildings housed multiple families. They resemble many homes in the City of Montreal. They are flats without a common door, staircases or hallways. Tenants on the upper floors arrive at their homes in view of their neighbours, by climbing an outdoor staircase to a balcony in front of their door.

Section 2

The City of Spectacle and Wonder

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[19] Around 1900 in the area now currently known as the Town of Montreal West and the area of Lachine known as the Ville Sainte-Pierre there was a hotel, racetrack and a small village named Bluebonnets. For consistency and brevity I have continued to use the historic name for the area in this chapter. The Town of Montreal West was established in 1897 and was amalgamated with city for Montreal in January of 2002. It regained the status of an independent municipality in January of 2004. Ville Sainte- Pierre was established in 1908 and was amalgamated with the City of Lachine in January of 2000. In January of 2002 Lachine was forced to merge with the City of Montreal.

In the narratives presented so far in this chapter, Traill and Moody's complaint about sanitation, heat, and the 'population of undesirables' are addressed though initiatives presented by reformers, such as Ames, vacation spots such as the Maples Inn, and the two class distinct towns that grew near the hill. These initiatives helped overcome the city's chronic deficiency in standards of sanitation and health, provided for 'security' through socioeconomic segregation, and allowed citizens to escape from the summer's heat. However they did not address the women's fourth complaint about Montreal. None of these developments can be viewed as a remedy to the city's unexceptional architectural arrangement of narrow streets and grey buildings.

Between the sisters' visit and the 1950's the city created many impressive public, corporate and religious institutions. As mentioned previously, much of Mount Royal had been transformed into large central park. The city also built several impressive public buildings in the city's east end; most notably the public library and the Ecole Technique de Montréal. The city also made large investments in nature and religion, constructing St Joseph Oratory, the largest Catholic Church in North America and a renowned botanical garden. The city also built a downtown business district with several edifices that rivalled any in the British Empire. However, when viewed in comparison to other nearby North American cities, Montreal could still be considered lacking in the technological wonders that define a municipality as exceptional in the twentieth century.

For example, unlike Boston, New York and Toronto, Montreal did not have a subway system, or an elevated highway, and even though Montreal had fine architecture it lacked the hallmark of modernity; a forty-story skyscraper. In the early 1960's a plan was devised to rid the city of its pedestrian image and advance its claim as a world class metropolis. It was a plan very similar to the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition that announced America's entrance to the modern technological age, or the more recent World's Fair in New York. The city planned to host the largest party on earth. It was called Expo 67. It was a 185 day exposition that welcomed more than 50 million visitors to look at Montreal and their future.

The success of this venture in redefining Montreal still resonates among the city's current administration. André Lavallée, the administration committee member for public transportation and urban planning comments in Montreal's current transportation plan, that the exhibit was able to accommodate the transportation needs of millions of people without the use of the car. People visiting the fair got around the 1000-acre park mostly by foot, but also on monorails, trolleys and peddle- powered rickshaws (Plan de transport, 2007:9) It is ironic, however, that in order to get people to this car-free model city Montreal embarked on the largest investment in road building in Canadian history (Anonymous. 1963:52).

The estimated cost of the new roads in 1963 was six hundred million dollars, a price that was more than three times the projected total for the exhibition itself. The project

included widening city streets and bridges, and spanning the St Lawrence River with several new bridges and a tunnel. These access points to the island linked up with a new high speed autoroute that extended into the Laurentian Mountains as well as connected Montreal with Ontario, New Brunswick and with the modern American interstate highway systems mentioned in the last chapter (Anonymous, 1963: 52).

Within the city limits the highway construction for Expo initiated a system of high speed urban expressways, which showed little regard for the streets and housing in some older and less remarkable neighbourhoods. In the years after Expo this trend continued. In the area two blocks north of Coursol Street, homes were demolished at the foot of the escarpment to raise six lanes of highway to level of the 'city above the hill'.

During this same era other investment in giantism took place around the city. In an interview with Phil L. a fifty-three-year old musician and a long standing resident of the city, he recalls that as a child he was forced to move twice due to office tower construction. From 1965- 1969 he lived in a row house at 1131 Jeanne Mance. He describes his home as having two stories, three bedrooms and a yard that looked over an alley. On Cheneville, the next street over, were his school, St Patrick's Elementary and Junior High, and his playground, Dufferin Park. He says that where his home stood is now the door to a parking garage for a provincial government complex, (Complex

Desjardins). The complex, the largest yet constructed in Montreal consumed not only his block, but all of Cheneville Street, and the west side of the following street, St Urban.[20]

From Jean Mance, his family moved a block south and two blocks west to St Urban Street. His family stayed here for two years until the federal government demolished the area to make way for another office tower, (Complexe Guy- Favreau).

The concentration of employment in these and the city's other skyscrapers along with the Expo highway system conspired to invite the population to live far beyond the city centre, the established streetcar suburbs, and the communities that developed along the commuter train lines. Every weekday they brought private vehicles to the employment centres located in and adjacent to central neighbourhoods. At rush hour the main streets running through these neighbourhoods suffered unprecedented traffic congestion. In order to allow the traffic to move more quickly during peek hours neighbourhood streets changed directions to accommodate the volumes of vehicles. In an interview with Walter B. a fifty-one year old entrepreneur and life long resident of Plateau Mount Royal, he recalled watching traffic police change street directions signs on side streets as he walked home from Our Lady of Mont Royal Elementary School. He recalls that all the streets went north toward Laval in the evening and south toward downtown in the morning and alternated in direction during the rest of the day. He also recalls that traffic calming first came to his neighbourhood in the late 1970's when residents complained that sex workers

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[20] See Appendix D

had began to frequent a local park. The city responded to the situation by permanently

changing street directions so cars could no longer circle the area in search of trade. [21]

Tranquillizing the Countryside

In spite of Stow's sixteenth century depiction of the countryside as tranquil, the area

surrounding a city can be the site of activities and industry that are not necessary quiet.

These activities may be categorized typically but not mythologically as suburban as they

are found in the countryside but exist because of proximity to the city. The sounds these

activities produce are tolerated because of low population density, acquired rights, or

tradition. Goldston (1970) recognizes this phenomenon as a function of the metropolitan

matrix. He notes that as the city atomizes, city like ordinances radiate outwards forcing

niche commercial enterprises that don't meet the standards of new environment to retreat

further into the countryside (74). This observation describes the fate of the Maple Inn in

the 1980's.

Ostensibly in the 1980's the area surrounding the inn was in could still be considered the

country. People still came to the area in pursuit of the primitive. In summer people could

be seen paddling canoes and working sailboats in the waters off the neighbourhood's

shores. In the fall, hunters still gathered and fired guns at the ducks, journeying south.

However, the area had become primarily residential and had a population density equal to

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[21]See Appendix D

that of a contemporary North American city.[22] This is because the inn was adjacent to the site of one of Canada's first large scale corporate residential building projects (Harris, 2004: 144).

In the late 1950's, M.H.N. Gunner and Company laid out curvilinear streets on 37 acres of farmland and built 108 three-bedroom ranch-style homes. This development changed the character of the area. The houses that had been constructed here previously had been built over centuries and reflected the requirements, tastes, and available finances of individual home builders. The new corporate built homes were conceived upon four designs and are distinguishable from each other by slight aesthetic differences. It is this form of living arrangement, which Canadians identify as typically suburban (Harris, 2004: 144 9).

The area was further transformed by the highway improvements of 1967 and the early 1970's. The area's farmland and rural character succumbed to the urban matrix of shopping malls, industrial parks and large scale housing developments. By the nineteen eighties, the Maples Inn had long become an anachronism. It was no longer viewed as an inn in the country, but a popular show bar located near a city bus stop, on a large parcel of land in a single purpose residential area.

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[22]Dallas, at 29,470 persons per square mile- 1,842 per kilometre has almost the identical population density as Pointe Claire, which reports 1,754 persons per square kilometre (US Population Government Publication, Statistics Canada: 2001, Community Profiles). See Appendix D.

For those with a civic memory the Maples Inn was a heritage site that connected the present, with a rich history of social events. It had served as a hotel, movie house, dance hall and a reception hall that hosted weddings and retirement parties. It also had a history of attracting legendary figures in the music industry.[23] It is unfortunate that the mentality that went along with the suburban development of the area did not endear new arrivals to the institution. The operation of a bar conflicted with the expectation of suburban living. As Stow insisted long ago, tranquillity is a quality of the suburbia; (In the suburbs) "the noise is not much; and so consequently quiet"

According to a suburban mentality the inn represented an unreasonable imposition to the enjoyment of private property. It fostered impropriety by the social display of intoxicated teenagers leaving the bar and imposed upon its neighbours with the audible sound generated by the live rock music. As Harris (2004) states, people move to the suburbs expecting neighbours to not impinge upon each other and operate under a code of respectable social display (Harris, 2004:26).

The operators of the bar responded to complaints made by their neighbours by limiting access to the institution to persons more than twenty-one years of age and made sure the sound levels emanating from the hall were within legal limits. However they could not

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[23] Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992:140. refer to sites like the Maples Inn as Key places. These are places were important developmental events took place. Key places evoke memories that keep the past alive and allow for a sense of continuity. A focus on the historical allows long term residence to view their neighbourhood as remaining fundamentally unchanged in spite of monumental changes in attributes such as a ethnic make up or socioeconomic status.

control the effect of their clients' presence on the neighbourhood streets. A petition was canvassed about the neighbourhood asking for help in having the inn closed down. The petitioners cited the imposition of having cars parked all around the neighbourhood and the sound of motorcycles leaving the inn at 3 A.M. They assured people that not only would they sleep better when the inn closed, but their property values would rise.

On February 8th 1985 a suspicious fire destroyed the inn to the delight of some of its neighbours. Marceline Charpentier told a reporter "It's a pretty sight" (Anonymous. 1985: A1), while others gathered and toasted the scene (A1). The inn was facing the loss of its liquor license and experiencing financial problems. In an interview with the *Montreal Gazette,* the owner of the club predicted that without the permit the inn could not survive and would probably be demolished to make way for a hi-rise apartment building. However he never explained how this would be accomplished. As a heritage building, the city would not have issued a permit for its demolition. In any event, the inn was removed and the large plot of land is now the site of a multi unit condo development (Sims, 1983: E4, Anonymous 1985:A3). [24]

Resistance to a Downtown Highway

The conflict between outsider traffic and local use of the road has not been limited to suburban communities historically. In 1971, The Drapeau administration responded to

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[24] Within months of the fire neighbours of the historic Lakeshore Inn (Bar Edgewater) two kilometres west, launched a campaign to close this establishment, drunken pedestrians, traffic and parking noises were cited. The operator of the institution felt the issue was over property values. The property is now a park (Kalbfuss, 1986: F1)

protests concerning the building of the Ville Marie Expressway, (the stretch of elevated highway near Coursol Street mentioned before), by abandoning its commitment to complete the project. The plans originally called for a crosstown highway, which would link an elevated interchange adjacent to Bluebonnets Hill with the Bonaventure Expressway at the city's centre and the Hippolyte-Lafontaine Tunnel (Autoroute 25) in the city's east end.[25]

The idea was nothing new; plans for a cross-town expressway along this route were first proposed in 1910 and adopted by the city's administration in 1925. The plans were never carried out and the project was re-announced in August 1965, as part of Expo's infrastructure. The project was again forestalled, but in 1971 the plan was resurrected to serve the predicted transportation needs of the 1976 Olympics and a proposed new Jetport located in Ste. Scholastique (Mirabel Airport). The autoroute was also expected to ease traffic congestion and stimulate the economy. Proponents of the road saw it as a social welfare initiative, which would inject capital into the city's east end neighbourhoods and attract investment to the area, which was experiencing high rates of unemployment (Pascoe, 1971:33).

The project was divided into two phases, the first impacted Little Burgundy and several streets in nearby Westmount. This phase was expected to cost 105 million dollars and displace 80 families. The second phase, a continuation of the road through the city's

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[25]See Appendix E

densely populated east-end, had no estimated total financial cost, but it was estimated that as many as 2000 families would be uprooted during the build.

On January 15th a coalition of fourteen associations became the official voice of opposition to the project. They felt the provincial government showed a lack of respect for the dignity and property rights of the people who lived in the affected area. The Common Front included Quebec's largest labour unions, the environmentalist's organization Stop, (the Society to Overcome Pollution,) as well as citizens committees from affected areas of Westmount, Little Burgundy and Maisonneuve. The coalition demanded that the project be stopped and the budget redirected toward social housing and public transportation (Charbonneau, 1971:3).

The organization of a coalition was followed on January 21st by the presentation of a petition to the provincial government by three local city councillors. It was signed by three federal members of parliament, and more than three hundred local merchants. The next day Mayor Drapeau called upon the provincial government to stop the construction because of a "public outcry." The city then used its jurisdiction to stop the project by removing the wooden barriers the province had placed on city streets to direct traffic away from the construction sites (Anonymous, 1971: 1).

The city's action marks a reversal in the city's transportation policies. The Drapeau administration's was initially intensely invested in urban autoroutes. The 1960

transportation master plan not only included this east- west highway, but a second

autoroute, six lanes wide and seven kilometres long. This route, (route 415- the Mount

Royal Autoroute) was to begin in the west at a proposed interchange at Monkland

Avenue and the Decarie expressway. It was to then to proceed east through a tunnel

beneath the Town of Westmount and Mount Royal Park to a trench, which would have

replaced Rachel Street in the Mile-End and the Plateau Mont Royal district. The trench

would terminate at another proposed urban highway in the city's east end. This highway

would replace Papineau Avenue between the Jacques Cartier Bridge and the City of

Laval. The Rachael and Papineau Street Autoroute are no longer a consideration. If they

were to be built, they would run through what are now (and probably were then) some of

the most densely populated neighbourhoods in Canada (Montrealroads.com).

Calming City Traffic and a Shift in Ideology

May 1974 marks a transition from protest against automobility to the institution of a

policy narrative, which has been followed by successive municipal governments. The

narrative defines motorized transportation on the common road as problematic. This date

marks the formation of the Montreal Citizens Moment (M.C.M.). It was a coalition of left

leaning single interest groups interested in improving the quality of life in the City of

Montreal. Through demonstrations it challenged Mayor Drapeau's position on gigantism,

and advocated that neighbourhood development should be the focus of the municipal

government's mandate (Thomas, 1997:53).

During the municipal elections of that year the 'movement' fielded candidates and won one third of the seats in the municipal council. The governing Civic Party was forced to recognize the high level of support for the Movement/Party. The M.C.M. proposed that the city build bicycle paths, preserve historic architecture, improve housing, invest in beautification programs, green spaces, protect the environment, and lower taxes. These initiatives were viewed in the 1970's as left leaning, as they were in opposition to the stranglehold private property and industry had over the rights of less enfranchised members of society (Thomas, 1997: 30).

In 1986, the M.C.M. replaced Drapeau's Civic Party in a municipal election. According to the recollection of Walter B. this change in administration initiated a change in the complexion of his neighbourhood. On his street, Avenue Henri Julien, a beautification project widened the sidewalks and added shade trees. Also as part of the beautification project it was announced that utility lines would be placed underground. However, this part of the project has not been undertaken up to this time.

Walter B. thinks the project was short sighted and somewhat despotic. It was despotic because in order to accommodate traffic on narrow streets such as Avenue Henri Julien, the city prohibited the parking of large cars on the road. He feels that the imposition of the beautification project on his street took away his democratic right to own whatever size car he may desire. He also complains that when the snow builds up in the winter, the banks take up space, and the road narrows to the point where large vehicles, snow

removal trucks and/ or incompetent drivers have difficulty to negotiate the remanding road space. Consequentially, every car he has owned since the change has eventually been damaged.

According to Walter B. the area has changed in other ways. He remembers a time when almost everything he needed could be found in shops located beside housing in his working class- ethnic neighbourhood. Now the neighbourhood is almost exclusively residential and has lost its working class character. Commercial activities are mostly limited to main streets, and do not enrich his daily life. Many businesses are directed toward entertainment, and the pursuit of boutique items. For his regular shopping, Walter, like many people in exclusively residential areas throughout the matrix use malls outside the city core where everything is in reach of one convenient parking space.[26]

In the 1990s a debate over the constitution of the city took place. At this time the city was at a cross roads, it had displaced Baltimore as the second largest port in eastern North America. This position promoted the idea that the city should make investments in its traditional strength as a transportation centre in order to solidify the city's economy. However, a competing model of economic development came to light. Some economists felt that measures to make living in the city more quiet and residential held more value than traditional industrial development. They argued that the city should promote quality

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[26] Walter B. recalls, such diverse businesses as bakeries, food markets, a chocolate factory, licence bureau, and bicycle rental found on the side streets near his home.

of life, which would attracted professional and intellectual talent and subsequently spur investment (Thomas, 1997: 79).

In 1994, the Montreal electorate had a choice between Mayor Doré, leader of the incumbent M.C.M, Jerome Choquette a mayoral candidate who advocated an investment in transportation, and Pierre Bourque, who spoke of beautifying the city. The voters denounced the M.C.M. The party had counted on the left to vote them to victory, but the votes did not materialize. Over time as the party came to resemble less of a grass roots movement and more of a political institution, members on the left abandoned the party or became more pragmatic and seemingly middle of the road. This loss of direction is reflected in their loss of a base constituency (Thomas, 1997).

Jerome Choquette the veteran politician, who advocated expanding the city's road system was also rejected. His approach to revitalising Montreal was based upon the idea that more resources for cars in the downtown area would bring people back to the city and spur the economy. In 1994 this concept was out of touch with many voters who focussed upon the detrimental effects of outsider traffic and were not interested in a plan to bring more cars into downtown. Instead, Montreal elected a man known for his expertise in horticulture who promised, "I'll make the city a garden" (Lalonde, 1994: A1). In short, the myth of nature easily triumphed over the veneration of progress (Thomas, 1997: 141-145).

The 1994 election of Mayor Bourque can be seen as generalized acceptance of the view that society is advanced by the removal of traffic. The control of local traffic can no longer be viewed as a suburban/ Cul-de-Sac prerogative, or a leftist defence of the disadvantaged. It was now perceived as a property right connected with issues of quality of life. This means that the city was no longer only seen as an urban core, which functioned as the commercial and economic heart of a metropolis, but as streets owned by locals who, like the people in the suburbs, felt entitled to control them for their own use. Baumgartner (1988) predicated the ubiquity of suburban values like localized street ownership. He wrote in the 1980's that suburban values would dominate the political thinking of the future.

Baumgartner (1988) found that society was moving toward larger roles for the private economy and diminished levels of civic involvement. He argued that due to high level of transiency, we rely on private experiences for satisfaction and have a diminished interest in society as a whole (135). Thomas (1997) linked the expansion of the private economy to the long-term effects of exposure to mass media and consumerism (143). His argument is bolstered by Veblen (1964). He recognized in modernity a movement toward a moral code that sanctified private property. He argued the economic and legal system of modern communities is dominated by the private economy (117).

Coursol Revisited

The clean, well constructed homes built for railway employees on Coursol Street at the end of the ninetieth- century have survived all the changes the city went through during the twentieth century and are a source pride to their currents owners. On a walk along this street I found the homes to be modest in size, but discovered they maintain a property value higher than the average home in the Montreal area.[27] I also noticed that most are well kept. The slate or cedar scalloped shingles of the cornices are well maintained and their wood or stone work supports the bright colours schemes imported from a San Francisco beautification project. On one of the houses in addition to looking well kept, the owners have embellished the windowsills with painted floral motifs.

The street is for the most part a quiet tree lined street. Coursol is a one-way residential street that runs only five blocks and does not connect any of city's major arteries. It has no attractions on it other than a Pentecostal Church and makes a poor thoroughfare due to its short length and many stops. During my ethnographic visits I didn't encounter a moving vehicle on the street. However, I understand that early in the morning outside traffic is generated by people looking for free all day parking. I also noticed that the street has parking restrictions and that they provide locals with ample parking. On one visit during a weekday afternoon, I counted only three cars parked among the many spots reserved for residents. I returned that evening to see if this was an area occupied by a

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[27] There is only one home for sale on this block, it does not look like it has had the same level of investments in renovations as the homes mentioned in this narrative. The asking price for this home is $ 290,000- The average home price for the Montreal area as of January 2009 is $252 000 according to The Canadian Real Estate Association.

group of car -free people and found the street was lined with the cars belonging to local residents.[28]

This observation is perplexing considering the residents of Coursol Street have the downtown shopping and business district close at hand, and have perhaps the highest concentration of public transportation options in the matrix. Their use of cars indicates that proximity to these items is not the only factor that influences car usage. Statistics indicate that private car ownership is increasing faster than public transit usage in the City of Montreal. Between 1999-2002 the use of public transportation increased by 2.6 percent while car ownership increased by 6.5 percent (Mennie & Kilpatrick, 2008: A18). These numbers suggests that locals might spend part of the day as traffic on the way to the areas employment centres atomized throughout the matrix.

To reiterate a point made in the last chapter- suburbs over time resemble cities, they cease being countryside and become a more urban environment; the "suburbs' provide space for office towers and industry and warehousing. In the Montreal matrix these locations have replaced the city centre as the provinces largest centre of employment. According to the City of Montreal there are 1 200 000 million cars in circulation the Island of Montreal each day, of those only 81000 find their way to the centre of the city (Mennie, Kilpatrick. 2008: A 18, Transportation plan. 2007: 104) Many of them head for the industrial sector of the City of Laval, which relies upon labour imported from Montreal (Johnston,

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[28]Local cars have a decal on the windshield.

2008:A7). While 'suburban' Dorval is in a similar situation, it welcomes 20,000 workers from outside the municipality to its industrial parks everyday (Ville de Montreal. portal Dorval).

A glance at cultural artifacts found on this street indicate that one block of Coursol Street is an island of relative affluence in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. One block west of this place, the rows of turn of the twentieth century multi-unit homes have yet to receive the same attention, and to the east of this block is a multi-story public housing complex. A trip through the alley between Coursol and St Jacques Street illustrates this contrast between the socioeconomic character of this block and the rest of the neighbourhood. On the Coursol side we see, nooks, sporting neat outdoor furniture, patio lights, and barbeques, all partially hidden behind privacy fencing. On the other side there is a parking lot reserved for public housing. It has two cars in it. They are surrounded by broken glass and do not look like they can easily be repaired to operate legally on a city street.

In February 2007 the *Montreal Gazette* reported that since June of 2007 a mother of two who lives on what appears for be a more affluent block of this street has been battling the city's administration to provide better traffic control. Her complaint is over the number of cars that use her street while searching for free parking. The focal point of her contest with the city is that the traffic endangers the fifteen preschool children on her block (Boon, 2007: A3).

Mrs Bordat has asked the city for speed bumps, a lower speed limit, signs indicating children playing, and to have the parking on the street reserved for residence only. The city responded by monitoring the speed of the traffic and decided no intervention was necessary. They also informed her that "Watch Out for Children" signs were only employed by the city in school zones and on the roads that pass by parks. However, the city agreed to expand their program of reserved parking to her block (Boon, 2007: A3).

Mrs Bordat is not satisfied with the city's response. Her rationale as to why the city should provide her street with these items is that she feels local rate payers have paid for them. "They told me that Coursol is not the only street in the borough," Bordat said, "But we pay taxes and we haven't asked for much. Everything we want is for the safety of our children has been refused" (Boon, 2007: A3).

The home she lives in is described by the *Montreal Gazette* reporter as a funky old three story stone and brick house. It is the type of home I believe the early twentieth century reformers Frederick C Howe and Tom Johnson predicted would become a benefit to the city once mechanised transportation improved to the point where overcrowding disappear as the population gained greater access to the suburbs (McShane, 1994: 226). In this regard, the reformers predictions were right. With almost half the Montreal Census areas population living off the Island of Montreal, the buildings on this street are again owned by young professionals who pay a premium to live in these distinctive quality homes.

The residents of this block are encouraged on the editorial page of the *Montreal Gazette* for efforts to make the city more child-friendly. The editor supports their decision to settle on this residential street as opposed to one in the suburbs. He makes the assumption that they have made an environmentally responsible choice, which allows them to be divorced from car culture. The report also applauds the residents for choosing to raise their children in the rich cultural environment of the city as opposed to the banality of the suburbs (Anonymous, 2008:A12).

The existence of enough cars registered to local addresses to line the street suggests that many Coursol residents have not rejected car usage, but want control over the street. The initiatives Bordat proposes to provide for control are not novel, they have already been installed several kilometres west in the town above Bluebonnets Hill. Here, street parking is limited to four hours to eliminate traffic from outside the area entering the town in the hopes of finding parking for the day before continuing onto work by foot or public transportation. The speed limit in this town is 30km on all streets, and residential streets have signs reminding drivers to watch out for children regardless of whether there is an attraction for children nearby.

The town also has a traffic safety council dedicated to eliminating unwanted traffic from the town's streets. Twenty years ago the town blocked off its connection with the elevated highway interchange mentioned previously and placed "local traffic only" signs

on the road that links the town with the town below the hill and points west via a highway connection. The town seemed unconcerned that this action contravened the original purpose of these roads, which is to provide reciprocity and connectivity with other areas. Since the eighties, an intense effort has been made to erase the town from the city's street grid system. The demands of one way streets, no entry signs, left turns only, and right turn only signs, have turned the town's street system into a maze, which makes travel as difficult to negotiate as neighbourhoods comprised of dead end streets and Cul-de-Sacs.[29]

Anger on Bluebonnets Hill

The consequence of the town's ambition to control traffic, and reject notions of reciprocity and connectivity lead to a break down in civility on Bluebonnets Hill. On March 15 2007, anger erupted between 'neighbours' when the affluent town above the hill blocked a road linking the two towns that share Bluebonnets Hill. It was instructed to take this action following the recommendations of the 'safety' council. The town below the hill has two streets with two hundred residents that have had been served by this road that connects the area with the City of Montreal, for over a century. In response to its closure a protest was launched demanding that the barricade be moved. Allegations were made that the rationale behind the road closure was not safety, but the increase in property value that comes with owning a home on a limited access road (Bruemmer, 2007: A1, Ravensbergen, June 07 2008: A6).

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[29] This description of traffic calming is based on ethnographic research and my life narrative. I am intimately familiar with this area, see Chapter V, "The Modern Child"

The council responded that the barricade was necessary to ensure the safety of neighbourhood children. They reported that most of the traffic in their neighbourhood was not local, but outsiders who used their road as a short cut to the autoroute. Campbell Stuart, the town mayor claimed that the decision was made because the town had become unable to police the traffic any other way. The town's assemblage of direction signs were being ignored and the traffic situation had become unbearable (Magder, 2008: A6, Ravensbergen, 2008: A6).

The protestors were not moved. They argued that the barricade endangered their children, because emergency vehicles would now take longer to reach them, but their neighbours above the hill were unsympathetic, On March 17 2007 a letter to the editor of the *Montreal Gazette* appeared, testifying to the danger and redirecting the claims of greed back across the barricade. A father wrote,

> ...again we are road blocked by these very same neighbours who have very clearly put their property values and convenience above the safety of our children and residence. From my house I regularly see cars, vans and trucks racing up and down our streets with zero regard for the speed limits, pedestrian, dogs, stop signs and anything else that stands in their way. My son was nearly run over by a car that barrelled along, ignoring clearly posted one -way markings (Charron, 2007: B6).

A protestor reoriented the property value issue, saying everyone knew what the traffic situation was when they moved to this area, therefore it is elitist for the town above the hill to close the road between their upper-middle class neighbourhood and its working class neighbours. The mayor of his city borough that represents the town below the hill produced a traffic flow report indicating that the number of vehicles on the road has

remained static. A resident of the town below the hill asked, if there was a traffic problem how come she had not noticed it? She claims a traffic flow study showed that 112 cars use the hill a day, most in a continuous flow that lasted ten minutes around five pm. The police reported that the average speed of the vehicles is thirty-nine kilometres-per-hour. Trina Cholewike wrote; "That is not Traffic" (2007: A14).

The *Montreal Gazette* reported on March 16th 2007 that the town was forced by a court injunction to remove the barriers and put up "emergence exit" only signs. Mayor Campbell Stuart told reporters; "It's just crazy (how) people use it, they go very fast. We have drunks coming down the street the wrong way. It is very dangerous for people" (Anonymous, 2007: CBC). The dispute was given to the supreme court of Quebec to decide (Bruemmer, 2007: A6).

On January 21st 2008 Quebec Superior court justice, Israel Mass ruled that a municipality has the right to mange its roads. This ruling was interpreted by the town above the hills as licence to block traffic on the hill. They re-erected the barrier in June 2008 provoking violence amongst their neighbours. "Mayor Stuart said, "They assaulted people, they were aggressive and they used their children" (Luft, 2008: A8). The protestors claimed the barricade is racist and vowed to keep the issue in court. However one resident from the town above the hill argues it has nothing to do socioeconomic segregation. Barbara Brezezinsky wrote in a letter to the *Montreal Gazette* that the barrier is about safety and the environment. She believes it is a reaction to an increase in the use of cars in society

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and points out that barriers between neighbourhoods community are being installed all over the Island of Montreal she writes:

> Neighbourhoods erect walls, build mediums, and extend sidewalks, to prevent drivers from cutting thorough residential areas, particularly in boroughs bordering downtown. -Westmount, the Town of Mount Royal, the Plateau, and the McGill ghetto, Mile End etc... It's about safety and the environment and will only gain in prominence as the number of cars increases (2007: A18).

Conclusion

The current focus on traffic calming in the Montreal area began with a rejection of progress by groups and individual who recognized that mega- projects had a detrimental effect on the disenfranchised population. However the anti-car mentality that followed has surpassed its class based origins and can be viewed as an extension of the nineteenth-century moral instructions on the role of privacy, tranquillity, and nature in providing for the perfect home environment.

These instructions, which can be traced back to antiquity, have been preserved in the architecture of the city. The social reformer, Ames, and the concerns of the Catholic Church over morality can be witnessed in the abundance of flats, as opposed to tenement blocks in the town below Bluebonnets Hill, and it can also be viewed in the socioeconomic segregation that created the two distinct neighbourhoods in the area. However it is best seen in the work of M.H.N. Gunner and Company. It was the first company on the Island of Montreal to manufacture aristocratic home settings on a large scale.

Its production of single family houses surrounded by an abundance of lawns, garden, and parks is the signature of good taste modelled upon the lifestyle of the upper strata. The company constructed a place most Canadians describe as suburbia and installed a specific mentality in the area. It is one that is based on a high expectation that neighbours will not impact upon the privacy of the neighbourhood. It is this mentality that explains the fate of the Maples Inn. The historical landmark was razed because the owners of the popular drinking establishment could not satisfactorily control their 'traffic' in a way that could satisfy the moral order and tastes of their neighbours.

The evidence of aristocratic tastes are found not only in this location but throughout the matrix. They inform upon the vigilance over protecting the purity of the Mountain Park and explain the stencils that adorned the house on the relatively quiet and beautified Coursol Street. Currently nature can be understood as a phallogocentric statement connected with 'good' and, as Olmsted informed the city's fathers, over a hundred and forty years ago, it has great monetary value.

In this history, nature is increasingly understood as the binary of progress. In a decade successful mayoral candidates shifted positions from building superhighway, to widening sidewalks and planting trees. Progress is the late nineteenth-century ideal, which provided for the opportunity for this re- invention of the city to take place by moving much of the population out of the central neighbourhoods. However in the process of this

reformation, it has provided for the flow of vehicles and the contest over traffic we have now.

The highways and autocentric neighbourhoods support moral instructions we have inherited from the 1800's by providing for the geographic distance between home life and the flux and flow of the city. However, they induce high flows of traffic in central neighbourhoods. The inequity in the distribution of burdens and benefit of transportation has not gone unnoticed by the city. It has become the policy of the city to reclaim the street from non- local traffic in order to make the city environment more inline with the tastes of the professional class.

It is this understanding of the urban environment that allows Brezezinsky to argue that blocking roads between neighbours is part of the natural order. It is about safety, or the ultimate protection from a 'population of danger.' Locals witness the outsider as a trespasser who is reckless, drunk, and has no respect for the safety of the neighbourhood children. This Hobbesian reading of the stranger provides for the discourse on safety and the use of regulatory powers to remove the threat to civil society.

Through Walter B we witness a change in the charter of the city's central neighbourhoods. They have become more tranquil, more residential, and incorporate more nature. They are increasingly taking on the appearance of suburbs. This change in environment accounts for the current view of traffic as trespassing. (As Harris informs, in

suburbia privacy is held in high regard) In the next chapter the discourse of health and

the environment will be added to this discussion, through an investigation of the City of

Montreal's new transportation plan.

Chapter IV

An Overview of the Montreal Transportation Plan &The Major Initiatives

In this chapter I present an overview of the city of Montreal's 8.1 billion dollar Montreal

Transportation Plan (2007-8). The plan is being examined in an effort to discover why

car culture is being curtailed by legislation at the present time, after its expansion has

been supported by municipal government agencies for almost a century. The chapter is

divided into three sections. It begins by positioning the plan within a historical

framework of the argument against the unfettered expansion of car culture that developed

in the 1960's. It was during this era that the environmental and social problems of mass

car use gained mass recognition. The second section continues the overview with a

preface of the traffic situation described in the plan and a reiteration of the central

argument found in previous chapters concerning the moral prerogatives for

decentralization. The third section of this chapter is a description of the plan and a brief

analysis.

Section 1: Cars Have Always Been Bad, Has the Situation Become Worse?

Within the description of the plan in this section, the present traffic situation is depicted

as intolerable and the private car is held culpable. However, cars have always produced

negative effects on society. They have a history of causing death and injuries from

accidents, they have been recognized as a lethal source of air pollution for a generation,

and they have always disrupted the lives of citizens in many ways. However, in the past,

the economic and social benefits of mass car use has made car culture a total social fact of modern society.[30]

In the previous chapters the social history of transportation brought us to the point where the city was built in such a way that a reliance on the automobile was anticipated in its planning. The Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) is an organized departure from this norm. It is a collection of initiatives described by its authors as bold and innovative, but they are not as novel as this suggests. They have a history: Many of the arguments against the automobile in the plan are found in publications dating back to the nineteen-sixties. Most notably, a comprehensive American plan authored by Senator Pell of Rhode Island during the administration of President Kennedy.

The concepts and initiatives found in the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) are derived from several sources. First, they can be found in effect in many metropolitan areas. Secondly, they are the continuation of initiatives undertaken by past administrations of Montreal, and thirdly, they are contingent upon the policy narrative of the administration presently in power.

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[30]Durkheim's description of a social fact reads; "A thing is principally recognisable by virtue of not being capable of modification through the mere act of will. This is not because it is intractable to all modification. But to effect change the will is not sufficient; it needs a degree of arduous effort because of the strength of the resistance it offers... Far from their being a product of our will, they determine it from without. They are like moulds into which we are forced to cast our actions (Durkheim, 1982: 70).

To an extent, the plan's appeal is euro-centric. The Green Neighbourhood, *Un quartier vert* and re- institution of the tramway are stated by the plan's authors as deriving from traffic calming plans originating in Paris, and it may be gleaned from statements made in the plan that European urban life is superior to the American model (Transportation Plan, 2007:114, Aubin, 2008: A15) Though not identified as such in the documents, the plan also includes many initiatives, which are found in the Traffic Reduction Act (1997) drawn up for British municipalities. These include improving public transportation by building tramways and making massive investments in rail service, as well as seeking to remove automotive traffic from city centres through increasing the cost for driving and reducing the availability of parking (Paterson, 2007:190). However, it is not necessary to look outside of North America for antecedents to the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8). New York, Seattle, Vancouver and Toronto are all involved in efforts to reduce traffic through measures similar to those found in the plan.

The 1960's project of Senator Pell of Rhode Island's senate committee, the "Pell Plan" covers some of the same ground as the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) It is described by the Senator as a rational approach to transportation for the metropolitan area that encompassed all the cities and towns of the US North East. Pell recognized that automobile use had fused the towns and municipalities of this area into a single entity comprised of an undulation of high-rise urban centres, industrial parks and low density residential areas. His plan ordered a massive intervention to curb the use of the automobile in favour of a comprehensive mass transit system. The Pell Plan was to

satisfy the movement of people over short, medium and long distances through the adoption of the appropriate mode of transportation (Pell: 1966).

This initiative called for a heavy investment in the nation's rail infrastructure as well as the development of electric vehicles for urban use. His view of the way the automobile was being employed in the 1960's was that it was being misused. He saw its use as responsible for wasting land, devastated air quality, and draining public finance. He felt governments could never finance enough roads to satisfy the auto-users demand for congestion-free travel. In today's parlance, Pell, (1966) is talking about sustainability, a term found throughout the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8).

The 'Pell Plan' reached the same conclusion concerning the advantage of mass transit as the new Montreal Transportation Plan. However his plan lacks the detailed list of arguments against the automobile the committee responsible for the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) have compiled. Pell's assessment of mass car use does not include the notion that a car can be in violation of personal space or that exhaust poses a global menace. It also does not focus upon the automobile as a location of accidental death and injury. His arguments articulate the view that mass automobile use places a strain upon the health and economic potential of society in general. He does not embrace

the contemporary view that the simple presence of the car in the city could be a violation of citizen's rights.[31]

While Pell (1966) dealt mostly with issues of sustainability in transportation, other publications produced in this era impacted upon the public's perception of automobile safety. Most notable of these is Ralph Nader's watershed 1965 publication: *Unsafe at Any Speed.* This publication exposed not only the scope of death and destruction automobile use imposed on society, but the culpability of the auto- industry.

In the Montreal Transportation Plan, the theme of the automobile as a disruptive force in everyday life is highlighted. It is also not a novel concept. It is immortalised in silent films made a century ago. In these films comedy is produced, by interpolating the car's potential for calamity into a scene of tranquil daily life. The automobile turns everyday life into hilarity by blackening faces with its exhaust, startling animals, and making people run for safety.[32]

Goldston (1970) reacts to the disruptive effects of the automobile on society by arguing that the technology has made us abandon street life, and as consequence civic life in America has suffered. He writes that we have allowed the automobile to destroy the

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[31] Pell believed smog was the automobile's main problem with cars in the city and predicted electric motors would replace the internal combustion engine in urban areas by 1980.

[32] The? Motorist, directed by Walter R Booth 1906 is an example-The question mark represents a swear word.

beauty of the city by blackening the buildings with exhaust and covering it with billboard advertisements large enough to impress messages upon people moving by quickly in passing cars. However, according to Goldston (1970), the worst consequence of mass automobile usage is that it has allowed us to retreat to suburbia where we can place personal pleasure above a recognition of those around us, therefore normalizing inequalities (178-179).

The Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) differs in objectives from these older works in that it does not rely upon improvements in automotive technology to provide for a safer, less polluted city, nor does it argue that a change from mass automobile use to other forms of transportation will increase social capital. The Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) is based upon a different set of values. Within this set of values the car is a pathogen, addressed by a term borrowed from clinical psychology, 'dependency.' Within the development of the plan this concept was a forgone conclusion. Before public consultations were held, it was decided that car use would be curtailed and hidden from sight. Among the many initiatives to delegitimate car culture, the plan calls for its skyways to be brought down and its parking reduced and placed underground (Transportation Plan, 2007:104, 98).

Section 2: Transportation, the City and the Moral Obligation

A city is defined in opposition to nature. It is a man-made environment, built on the politics of desire for gainful employment, wealth, power, entertainment and vice. As a

consequence, a large city is often noisy, polluted, highly stimulating and a host to all forms of activities considered base or immoral. Nature is the opposite. We are told in the Bible that nature, (The Garden of Eden) is a safe, private, uncomplicated and highly moral space. Since both conditions appeal to society, bridging the divide between them has been the focus of immense private and public investments in North American cities for the last two centuries. These investments have allowed an increasing proportion of urbanities to requisite nature in pursuit of quieter lives. They live life separated from their neighbours behind cedar hedges and expanses of lawn.

The industry, commerce and centres of entertainment, which complete the urban experience, have ideally been legislated to a distance from the location of homes. There they cannot undermine the combined tranquillizing effects of space and nature. This specialization of urban spaces and the interpolation of nature have created a paradox, which plans such as the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) have been invented to deal with. A transportation plan must provide the citizenry with a method to overcome the distances produced by the specialization of space and protect the tranquillity promised by the atomization of locations.

Section 3 - *Réinventer Montréal*: A Description of the Plan

The transportation plan was introduced in two documents. The first, the consultation document was released in May 2007 for the anniversary of the city's founding. It was published in the French language as a PDF file and was made available to the public on

the city's web portal - Access Montréal, as *Réinventer Montréal; Plan de transport 2007: document de consultation.*[33] This document contains 155 pages, divided into four sections, and includes an introduction and an appendix. The text is interspersed with several dozen photographs. Many of these are simple snapshots of city streets, often without the congestion of automobile traffic. Others are mock photos, incorporating the existing city-scape with artwork depicting proposed large scale projects such as bicycle boulevards and the tramway.

The plan is also elaborated through the use of 21 maps and 17 graphs or tables. The maps indicate the areas in which existing transportation infrastructures will be augmented and/or new technologies applied. The tables and graphs are almost entirely used to express financial considerations. However, some tables indicate predicted changes in demographics and a corresponding increase in demand on transportation systems.

In June of 2008, the finalized version of the transportation plan, titled; *Réinventer Montréal; Plan de transport 2008* was released and made public on the city's official web site. The plan is negotiated from the policy positions found in the consultation document and the opinions expressed in an open public forum by 100 stakekeepers. The presentations the city received ranged from a neighbourhood centred view of roads expressed by the *Comité des citoyens Mont-Royal avenue verte,* to a global view of the role of local roads expressed by *Regroupement camionnage.* While one group is

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[33]In late May or early June of 2008 a paragraph by paragraph English translation of the consultation document was introduced on the city's official web site

petitioning to close a major artery to traffic and erect a permanent pedestrian mall in order to enhance neighbourhood life and attract tourism, the other objects to any measures that would impede vehicle circulation. The trucking organization predicts traffic congestion caused by initiatives such as road closures will increase transportation costs and make the city less attractive to the business world.

The body of the final plan does not vary considerably from the original. The titles of the sections and subsections correspond closely to those in the consultation document. The final plan has approximately the same number of charts and maps, and includes only a few additional entries. These new additions are; the pedestrian charter, a comparison of Montreal's transportation situation with other North American cities, and a short revision following Section 1. There are also two additional initiatives. They are a plan to integrate transportation for Mount Royal Park into the plan as well as a project with the same objective aimed at the Old Port. In spite of the brevity of these additions, the body of the final document is thirty pages longer that the consultation version.

Part of the increase in size of the body of the document can be accounted for by improvements in artwork. Many of the photos used for the consultation document appear to be taken in haste in order to be available for the document's mid-May release.[34] In the

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[34]I have come to this conclusion because the general appearance of the document indicates a strong appreciation of aesthetics by its authors, however the photographs are not exceptional and appear to be shot during the last weeks of April or early May; in these photos people are wearing heavy cloths, there is no evidence of a recent snow fall and trees have not yet achieved full foliage.

2008 document this oversight is corrected. The final document has eighty-five pictures, (approximately twice the number of the original document) and the photos show Montrealers enjoying, or facing the challenges offered by the four seasons. In addition to having more scenes, many pictures have been changed in the final document. There are many entries in the two documents where the text is similar or unchanged, but the photographic representation is of a different view of the same scene, a different example of the item in the text, or a photo that presents an interpretation of the text that could not be gleaned by the previous presentation.[35]

Another area of improvement is in the number of appendixes. The consultation document has one appendix. It details the cost of the plan's various initiatives. It is an essential part of the document. It explains to tax and ratepayers and higher levels of government, the current level of financing available to the city and the financial commitment needed in order for the plan to be expedited. The finalized version of the plan has an additional eight appendixes. In total, the new document is 221 pages long. The new appendixes include two new initiatives not covered in the consultation plan, as well as sections detailing projects already in progress and others that are imminent. Another appendix covers changes made to projects announced in the consultation document, while another acknowledges the work of the committee members and stakekeepers. The document concludes with a final note and a much needed lexicon of terms and abbreviations.

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[35] See description of photos that follows the discussion of Green Neighbourhoods.

The Agenda

The plan is essentially a polemic of obligations to political commitments, both local and international. They obligate the city to reduce local and atmospheric air pollutants, create visual harmony, provide dynamism and livability, while increasing the efficiency of movement for economic and commercial purposes. These objectives are found in a number of charters and protocols the city has embraced over several years. The bulk of these directives are found in the City's 2004 Master plan. In this plan the development of the transportation plan is viewed as an integral component of the city's new design (Master Plan, 2004: section 2.2).

The most prestigious agreement incorporated into the transportation plan is the Kyoto Accord. The accord aims to reduce carbon emissions in the atmosphere that contribute to climate change.[36] According to the 2007 and 2008 transportation plan, 38% of greenhouse gas emissions in Quebec are produced through transportation. The plan promises to decrease this sum by changing the methods Montrealers routinely use to get around, ie., replacing the number of trips made by passenger vehicles with trips made with public transportation, or active transport.

Another agreement woven into the fabric of the transportation plan is the *Charte des mielleux de vie montréalais.* Originally found in the *Plan d' urbanisme,* this charter is

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[36]At the 2005 United Nations conference on climate change hosed by Montreal, the city agreed to implement measures to help reduce global emissions by 30% by the year 2020 (Plan de transport, 2008: 47)

related to the Charter of Rights and Responsibilities for Montrealers. This document calls for detailed planning in order to provide tranquillity for the 43, 000 households found in the city's central neighbourhoods. The city describes the character of these neighbourhoods as highly dynamic, but lacking in "private green space and certain social realities" (Plan de urbanisme, 2004: Section 6.1).

The *Charte des mielleux de vie montréalais* attempts to provide tranquillity to Montreal's central neighbourhoods through several initiatives. It addresses the lack of green space by improving access to Mount Royal Park. It will also provide for quieter streets by reducing automobile traffic through implementing traffic calming measures. In addition it will lower pedestrian traffic in some areas through restricting the issue of permits for restaurants, bars and discotheques. The charter also calls for the control over the instances of homeless persons, prostitutes and other persons deemed undesirables (Section 6.1).

The issues of green space, tranquillity, and transportation combine to promote one of the plan's most ambitious projects; the tramway. Found in Section 2.3 s of the Master Plan (2004) under the title: "A Prestigious Convivial and Inhabited Centre," is a proposition to build a 985 000 000 dollar tramway, which will connect the Mont Royal Park with a circuit that will run through the city's downtown shopping district, and the city's main tourist destinations. The plan refers to this loop as the first phase of the project, it will allow travellers to pass through Chinatown, the show district, (which is currently under

construction), Old Montreal and the Old Port. Subsequent phases will extend service

north and east along the city's most travelled bus corridors.

The Pedestrian Charter, *Charte du piéton* (2006) is another charter found within the great

web of obligations that make up the transportation plan. It establishes that the right to

travel by foot supersedes the privilege of travelling by private automobile. This charter

states that any changes to the built environment and future developments will respect this

principle and advance the role of walking as a transportation option (1-4).

The reduction of automotive traffic is enshrined among the rights advocated in the

transportation plan. A Charter of Rights and Responsibilities adopted in June of 2005 is

cited as an obligation that guides the development of initiatives found within the plan.

Chapter 5 of the charter; "Environment and Sustainable Development," article 24 reads,

"Commitment: To foster enjoyment by citizens of their right with respect to the

environment and sustainable development: Montreal is committed to: Promoting urban

public transportation and transportation systems which would reduce the use of the car."

Quality of Life; The Central Concept

Although the city has no charter dedicated to the issue of quality of life, this concept is

central to the plan. Like the charters and protocols mentioned above, the concept of

improving quality of life was arrived at prior to the drafting of the plan. It came about in

the aftermath of the *Sommet de Montréal* held in June of 2002. At this conference a

comprehensive vision of the city of tomorrow emerged and was published as: *Imaginer* *

Réaliser Montréal 2025; Un mode de créativité et de possibilités. In this document

quality of life emerged as the main objective for urban planning. A transportation plan

was decided to be the point of reference from which all other aspects of this agenda stem

(Plan de transport, 2008: 33).

The term quality of life appears frequently in both the consultation document and the

finalized plan. In Mayor Tremblay's opening remarks he uses the term twice in the six

paragraph essay. It appears first as an explanation of the mission of his administration,

and again in the closing paragraph. The term also appears in the opening remark of the

finalized plan presented by Claude Trudel, President of the board of directors for the

Société de transport de Montréal. The term can also be found in approximately thirty-

nine additional locations in the text of the finalized plan. However, the term is presented

without qualifications and does not appear in the document's glossary of key terms.

Trudel's remarks are typical of the employment of the term. In his opening remarks

found below, he lists the benefit his organization bestows upon the public:

> Entreprise publique de transport en commun, la Société de transport de Montréal
> (STM) est au coeur du développement économique de la région de Montréal. En
> contribuant à la **qualité de vie** des citoyens et la protection de l'environnement,
> elle accompagne des millions de personnes dans leurs déplacements pour les
> études, loisirs, le magasinage, et autres activités (Trudel. In Plan de Transport,
> 2008: 11).

The importance of the term to the project is underlined not only by its location in the

preamble, but also by its appearance in the introduction to the plan. The introduction,

which identifies the twenty-one major initiatives that constitute the plan explains that

quality of life is a fundamental dimension of the plan, along with protection of the

environment, air quality, ambience and peacefulness of neighbourhoods (Plan de

Transport, 2008: 17).

A clear connection is made between quality of life and transportation in Section II of the

finalized plan. Here there is a paragraph dedicated to quality of life. It is titled: "Improve

the Quality of Life for Citizens, Particularly with Regard to Health and Safety," and

reads,

> The tranquillity of neighbourhoods, quality of life for families, and the safety and
> health of citizens are affected more and more by ever increasing volumes of
> traffic. The transportation system should contribute to improving these factors by
> making communities less dependent on private automobiles and focussing on
> increasing the use of public transit, walking and bicycling (Transportation plan,
> 2007: 29, Plan de Transport, 2008: 40).

The argument that dependence on the private automobile works against quality of life is

elaborated upon in a subsection of Section II: *La sécurité des déplacements et la qualité*

de vie. In this subsection it states that transportation generates nuisances, which impact

upon the health and quality of life of citizens. It further explains that quality of life

qualifies as a health issue. It concludes with the statement that nuisance and safety are the

most important factors that constitute quality of life (Plan de Transport, 2008: 149).

The connection between the development of a transportation plan and the issue of quality

of life is further elaborated with an explanation found in the finalized plan. It describes

how the city arrived at the idea of developing a pedestrian charter. It explains that after

the *Sommet de Montréal (2002)* work began on the *Charte des mielleux de vie*

montréalais. As mentioned before, the goal of this charter is to enshrine the notion that

central neighbourhoods are tranquil. The city claims that all of the expert proposals

submitted for this charter argued that a substantial increase in quality of life would be

introduced into the urban setting if active transportation was the city's paramount feature.

It is within this context that the pedestrian charter was formed (41).

There are no statements within the document, which fully explain what qualifies as a

quality of life and how it can be measured. However it is clear from the statements listed

above that restricting automotive traffic and encouraging the use of public transportation

and active transport are the key elements of its construction. A clear statement of this

intent is found in the pedestrian charter. It states that "Montrealers do not have to

sacrifice quality of life for the adoption of the automobile in urban life, public space,

particularly the street can be reappropriated." (Plan de transport, 2008:108).

Why Quality of Life?

David Phillips, in his 2006 work on quality of life, proposes that the essential and

unifying element of the various employments of this ubiquitous term is happiness (15).

However, when used in concert with public policy it is qualified by an ideological

perspective. These perspectives can range from leftist concerns over social inclusion and

inequality, to the more right leaning issues of levels of autonomy and self-determination.

Within the context of the Montreal Transportation Plan it is a phallogocentric statement. Quality of life is understood as universally positive and honorific without further extrapolation.

The indicators of quality of life in the plan are presented without connections to objective targets and represent a mission founded on unarticulated subjective arguments. These policies are based upon the objective of making people happy by enlisting the initiatives provided by the plan. This method sets up a narrative for unqualified success as the views of groups or individuals that fall outside of the ideological parameters of the plan are not appreciated.

The treatment of Stephen Lamarre of Regroupement *Camionnage* at the consultation hearing exemplified the level of critique the panel found acceptable. He followed a speaker for the industrial south western sector of Montreal, who praised the efforts to bring quality of life to his area of the city, but cautioned the panel, that their road calming plans could exacerbate traffic problems in the area, negatively effect the economy, and were unrealistic in their attempts to remove trucks from the streets. Lamarre, began his presentation by saying that the tile of the transportation plan was incorrect; the plan is for public transportation, not transportation, "Ce *le titre du plan est un peau tromper, ce n'est pas up plan de transport. C'est un plan de transport en commune*[37]"

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[37]Lamarre, Stephane.2007: hour two of the Commission du conseil municipal sur la mis en valeur du territoire, l'aménagement urbain et le transport collectif - August 22.

He made the claim that trucking was an essential industry in Montreal, but in the plan it represented only six pages out of 160, and the effort made by the committee showed a lack of knowledge of the industry. Lamarre said that Montreal truckers had to follow the North American business model of timetables and schedules. He said that the theme of the plan, which was to produce 'harmony' would instead create disharmony.

He rejected the idea of restricting delivery hours, downsizing delivery trucks, and moving business that rely upon a high level of transportation off- island. He felt that these measures would create more congestion, produce higher cost to consumers and while decreasing emissions in Montreal neighbourhoods, increase the problem of pollution for the entire region. He also opposed the method under which Green Neighbourhoods were to come about. Under the plan, the neighbourhoods are the responsibility of the borough. He pointed out the Montreal's island geography limits options for truck routes and he questioned the wisdom of allowing boroughs to imposed further restrictions. He envisioned an almost impenetrable maze constructed by small jurisdictions closing off roads while adjacent jurisdictions found themselves inconvenienced.

Manon Barbe, the president of the committee, began her rebuttal by repeating North America vociferously three times to illustrate the number of times he had mentioned the location in his brief. She then pointed out that "America" was not the only model for society. She went on to tell him his thinking was outmoded. Trucks, she said continue to get bigger all the time. She envisioned a day when a road train (truck with two trailers) would arrive at the *depanier* on the corner of her street to drop off a case of beer. She

questioned his assertion that trucking was an essential industry, stating only that it was important, but did not feel that she should have to live under the dictates of what ever makes it the most profit. [38]

Though Lamarre was not well received at the public consultation hearing, his influence and the influence of local industry may be seen in the drafting of the finalized version of the plan. While the section on the trucking industry has not been given more weight, it changed focus. The section titled, "Etudier la possibilité d'implanter des centres intermodaux des marchandises a la extérieur de l'le de Montréal;" Study the possibility of placing warehouses off- island now reads, "Etudier le niveaux modes de distribution de marchandes;" Study new methods of distributing merchandise (Plan de transport, 2007: 127, Plan de transport, 2008:166).

It should be noted that one month after the spokesmen for industrial labour and the population of truckers complained about the detrimental effects of the plans focus on tranquillity has on industry, Alan DeSousa of the executive committee for economic and sustainable development for Montreal announced a $15- million program to rid the city of 'nuisance' businesses. He described these operations as, "perfectly legal, but they create a nuisance in the community...it could be noise, emissions, dust, odours or (High) volumes of truck traffic" (Lalonde, 2007: A7) He connected his program, "PR@M-revitalization" with quality of life, saying; "We keep talking about wanting a family

[38]Barbe, 2007:hour two of the Commission du conseil municipal sur la mis en valeur du territoire, l'aménagement urbain et le transport collectif - August 22.

friendly island were there is a good quality of life for people. This program is a tool to reach those objectives" (A7).

This episode illustrates not only how the parameters defining the issue of quality of life are controlled by the authors of the plan, but suggests that the plan can both be successful and in need of continuation and expansion without the possibility of it being properly assessed by anyone critical of the measures being taken. It cannot be assess based upon on monetary value as illustrated by initiative 16, "*Redonner aux résidents des quartiers montréalais la qualité de vie qui leur revient, plan de transport,*" The dream of the plan is to give back to the residents of the Montreal Area the quality of life they deserve. This is because this initiative is not connected to a budget projection (2008:177).

According to the data supplied with the plan, Montreal is in an enviable position in comparison to other North American cities. It has one of the highest levels of road safety in North America. It ranks a close second with first place Toronto, having approximately three deaths per 100,000 persons connected to road accidents. In contrast, the city that ranked last, Houston, has 11 deaths per 100 000 (Transportation Plan, 2007: 113). The statistics demonstrate the overwhelming quality of life advantage Montreal has over other cities. However, the plan's argument for the need to sanction the automobile does not rest upon a ranking. The goal of the plan is not just to elaborate upon an enviable position, but is decided upon based on an utopian ideal.

The goal of the plan is a reduction in the mortality rate by an additional 40% in the next

ten years, with a prediction that the amount of accidents will continue to drop as the

result of future initiative not yet imagined. The plan reads, "To make Montreal a place

where it is possible to travel in complete safety, where delinquent behaviour is not

tolerated, Montreal will take more action to reduce the number of accidents over the next

ten years by 40%, the first step in a "zero accident vision of the city " (Transportation

Plan, 2007: 113). The proposed initiative to reach this goal read in English:

> The strategy of the Transportation Plan is to increase the modal share of public
> and active modes of transportation and to decrease the use of the automobile is in
> it self propitious to personal travel safety as a whole and to the improvement of
> Montrealers quality of life (113).

> And in French:
> La stratégie du Plan de transport d'augmenter les parts modales du transport en
> commun et des transport actifs et diminuer l'usage de l'automobile est en soi
> favorable a la sécurité de l'ensemble des déplacements et a l'a amélioration de la
> qualité de vie des montréalais (Plan de transport, 2007:113).

To support this strategy, Montreal will act on four fronts:

Create "Green Neighbourhoods

Adapt street designs

Change behaviour

Establish an office of transportation safety

In concert with the statistic on mortality, other figures in the plan argue that the quality of

life in Montreal is exceptional and not substandard due to traffic. They indicate that the

pedestrian charter is not needed as a remedy for a deplorable situation, but advances the

city's strengths. The statistics supplied with the document indicate that Montreal has a lower instance of car use and higher use of public transportation than other North American cities. It portrays the city as one of North America's most walkable cities, at par with many European cities (Plan de transport, 2008: 52).

As mentioned before, Pell (1966) called for a technological change in the automobile in order for it to be maintained as a transportation option. Without his predicated change to electric cars, emissions have been reduced by 98%. The statistics in the transportation plan underline the success of this change. In spite of an unprecedented volume of vehicles moving through the city, the air quality in the city has been steadily increasing since the first pollution control devices became common place in the nineteen seventies. However, concerns over air quality still inform upon the direction of the plan, as do the increase in smog days and the spectre of climate change. The city's commitment to the Kyoto Accord places it in a position where it must reduce its production of greenhouse gasses. The plan calls for the city to employ technologies, (both in existence and not yet developed) that will emit less carbon into the air, but the major initiative is not found in new technology, it is to cap in the number of vehicles entering the city and/ or the island (Transportation Plan. 2007: 95).

The shortcoming of this initiative is obvious if one looks at the role of the automobile in society. The automobile is a climate controlled, private, and often time saving device. Historically, the reduction in accommodations for the automobile by a municipality

results in fewer trips to that location and the services, attractions, employment move and/ or are replicated outside of the city. In short, traffic calming initiatives create situations, which instigate the decentralization of the city. It is this use of land that alarmed both Senator Pell and Robert Goldston almost half a century ago.[39]

The administration's response to this problem is to expand rapid and public transportation service to outlying areas in order to reduce a societal reliance upon the automobile. However, as we have seen in previous chapters the relationship between public transportation and automobile use is complex. Both the area above Bluebonnets Hill and the area around the Maple Inn, mentioned in the last chapter were initially railway suburbs. At the turn of twentieth century commuters could walk these towns and find all their daily provisions on a main street and take the train to the city core for specialty items and employment. However much of the current population of these locations do not walk or take the train anymore. The automobile has allowed them to make large investments in the private economy and provided them with needs to appear anywhere in the matrix at the time of their choosing. Today seventy percent of commuters in Montreal West drive to work, nineteen percent take public transportation and less than nine percent are involved in active transportation. For Pointe Claire the numbers are similar, seventy-two percent get to work by driving, seventeen percent are on public transportation and only five percent walk or ride a bike (Statistics Canada, 2006).

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[39]Scharff, Virginia. 1991:159 points to the institution of parking restriction in Los Angeles in the early 20th century as reason for the city's decentralization. Services and attraction originally found only in the downtown core began to appear in the surrounding area where the availability of parking made them more attractive.

These towns are now part of a contiguous city in which rapid transit is an option, but not always a preferred one. It cannot penetrate quiet residential areas to connect people with other people, shopping, and employment in outlying areas. Rapid transit only provides a link between city centre and a line of stations terminating near the countryside. It facilitates living on the city's edge, therefore perpetuating the expansion of the most autocentric expanses of the matrix.[40]

The Green Neighbourhoods

The Green Neighbourhoods exemplify the goals of the transportation plan, which is to develop quiet suburban type neighbourhoods in the city to attract middle class families. This initiative is seen to make Montreal competitive with neighbouring municipalities, the countryside and other cities. The 'Suburbs' attract population because they are structured to provide the high levels of privacy and tranquillity, which the majority of the contemporary urban population's opts for at some point during the life cycle. The plan recognizes that highly stimulating experiences of the city are an attractive feature to some, but do not create an environment, which people will pay a premium to live among. The location and the discrete qualities of these neighbourhoods are not found in the consultation document or the finalized plan, and the budget for this construction is also unknown. The definition of a Green Neighbourhood reads only that it is a specialised

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[40] The Dessau engineering firm report on the proposed commuter rail line to Mascouche. It predicts that 1900 homes will be built in Terrebonne and 1500 in Mascouche as a result of the service, however since this is not a centralized suburb, families moving from the city to this area will use cars to get around (Aubin, 2008: B7).

territory to be designated by the highway code of Quebec. It will be created by amending legislation to allow for specific signage and regulations in regard to transportation. This new legislated construction will allow the city to deploy an array of traffic related initiatives, including the closing off of streets and laneways, the reduction of posted speed limits, the redirection of streets to reduce thoroughfare usage, the implementation of the pedestrian charter and the enhancement of areas with vegetation (Transportation Plan, 2007:114).

A glimpse at the photographs that support the text should illustrate the vision of the authors. However, the picture in the consultation document and the final version are radically different. The photo found in the consultation document shows a row of large single family homes on a tree-lined street on a hill in eastern Notre-Dame-de- Grace. This type of residence is not typical of that found in the city of Montreal. It is more representative of homes found in exclusive neighbourhoods that border much of Notre-Dame -de- Grace (Transportation Plan, 2007:114).

The photo in the finalized plan is a winter scene in which two people move a baby carriage along a sidewalk cleared of snow toward a boulevard surrounded by walk- up apartments. The photo illustrates some of the initiatives found in the pedestrian charter and mentioned in the Green Neighbourhood initiative, these are; the freshly painted crosswalk, signage restricting parking, and the timely clearing of sidewalks of snow (Plan de transport, 2008: 152).

The evidence that city is in a contest with the suburbs is found in the statement by Alan DeSousa, statistics released the city of Montreal, and a rash of news stories that were published after Statistics Canada released the findings of the 2006 census. These items indicate that the city and the island are found to be less attractive than the surrounding area.

Statistics published by the Montreal Metropolitan Community, indicate that between 1994 and 2004, the population of the Island of Montreal grew by a modest 4,600 residents, compared to 82,000 who settled in the remainder of the Montreal Census Area. (Gyulia, 2006: A7). This discrepancy is due to dissatisfaction over the city felt by several populations. The census found the city has not been able to attract high earning potential immigrants. They instead are organizing new communities outside of the central city (Heinrich, 2007: A10). Also it has been reported that young couples feel obliged to raise their children away from the distractions and influences of the city. The reports also found that people crave privacy on a level that the city cannot provide. One person, formerly of LaSalle describes her reason for leaving the island this way, she said, "My neighbours were close enough to touch your nose" (Bonnel, 2007: A11).

In addition to the exodus of young families, the *Montreal Gazette* reports on a phenomenon where young single urbanites are abandoning the city for smaller centres at

the fringe or even outside of the matrix.[41] The report cites a survey conducted by the Montreal Youth Council, which indicates that seventy percent of the city's population aged 18 to 30 show little place attachment to the city, and are planning to leave the city for less expensive housing in areas on its outskirts (Ravensbergen, 2007: A15).

In another story, the paper reports that an exodus of baby boomers and retirees is changing cottage country into suburbia. The story reports that the Laurentian's are the fastest growing region of Quebec. The story includes projections by the *Institut de la statistique du Québec* that the region will grow by twenty-nine percent during the next fifteen years, with 'cities' like St Sauveur growing by forty percent (Scott. 2006: B1).

Conclusion

The underlying rationale for traffic calming, the foundation of the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) is an omnipresent value system that is novel for a city but has been present in society for centuries. It is one that places a premium upon tranquillity and safety, and uses nature as an instrument to resolve social problems. These values, often viewed as suburban, have until now been eclipsed by a value placed upon the ease of movement and access, which was seen as a progression towards utopian modernity and the only path towards economic growth.

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[41]The difference between the fringe and the outside of the matrix is not necessarily based upon location but orientation. For example a person residing outside of the Montreal census area who makes regular trips into anywhere in this area can be seen as living on the fringe of the Montreal metropolitan matrix, while his neighbour who lives locally is not attached to the Matrix.

The methodology of selling this plan to the electorate, including Lamarre, and to higher levels of government, is to enter into a discourse on safety, health and the environment. This discourse is presented as objectively scientific through the production of statistics that 'prove' we are always in danger and capable of destroying the planet. This knowledge provides a moral foundation for society to support the plan.

In the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) modernity is replaced by exhibitions of a sustainability and environmentalism. Economic growth is dependent upon a competition with other locations based upon items of quality of life. For Montreal this means providing neighbourhoods as tranquil as the suburbs, and attractions that cannot be achieved in smaller centres. The mandate this concept presents to city planners is to accommodate the habitual mass movement of people through an area with the smallest amount of disruption. Walking and cycling are seen as the best solution, followed by public transportation for longer journey and rail service for those coming from the extremities of the metropolitan area.

The plan initiates a debate over quality of life. Its indicators identified by the committee cluster around issues of noise, nuisance and safety. Improvements in these areas are supported by the critics of the plan as long as they do not effect the economic well being of the city or their economic interests. The debate restates issues raised in the last chapter over the nature of the city. It asks whether Montreal is a port city in need of a noisy but

efficient transportation model, or is it a postindustrial city competing with the suburbs and the world, using initiatives found globally to attract and maintain intellectual talent.

In this next chapter we look at contests in which these two divergent visions of the city are presented in order to decide upon the form of redevelopment for one of the city's industrial areas and whether the city should build new highways and a bridge on the Island of Montreal.

Chapter V Areas of Contention

Introduction

In this chapter, the final chapter of this investigative research into traffic and recent calls for its reduction, I focus upon three current conflicts over major road construction projects planed for the Island of Montreal. The construction projects introduced in this chapter are the Turcot complex, the project to 'modernize' Notre Dame Street in Montreal's east end and the extension of Autoroute 25 near the eastern tip of the island. These projects are promoted by Quebec's transportation ministry as essential to the regions transportation needs, but are vigorously opposed 'locally' by opponents of car culture. In this conflict the opposition finds its voice through several discourses. Most prominent among them are the discourse on health and /or safety and the protection of the natural environment. The dissenting voices also view the projects as being founded upon inequality and promote social isolation. There is a generalized view presented by those who oppose these constructions that the new roads will only benefit the suburbanite commuter, and that these drivers are an illegitimate intrusion in the city that put the lives of Montrealers in danger.

It is believed by many of the opponents to these projects that society is on the birth of a post car era. This view is bolstered by symbolic gestures, like the International No Car Day and protocols such as the Kyoto Accord, which aim to reduce the dependency on the automobile worldwide. With this understanding taxpayer assisted projects to build roads are viewed as regressive and against the social contract. However, this worldview is

challenged by the persistence of an old order. The autopoiesis found in the system of automobility is upheld by desires, such as the continued quest to live in the countryside, to own a detached home, and to enhance the economic position of the city through the free flow of goods and ease of access for people. The systematic growth of automobility challenges both builders who believe they can design road projects to satisfy these desires, and blockers who believe that building Cul-de-Sacs' like neighbourhoods out of city streets will reduce societal dependence on the automobile and this will make the city safer and help the environment.

In addition to investigating what is being said about these projects I revisit the location of three of the narratives found in previous chapters. They are located in neighbourhoods I am familiar with from my childhood. I believe my memories of the commuter train in N.D.G, the hill at Bluebonnets and childhood visits to Coursol Street provide a startling erudition into the temporal nature of concerns voiced in the discourse over traffic.

The Modern Child

The importance of the interpolation of my memories to the work is that they provide a location from which to contrast the currently system of belief concerning progress and safety with those recently held. The differentiation of ideas in the current narratives and those from a recent history inform the theoretical framework of this study. They indicate that authority and legitimacy are found within the civilization process, which over time

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provides for an ever greater expectation of behaviours that account for tranquillity and safety. It is a process in which once mundane practices are currently viewed as incivility.

The following narratives illustrate the degree of change that has taken place during my life in regard to the perception of risk and tolerance of noise. The first narrative presented, I have no memory of; it took place when my life history could only could measured in months and weeks. However it comments on the subjectivity of the concept of noise and value of tranquillity found throughout this work. The second and third narratives illustrate the change in risk perception concerning children and the streets. These narratives illustrate that presumptive measures concerning safety have increased, while objective dangers have dissipated.

During the 1960's I lived a few doors away from the commuter train line described in the introduction to this work. My mother left me in the yard of our apartment building near the corner of Regent Avenue and de Maisonneuve Street in Notre Dame de Grace (N.D.G.) in the city's west end. She did not think a child who had just started to walk could foil the latch on the gate and leave the property, but when she returned to check on me I was gone.

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My four year old sister and three year old brother were sent to look for me and found me holding on to a fence that borders the railway tracks. According to the story, I was waiting to see the trains, and would not leave before they came. The story became family

lore because of the condition they returned me home in. My siblings, unable to control me grabbed me by an arm or a leg and dragged me across the road and along the sidewalk back to our home.

Soon after this episode we moved west to a street that borders the Town of Montreal West (The town above Bluebonnets Hill). In this town, the hill, called "Devil's Hill" by the locals was a road (The site of conflict on Bluebonnets Hill mentioned in Chapter III) that was an attraction to children during the summer months for two reasons. First it had a corner store that sold penny candy, and secondly Devil's Hill is the longest and steepest road in the area that could be found free of traffic. We'd arrive in groups and arrange ourselves so we could monitor the traffic of trucks that came out of the glass manufacturing plant at the bottom of the hill and any cars that approached. [42]

Our reason for assembling on the hill was to engage in speed contests between vehicles designed and constructed by ourselves (in some cases with the aid of older siblings and parents). From my recollection we were not completely welcomed on the hill. Occasionally someone would tell us we were making too much noise and that we should go and play somewhere else, however we would always return.

During my childhood this road offered unrestricted access to Highway 20 as well as the City of Montreal. In spite of this, with a little vigilance, pre-teen children were able to

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[42]Consumers glass was destroyed by fire in 1991

negotiate the traffic on this road and turn the hill into a playground. However times have changed. During my ethnographic study, I returned to the hill and found no children playing on the hill or even on the adjacent streets. There was also no traffic; I also saw only one moving car. In contrast to the litany of complaints about the danger of outsider traffic on this road, this car was both local and moving at a speed well above the very low posted limit. It pulled into a driveway two blocks east of the hill and in accordance with Baumgartner's (1988) description of the suburban moral order, the driver paused in his driveway to watch me (a stranger) take a walk in his neighbourhood.[43]

Another street I used to play on was Coursol. Then as now it was not a very accommodating street for children, but objectively it has become more child friendly. The street benefits from a beautification program that took place decades ago. The sidewalks are much widener and accommodate an abundance of mature shade trees. In spite of this improvement the street is still lined with parked cars, which could hide small children who might chose to play on the sidewalk because the houses have no front lawns.

My childhood memories of the street contrast widely with recent ethnographic visits, I remember playing in front a house with a group of children composed of members of my 'uncle's' family of seven children and their friends and how we all gathered around a doorway of a basement apartment to hear the sound of a rhythm and blues band that

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[43] Baumgartner (1988) identifies a suburban moral order of strangers. He describers its characteristics is the assumption of deviance and a practice of aversion (105).

practiced there. Now, the few children I noted during my ethnographic visits where toddlers walking in tow of their parents.

The current conflicts found in these areas illustrate that we live in an era with a much higher presumption of danger and greater sense of entitlement to privacy than existed in my youth. This observation provides for the realization that the discourse on traffic calming is framed in a temporal reality. Neither safety nor tranquillity can be understood by the appeal of a natural order, nor scientific objectivity, they both can only be recognized within a constellation of desires, upheld by a powerful system of beliefs.

The Turcot Complex and the Fall of Progress

The massive Turcot Interchange is the belief in progress rendered in concrete and asphalt. In the heady days when the New York Subway was being built, the underground was imagined as stop- gap technology. It would provide the masses with transportation until the technology of flight democratised to the point where everybody would be able to fly home from work or other desired destinations. By the 1960's the technology of flight was still too complex and expensive to be disseminated throughout the population, however the dream was still alive as evidenced by the names and designs of the automobiles of the time. [44]

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[44] In *Driving Passion, The psychology of the car.* Marsh and Collett (1987) explain that after World War Two automobile designs increasingly take on superficial characteristics air planes and spacecraft. They write, "the average American was in command of an aircraft on wheels" (117).

In Montreal, Expo 67 provided the opportunity for the masses to fly, or more specifically experience the illusion of flight by driving on an extravagant highway system. The Turcot Interchange was built with streamline concrete columns that towered over the neighbourhood and provided an aerial view of houses, apartments, factories and the Lachine Canal. The road was not a conventional skyway, it had a unique feature that aided in this illusion of flight. The skyway had no overhead lighting, instead countless incandescent light bulbs were installed behind plastic glass at the edge of the road. At night it looked like you were driving between ribbons of light that twisted and turned, rose and fell through the sky. To add to the sensation of flight, a powerful beacon or searchlight on top of a newly erected skyscraper circled the entire night sky.

By the 1980's, large sections of the road remained dark at night, because much of the lighting had been destroyed by accidents and snow clearing. In addition to the poor lighting, the structure was crumbling. It has been well over twenty year since the Government of Quebec first speculated over the safety and integrity of the interchange (Lectner, 1985: A3). In addition to its physical degradation, by the 1980's the road was already unable to accommodate the number of vehicles that arrived every morning. I recall a routine of being trapped on a bus moving very slowly eastwards during the morning rush hours and then returning at the same pace during the evening.

The eighties was not the first time I experienced overcrowded roads in my life. One of my earliest memories is of downtown rush hour traffic. It took place in the 1960's before

the expressway reached the centre of town. I recall sitting in a child seat that hooked over the back of the bench seat of my father's Stratochief, watching dancers through the painted window of the Go Go Bar on St Catherine Street near Aylmer. This spot was a landmark for me. It alerted me to fact that we were near the factory building where my mother worked. However it is also where the heavily travelled main artery narrows, creating a bottle neck, which seemed to take a lifetime to get through.

The Turcot interchange and subsequent Ville Marie Autoroute were built to allow vehicles to flow more quickly through the city and unburden local streets of traffic. The first proposal for a limited access east- west highway for this purpose was developed as early as 1910 and when these roads were built a half century later they were modelled after New York City's turn of the century urban rail designs. They would move traffic from neighbourhood streets into tunnels and bridges in order to spare society the noise, pollution, danger and disruption cars caused as they move through neighbourhoods. The roads also enabled a quicker circulation of people and goods throughout the city. As Stephen Lamarre of *Regroupement Camionnage* informed the Montreal transportation plan committee, this ease of movement is essential to the development of the city's economy.

In the previous chapter we witnessed Lamarre's focus on the benefit of the free flow of traffic ridiculed because the city's current focus is on the burden of traffic. This focus made his argument appear outdated. In the opinions of transportation engineers, urban

planers, social activists, environmentalist, citizen's rights advocates, health professionals

and politicians from all levels of government, the free flow of traffic is viewed as

responsible for a host of social and environmental problems. They demand that traffic be

blocked and these structures be dismantled or reduced in size in order to decrease the

flow of traffic into the city. What these voices are asking for a smaller, greener and more

human role for streets.

Legitimacy and the Discourse of Traffic Calming

On June 29 2007, the contest over the Turcot interchange began with a press release

presented by Julie Boulet and Raymond Bachand, the provincial ministers responsible for

portfolios on transportation, economic development, innovation and export trade, tourism

and the Montreal region. In this document it was revealed that the interchange will be

torn down and a new road built at a cost of 1.2-1.5 billion dollars.

This project called the Project Turcot Complex describes the Turcot interchange as

several high-rise constructions connected by 7.7 kilometres of highway. The structures

are the Turcot Interchange in the east, the de La Vérendrye and Angrignon Interchange to

the south, and the Montréal -Ouest Interchange in the west.[45] In addition to these

structures any discussion of the rebuilding of the Turcot interchange includes the

abandoned Turcot rail yards, below and adjacent to the roadway, the Canadian National

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[45] The Montreal- Ouest interchange is the name used by Transport Quebec, it is referred
to in this work as the interchange adjacent to Bluebonnets Hill and often referred to as the
Ville Sainte- Pierre interchange

rail line, the Via Rail line, and the Falaise St Jacques.[46] The total area of the Complex is approximately 100 hectares, or ten hectares less than Mont Royal Park.

The interchange(s) are described by the authors as "one of Montreal's transportation nerve centres" (Desharnais, 2007: 2). They are Quebec's largest interchange and carry 280 000 vehicles per day. According to the provincial government, the plan to replace these structures is based upon local concerns and the economic needs of the city and region. The press release reads, "This solution was developed with concern for improving the quality of life of the area's residents, ensuring traffic flow and safety and reducing the future maintenance costs of these infrastructures" (2).

The Turcot interchange(s) is the meeting place of Quebec's major highways. It is where east and west meet north and southbound routes. From this location freeways can take passengers and cargo to several states and provinces as well as points north. With its bridge connections and direct route to the airport it is the portal from which Montreal embraces the world. However the road is also viewed as a common highway frequented by 'suburbanites' heading into the city centre with their cars (Marsden, 2007: A7).

This last item produces a contest over the legitimacy of the Turcot Complex. As we have witnessed in the story of Bluebonnets Hill, Coursol Street and the Montreal Transportation Plan, the legitimacy of suburban cars is challenged in the discourse on

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[46] The Falaise St Jacques is the local section of the escarpment previously described. It has been a protected eco-territory since 1982

health and safety. The discourse appeals to the government apparatuses connected with health and safety to delegitimize suburban cars parking or driving in these locations.

Bordat's story illustrates how the discourse helps shape consciousness and change the physical environment. In an interview with Boon (2007) she reported that her mission to control traffic on her street started after a block party 'Fete de Voisins.' Boon writes, "after partying on the pavement and savouring sidewalk barbecue, residents decided that they liked the community feeling and traffic free environment" (A3).

However her appeal to the city is not about sociability, it focuses on safety. Through Foucault (1980) we find that there is an imperative to produce health both by the individual and the government (170), which is connected with a government apparatus obligated to provide regulation for safety. The interpolating of the welfare of children in the discourse of health and safety adds additional potency to the argument, because it is a civic duty of the parent and the government to protect the child from danger. This is because within the discourse a privileged position is held for the development of the future work force (172-74).

The modern child, the statistics within the Transportation plan (2007/8) the police investigation and Lucy& Phillips (2006) call into question whether her children are at an unprecedented risk from the use of her street by outside traffic. Lucy& Phillips (2006) would argue that reducing the flow of traffic may even increase the likelihood of tragedy

over a life time, however, Bordat's mission was somewhat successful because it engaged the regulatory apparatus of the government. Bordat's use of discourse follows the work of others such as the Montreal West safety committee. Their repeated appeal to the regulatory apparatus for almost thirty years has produced a change in the physical environment and (in comparison with place I grew up) the normalization of fear. [47] The discourse of health and safety of children provides for much of the force behind arguments against road building in society. This discourse along with environmental concerns appears in this contest to be in binary opposition to a focus on increased accommodation for trucks, automobiles and industry. For this reason plans to build highways in the Montreal area are met with wide scale protests from a variety of organization unified in their opposition to cars.

Turcot: Moins d' Autos

In 2003 Transport Quebec bought the Turcot Yards that had been vacant since 1961 for 17.8 million dollars. The ministry planed to develop an industrial park adjacent to the highway structures. However, by the time the ministry developed a consultation plan in April of 2009, it was evident that Transport Quebec was not only putting the final touched on a plan for a new highway system, but engaged in a conflict over visions of the future of the city.

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[47] In "Coursol Revisited" I report that Bordat succeeded only in removing non local parking. On a recent visit, I noticed that the city has provided the street with crosswalks and flowerpots to reduce the speed of car at intersections. This might be the result of her campaign, the intervention is not found on Quesnel Street, the next street over.

The Turcot Complex Project is a plan to demolish the high-rise infrastructure and replace it with what the transport ministry refers to as an 'urban boulevard' (a term that is ubiquitous within the discourse on traffic calming and means an alternative to an expressway). The complex is composed of a high speed, tree lined, ground level road accompanied by a bicycle path, walking trail and a reserved bus/ carpool lane. These structures will be placed at the foot of the Falaise St Jacques.

From my perspective the complex is a parkway; a space where people can view 'nature' from a moving vehicle. However this structure does not evoke Olmsted, the author of Mount Royal Park among the many critiques of the mega project. Social and environmental groups call it a highway and have two main areas of contention; first the plan calls for the demolition of 160-200 housing units occupied by about 400 persons, second the new road has an increased capacity of twenty per cent.

In accordance with legislation the Bureau d' audience publiques sur l'environnement (Bape) invited the public to hearings to discuss the projects effect on the environment and address subsequent concerns over health and safety. The first round of meetings were held in a cultural centre in St Henri in late April and early May of 2009. The government was met by protest from an organization called Mobilization Turcot. This group claims affiliations with one hundred community organizations. Genevieve Locas the spokesperson for the organization condemned the plan for two reasons. First, the organization believes the health of Montrealers and the planet will be more at risk due to

an elevation in emissions produced by the roads increased carrying capacity. Secondly Mobilization Turcot argues that the road is anti social because it divides communities. Locus explains, "The project as proposed would be an equivalent of building a wall to cut off the communities of Cote st Paul, St Henri, and Ville Émard from the rest of the city" (Magder, 2009: A4). This argument is echoed by the Green Party candidate for N.D.G. Peter McQueen, he feels that a natural park should be developed at the base the Falaise St Jacques because the highway will cut N.D.G. off from the city's south west neighbourhoods (Lejkenyi, 2008: inside cover).

The argument that urban highways promote social isolation thought the production of a physical boundary is well documented within this discourse. In the case of the Turcot Complex it is championed by Ian Lockwood a transportation engineer located in Florida who has been influential in providing arguments to dismantle urban highways in U.S. cities. He was brought to Montreal in April 2009 by Dr Louis Drouin of the *Direction de santé publique agence de la santé et des services social de Montréal,* (the city's Department of Health). Lockwood thinks Autoroute 20 and the interchanges should be replaced by neighbourhood roads. He advices: "What highways do is chop cities up into enclaves and cut things apart. Cities are about connecting things together."(Rega, 2009: A4).

It is important to note however that the history of transportation for Montreal has left the city unable to reconstitute itself in this manner. First, this complex is to occupy land,

which was formally the sight of industrial employment for the workers who lived at the bottom of Bluebonnets Hill (Ville Saint-Pierre). This history has left the soil toxic and unsuitable for residential uses (Lejkenyi, 2008, inside cover). Secondly, even if the highway was removed the area would retain a transportation corridor. The interchange(s) and highway are adjacent to rail lines that have been in operation since the 1800's. On July 17th 2009 at 6pm I witnessed one train that spanned the entire length of the complex. It was composed in its entirety of identical tankers cars.

One of Ian Lockwood's arguments against urban highway is economic. He believes that when a highway like the Turcot are replaced by neighbourhood streets, traffic will diminish in the city. He has found that people have a limited tolerance for congestion and inconvenience and will stop driving into the city it there is no highway. Lockwood says that after a period of adjustment commuters, change habits and use public transit, car pool, or stay away. In any event, people like living on quiet streets and will reward will the city with higher tax revenues (Rega, 2009: A4).

I attended the meeting in La Salle on April 21st held by Bape. The meeting began with an audio- visual presentation on the history of the agency and how the government uses public consultation to develop policy. This was followed by the audio video presentation on the plan for the Turcot Complex. The two presentations took about one hour, after they were completed people formed a queue and were allowed fifteen minutes each to ask questions of a panel representing the government agency. The panel was supported by

several researchers who could produce an array of charts and graphs to underscore Transport Quebec scientific and objective understanding of health and environmental risks.

Unlike the hearing for the Montreal Transportation Plan there were no opening statements congratulating the panel on their efforts and then offering suggestion to improve the initiative. Instead the people who spoke, often without identifying themselves, condemned the project for its increase in carrying capacity and alleged environmental and health risks. The legitimacy of the plan was placed in question by the first speaker, The spokesperson for *Forum jeunesse de l'le de Montréal* informed the panel that Montreal has a transportation plan that is dedicated to reducing the presence of automobiles on the Island of Montreal, and asked how then can the ministry present a plan to bring more automobiles into the city. The pannels response was that every municipality in the province has a transportation plan, however it is within the ministry's jurisdiction to make decisions concerning the provinces autoroutes. They went on to say that the interchange(s) are of regional importance. Before he left the front of the line the spokesperson got a member of the panel to admit he had never read the Montreal Transportation Plan.

During my three hour stay at the hearings I witnessed only one person ask a question that was outside the anti automobile discourse. A middle aged man from N.D.G. wanted to know why they had not included a road to link between Notre Dame de Grace and

LaSalle. More representative of the discourse was an exchange between a women and the panel over the validity of the panel's evidence. The women challenged Bape to produce unimpeachably evidence that the increase in capacity would not negatively effect air quality and the environment.

The government was well organized to respond to this question and produced graphs and charts to argue the position that the increased capacity will have no additional negative impact on air quality or the environment. They claim the complex will encourage only 10% increase in usage and it will provide for better traffic flow. The government argued that progress in automotive technology and an attrition of older models will offset the impact of the additional vehicles, in addition the plan calls for the planting of 300 000 square metres trees. The ministry argued that these measures will make the project carbon neutrally and improve the city's overall air quality. The women who asked this question and the hecklers who assisted her, dismissed the government display of scientific objectivity. The women rejected the argument of progress, and left her position at the front of the line, saying nobody knows what will happen in the future so how can you be sure of your predictions.

An elderly lady who identified herself as a life-long resident of LaSalle complained of the speed and volume of traffic on de La Vérendrye Boulevard and took the discourse on health and children to its ultimate level. She repeatedly warned the panel that the children and children of those children will have to live in the mess "You" are creating.

I also attended the June 15th 2009 Bape hearing in St Henri. I witnessed a group of approximately one hundred protesters brave the rain outside of a community centre. They chanted "Turcot: Mois D'Auto!" and occasionally " Hell No We Won't Go" They also sang a song to the tune of "Si J Avais Un Char"[48] They also served raw carrots, which symbolised vision and implied that the government was blind. I was also handed a written draft of the brief made by Québec Solidaire. It focuses on auto emissions and accused the Liberal government of destroying the planet and promoting local air pollution. The document's statistical analogies argued that the Turcot Complex Project was promoting social inequality. It illustrated that the health of the poor bear the brunt of the health problems cause by poor air quality. It says, "La qualité de l'air a une effet important sur la santé. Les Hommes de Saint- Henri vivent en moyenne 11,5 ans de moins que ceux de Westmount " (3). Air quality has an important effect on health. Men in St-Henri, (the less enfranchised neighbourhood the highway goes through) live eleven and a half year less then men in affluent Westmount.

Inside the meeting, to resounding applause a presenter denounced the hearings as sham. He stated that Bape had held hearings concerning Notre Dame Street East and in spite of opposition to the government's plans to build a highway- a highway is being built (Breton, 2009: 985). He was referring to the current plan to 'modernize' the main east west artery in the east end of the island. As previously mentioned, plans to build a

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[48]SeeAppendix C

highway on this road go back almost a century and were revived in the 1970s as part of a plan to strengthen the economy of the area. Today the argument of economic development is still used to justify the expansion of this road. The modernized street with a highway connection to Laval is viewed as essential for an expansion of the Port of Montreal and to stem the exodus of employment to Laval and points north (Modernization de la rue Notre Dame).

The Resistance to 'Modernization'

In this work the resistance to the east west highway, (The Ville Marie) is cited as a turning point from a history of urban highway building to the current production of traffic reduction initiatives. However in 1972, years before this vision became sufficiently authoritative 2400 unites in the city's east end were expropriated and demolished (Winters, 1986: B4). The current contest over the modernization of Notre Dame Street east includes visions concerning what will be built in this space.

In 2002 Mayor Tremblay spoke of building an 'urban boulevard," specifically he presented a vision of the street with bus lanes, cycling paths, pedestrian friendly installations, trees and less cars. His plan is supported by groups that advocate traffic calming. However Transport Quebec argues that this ideal will not accommodated the neighbourhood and the city's transportation needs. They find that the Mayor's plan doesn't provide for the seven thousand trucks that routinely use the road on route to the

Port of Montreal every day or remedy the situation of gridlock that grips the neighbourhood's streets at a everyday at peek hours (Lalonde, 2002:B1).

The current plan is described by Transport Quebec as an 'urban boulevard', but has characteristics similar to a familiar classic urban expressway. It is eight lanes wide, (two are reserved for buses) and for much of its length it is placed below grade, in a trench, similar to the city's Decarie expressway. According to Transport Quebec the roadway is being built on a human scale. It has an increased capacity, and this allows traffic to flow more efficiently but, not invite more traffic to the area. They explain that it will become the "motor of social and economic development in the area" (Lalonde, 2008: A7).

The road currently carries 65 000 vehicles a day, however the residential streets in the area are inundated with vehicles that avoid the congestion on the main artery. The need to modernize the road is felt by both major municipal parties. Clair st Arnaud of the opposition Vision Montreal Party told *The Montreal Gazette,* "You have to live there to really understand how hellish it is to have massive rigs lumber up and down small residential streets every rush hour." (Ravensbergen, 2007 A4).

According to Transport Quebec the new road will have the capacity to carry 88 000 vehicles and will increase the health of the people in the neighbourhood who endure the worst air quality in the province. The ministry's says that air quality will improve by rerouting vehicles off residential streets and allowing them to move though the area more

quickly. Julie Boulet, the Quebec Minster of Transportation says the trench provides an additional benefit to the residents as it keeps the noise and dust from the traffic below ground level (Aubin. 2008: A3).

This position is not supported by those who oppose the 'highway'. Health expert, Dr Louis Drouin the science supervisor for *Direction de santé publique agence de la santé et des services social de Montréal* told the Bape hearing in February 6th 2007 that air pollution causes 1,540 premature deaths in Montreal and automobiles are the leading cause of air pollution. He advises that increasing Notre Dame Street's capacity will exasperate health problems in Montreal. Another speaker, Gaétan Legault of the Coalition to Humanize Notre Dame Street, a coalition of local residents and interest groups from across the island, asked the panel to reexamine the Mayor's 2002 urban boulevard proposal. Legault is opposed to an increase in traffic and would like to see the money for the project redirected toward improved commuter train service and the institution of a tramway. He also advised the panel that trucks should be routed off the island (Ravensbergen. and Harrold. 2008:A6).

In April a protest march organized by the Coalition to Humanize Notre Dame Street attracted 400 protesters. The protesters want the city and the province to abandon Transport Quebec's plans to build a 'highway' and revive the concept of an urban boulevard. Deloras Mcdonough, a third generation resident of the area spoke for the group, she said, "This highway concept is completely outmoded, the kind of thing we did

35 years ago and that is no longer environmentally acceptable." Mcdonough continued, "
We want a tramway that will revitalize the neighbourhood instead of putting us behind a
wall and increasing pollution" (Block. 2008: A7) The coalition feels the 'highway' would
isolate them from the St Lawrence River, which is currently lined with industry, however
they hope this will change and the area be turned into green space (A7)[49].

Autoroute 25; A Bridge to Montreal

The concluding contest presented in this work concerns a new highway connection
through Montreal. The Autoroute 25 extension will connect Laval with the on- island
highway system and allow traffic to arrive directly from areas north and north east of the
island to the city's east end and provide quicker access to areas south of the island. The
new highways should also relive congestion on other local highways and produce a more
efficient highway system overall. The 7.2 kilometre road will have a capacity of 2500
vehicle per hour and is expected to cost 226 million dollars (Transport Quebec, 2006).

According to Transport Quebec, The five main objectives of the project are:

1 to save travellers time

2 to save on vehicle maintenance costs

3 to reduce pollution due to reduced travel

4 to support economic development of the east end of Montreal and Laval

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[49]The belief that the neighbourhood will have access to the river is unfounded. The
waterfront is fenced off, has a rail system, and a private road for trucks. It is controlled by
Ports Canada who is presently looking at plans to expand the facilities.

5 to produce revenue for the Quebec's construction sector (Transport Quebec, 2006).

In concert with the other two areas of contention, this road has a long history. According to Transport Quebec it has been in the planning stage since the early 1970's when it was viewed as an important link between the port of Montreal, Laval and the Laurentian Mountains. The road has some supporters, Alain Dubuc, wrote a letter to *La Presse*, asking Montrealers to "Think Big." He compares US road expenditures to those in Canada and finds that United States spends five times more per kilometres per capita than Canada. Dubuc thinks Montreal needs more highways and supports plans for Autoroute 25 and Autoroute 30 on the South Shore in particular. He imagines that these roads will form a "belt way" which would allow vehicles to bypass the city.

Dubuc, however finds Quebeckers attitude towards highways a detriment to progress, he writes, "Ce n'est pas un luxe, ni une hérésie environnemental, mais une infrastructure de base que l'on retrouve dans toutes les villes civilisées, que assure la fluidité, que limite la congestion et la pollution du camionnage dans le core des villes" (2006: A19). He says that these roads are not a luxury, or against the environment, they are an infrastructure found in all civilized cities. They provide for traffic flow, and limit congestion and the pollution of trucks in the centre of the city.

His concern over the low tolerance for car culture locally is repeated by other voices. In a letter to the editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, Harold Forester of Laval encourages the

government to modernize Notre Dame and complete Autoroute 25 for environmental and economic reasons. He writes; "Traffic in Montreal is severely congested, which causes delays and increases pollution. If you reduce the delays, you lower transportation costs. If you keep traffic moving you lower pollution as well" (2007: A20).

Forester's argument for capacity is echoed by Steve Anderson of Forest Hill, New York. His argument concerns another urban boulevard initiative in Montreal. He write, "Eliminating the expressway (Bonaventure) would not only impede commuter and tourist access to the heart of downtown Montreal, but also deny important truck access to nearby industries and port access... creating more congestion. More importantly the proposed urban boulevard would increase pollution and pedestrian accidents" (2007: A16).

Jeremy Searle a writer for *The Suburban* argues that Montreal's traffic problem is about congestion not volume. Searle finds the concept of removing traffic from the city core counter productive to producing economic growth. He argues that outside of rush hour there is very little traffic downtown. He feels that more efficient roads, not road calming is the answer to increasing Montreal's economic performance (2007: 17). His argument may have some support at city hall. In December 2008, the Mayor turned off the parking metres between the 9am on December 20th and 5 pm on the 28th to lure Christmas shoppers back to the urban core (Sutherland, 2008: A2).

However, arguments of efficiency do not usually have much currency among city officials. In June of 2006, in anticipation of the Autoroute 25 expansion, Mile-End/ Plateau Mont Royal borough Mayor Helen Fotopulos and city councillor Michel Labrecque announced plans to produce traffic calming measures to reduce the number of vehicles using neighbourhood streets. Labrecque explains. "Our residents are complaining more and more about commuters taking residential streets to avoid the clogged major arteries... They even started to take the back lanes" (Lalonde, 2006: A6). He blamed the situation on the growth of off- island suburbs, a situation, which residents feel will worsen with the tens of thousand more cars Autoroute 25 is expected to bring onto the island (A1, A6).

Labrecque's plan includes fifty initiatives to reduce outside traffic on residential streets, among them are changes in street direction to eliminate through traffic, and the installation of large flowerpots on streets to reduce the flow of traffic. Fotopulos says people will still be able to frequent the areas businesses and attraction, but should arrive by taxi, metro, on foot or by bike. She realizes these restrictions will inconvenience outsiders, but is not concerned. Lalonde offers this statement of her sentiments, "If it (traffic calming) leaves off island commuters stuck in traffic jams on the main arteries, that's too bad" (Lalonde, 2006: A6).

In addition to large flowerpots the borough has enlisted nature in other initiatives to curtail car usage. In 2007 the borough introduced a 130 000 dollar plan to transform

laneways into country lanes by removing asphalt and replacing it with crushed stone to encourage plant growth (Sutherland. 2007:A4). A similar transformation took place in one of areas few parkinglots, a group of volunteers called 'Depave Montreal' received a permit from the city to pull up the asphalt and produce a garden (Lalonde 2009: A6).

A more conventional tactic to fight traffic has be waged by *La coalition contre le prolongement de l' autoroute 25*, this organization also views the off island vehicles as a threat to health and the environment. The coalition provides a unified voice for thirty-one environmental and ant- automobile organizations including Quebec's largest labour unions and the veteran antipollution group S.T.O.P.

The coalition's opposition to Autoroute 25 is based upon six points.

1 It will bring 150 000 vehicles or more to Montreal every day.

2 It will cost public transportation the revenue from a ridership of 1,830 potential clients.

3 It will destroy 700 hectares of agricultural land.

4 It will negatively effect the air quality on the east end of the island.

5 It will increase the production of greenhouse gases.

6 It will reduce quality of life in Montreal (pétition contre le prolongation de l'autoroute 25 vers Laval).

In the June of 2005 press release, Steven Guilbeault, a member of Greenpeace and supporter of the coalition denounces the extension of Autoroute 25 with an argument

based upon environmental degradation. Guilbeault begins his argument by stating that the project contravenes Quebec's obligations under the Kyoto Accord. The communication continues with statistics about auto emissions. Guilbeault points out that instances of smog are increasing. He informs that the city had 7.9 smog days in 1995 and 21 in the first half of 2005. The press release also interpolates a recent study by Health Canada, which found that 1540 people die each year in Montreal from atmospheric pollution. The coalition advises the money spent on the extension could be used to develop public transportation for 1300 person (Guilbeault, 2005).

In May of 2006, Dr Lessard of the *Direction de santé publique agence de la santé et des services social de Montréal* made his opposition to the Autoroute 25 extension public in an interview for La Presse. He said he finds the idea of a new highway in Montreal incomprehensible. In his view, the norms of society have to change. He says people have to understand that the automobile is not a solution to everything, it causes health problems that are preventable. Lessard illustrates his argument with statistics that indicate that atmospheric pollution accounts for 750 premature deaths a year in Montreal and then adds that fifty additional Montrealers die in auto related accidents. He finds that most of these deaths are among cyclist and pedestrians hit by cars.

He writes that in the past five years there has been a ten percent increase in the number of automobiles in Montreal. He says there are currently 1.8 million cars in Montreal. He finds that sixty percent of Montreal uses a car, while only ten percent walk or ride bikes.

Lessard would like to see this situation change and advises the government not to encourage more car use. He would prefer an investment in public and sustainable transportation (Beauchemin, 2006: A5).

The Green Coalition is also concerned by the growth in car usage. They agree with Dr. Lessard's assessment of the situation and provide their own statistical evidence. The Green Coalition finds that the population of automobiles grows by 50 000 a year in Greater Montreal.[50] Spokes person, Avrom Shtern in his 2006 brief to Bape argues, "this must change" building more highways will mean more cars. Unlike Lessard, Shetern argues not only for an investment in public transportation, but also for a re-invention of the city to provide for 'integrated living. It is an ideal, which would eliminate society's high level of reliance on transportation by reconstituting neighbourhoods to include the work place, residences and commerce. Shtern's advices "Keep people close to work and amenities: Encourage walking bicycling, telecommunicating, and locate goods service and food next to residential developments and work places. This may also lead to better fitness" (Shtern, 2006:3).

Unfortunately Shtern is arguing for return to the traditional neighbourhood, where people work, raise families and socialize in one location. Where green space is kept to a minimum in order to provide space for society. It is not the type of location envisioned by most of the opponent of the automobile. It lacks the focus of tranquillity found in

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[50] According to Mennie & Kilpatrick (2008) this increase took three years. Between 2003 and 2006, 50,000 more vehicles were registered on the island of Montreal.

aristocratic instruction dating back to Stow's survey of London. It is these instructions that inform on bulk of argument to reinvent the city.

Conclusion

The major road construction projects described in this chapter are amplified examples of contests over transportation and visions of the ideal neighbourhood found throughout the Montreal Matrix. The contests highlight the polarization between two mentalities. These mentalities offer a reflection of the pathways to utopia found in the writings of social reformers in the ninetieth- century. The first mentality is based upon a worldview that recognizes technology as the location of solutions to social problems. The second mentality finds its answers to social problems in isolation and purity. Both mentalities were employed to develop the city we inherited from history. It is a place conceived upon the honorific view of nature and the desire to move people and goods quickly and efficiently. However currently these mentalities are understood as supporting two distinct and irreconcilable worldviews.

The first mentality is found in the position of Transport Quebec and the supporters of its large scale urban road projects. This mentality recognizes that progress is continually being produced within transportation technologies and believes society, the economy and the environment can be enhanced through its application. This mentality recognizes the fluid movement of volumes of traffic to be a benefit to all of society.

The second mentality resists arguments of progress and recognizes traffic as socially, economically and environmentally unacceptable. This mentality insists that traffic be removed to insure health, safety and the protection of the environment. The opponents of Transport Quebec's urban projects see a reduction in automobiles, trucks, and the structures and institutions that support them as part of a movement toward a new environmentally responsible post car era.

The proponents of the projects and the detractors both believe their visions will provide for economic prosperity. Transport Quebec and its supporters view the management of large flows of traffic as essential to encourage economic growth. However, transportation experts disagree, they recognise that people like to live in quiet neighbourhoods and will pay a premium in taxes if levels of traffic are reduced.

However, the most prominent discourse entered into by both the builders and blockers of roads involves items of health, safety and the environment. This is because these items are attached to the single government apparatus capable of producing a change in the social norms and the built environment. This apparatus, the *Bureau d' audience publiques sur l'environnement* provides for this discourse through its mandate to discuss the environmental impact of projects. It is the only form for concerned citizens to turn to.

Within this discourse supporters and opponents alike organize and present their arguments through the production of scientific objectivity. They produce expert opinions

and scores of statistical data, which is often highly speculative and contradictory. A case in point is the brief offered to me by Québec Solidaire. The political party notes that air quality is poor in St Henri, and that life expectancy in this area is significantly lower than in Westmount. However they produce no discreet data to prove that air pollution and not other variables account for all or any of for the eleven and a half year difference in life expectancy.

The data offered by Transport Quebec and the statistic produced by *La coalition contre le prolongement de l' autoroute 25* are highly contradictor and allow their respective supporters to reject each other's claims. We are told that Transport Quebec that their mega projects will not significantly increase the influx of vehicles on the island. They conceded only that there will be a ten percent increase in volume on the rebuilt Turcot interchange. This forecast contrasts widely with numbers produced by *La coalition contre le prolongement de l' autoroute 25*. This organization finds that 150 000 additional cars will come into the city each day from the completion of the bridge to Laval alone.

Both side of the debate have chosen to use the same language. They both see the merit in employing the term "urban boulevard" in the contest over the modernization of Notre Dame Street east, but have contradictory views of what the term constitutes. Transport Quebec believes that urban boulevard can resemble an expressway, while the Coalition to Humanize Notre Dame Street see it as a neighbourhood road with limited capacity that

offers locals access to waterfront. However, they both agree that an urban boulevard should alleviate concerns over health, social inclusion, and the environment.

Another concept that appears in the discourse is an appeal to the mythology of a natural order. It provides for the argument of exclusion and entitlement found in traffic calming and the opposition to mega projects. These arguments are based upon the construction of an urban/ suburban binary. This construction divides society between locals who are entitled to use a street and strangers who are 'trespassing.' Shades of class consciousness can be witnessed in this construct as evidenced by the song sung by Mobilization Turcot, which portrays the suburbanite as a well off car owner inflicting harm on a poor elderly woman.

Within this discourse suburbanites are viewed as the authors of the environmental and health problems found in the city. This view suggests that building roads will encourage them to arrive in larger numbers and produce more problems for the city and the planet. The most common solution advanced by opponents to the road projects is to provide the suburbs with better public transit. However, this may be a false alibi based upon the mythology of purity. It does not account for the further unbundling of locations, and possibility that there will be an overall increase in car use and perhaps emissions produced outside the city.

However this argument has little currency in the current debate. Traffic calming provides for tranquillity and the possibility of gaining more green space. However objectively whether we live on a beautified traffic calmed street in the Plateau or in a cabin in the shadow of the Laurentian Mountains, society is following the instructions of the nineteenth- century reformers who told us to build homes away from the flux and flow of traffic and surround ourselves with nature.

Chapter VI
Concluding Remarks

The research question asks what are the origins of support for a reduction in the use of the private automobile. The thesis traces and challenges the origins of claims to purity or natural urban development and explains why these claims have become pervasive. The results of this investigation have shown that the automobile is connected with several aspects of urban life that have historically not been viewed in a positive light. These items are connected with noise, pollution and the subjective presence of traffic. The location of support for traffic calming can be understood in connection with instruction to overcome these items found in history. These instructions can be located in antiquity, but become far more informative during the era of rapid industrialization.

The earliest instances of traffic calming appear to have taken place in ancient Rome. The Roman Oppian Law of 215 banned women from riding in carriages in order to limit traffic congestion in the imperial capital. Later, industrial London produced legislation to limit carriages, in face of overcrowded streets and unprecedented pollution. These items illustrate an early use of state regulatory power to place limits upon volumes of traffic that may have reached the limits of manageability. However within the social history of the city we find that volume is only one reason for traffic to be curtailed.

The instruction of Stow (1525-26- 1605) indicate that traffic calming is connected with aristocratic tastes. In his era the avoidance of traffic was a class prerogative. Traffic was mostly the product of the pedestrian, however initiatives were produced for its avoidance.

The nobility introduced a method of avoiding traffic by withdrawing to the countryside where they could distance themselves from its ill effects. Through Veblen (1965) we see this initiative as the path that directed society toward a set of values and belief systems that inform our current use of the automobile and subsequent contests over traffic.

Veblen (1965) found that the aristocracy provided models for the behaviour of the lower classes. The instructions of the upper strata are found in the way we design streets and neighbourhoods today. The more desirable neighbourhoods follow the blueprint found in Ebenezer Howard (1883) A Peaceful Path to Real Reform. In this work he describes the perfect/ moral neighbourhood as one that looks like it was designed by nature. We see his legacy in the work of the M.H.N. Gunner and Company's work in Pointe Claire during the 1950's.

This area, with its single family homes separated by green space and set back from curvilinear roads or Cul-de-Sacs is understood by society to be the most appropriate place to raise children. The area is believed to be safe because it has little in the way of traffic. It is a small isolated autocentric fragment of the matrix, made up of 108 houses. However it is only one of many similar constructions, which account for much of the geography and the prevalence of traffic in the Montreal Census area.

These locations are the result of mythologies that are widely held in society. The first is the mythology of nature. It is valued as a remedy and prophylactic for societal ills.

Beyond the appeal of the metaphysical, behind its hedges and trees, it relieves anxieties over social life through physical isolation. The second, which is not wholly discreet from the first, is the myth of purity. Though this belief, outsiders, or traffic, is understood as trespassing and beholding of the innate possibilities of man's wickedness. Safety is therefore understood as the removal of traffic, regardless of volume. This belief system is best understood though the actions of the safety committee in Montreal West and the mother of two on Coursol Street. Their battles to keep away the cars of the greater society rested upon a belief that the little volume of traffic they encountered held the potential for great danger.

The myth of purity is also found in the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-2008) and the opposition to Transport Quebec's mega projects. In spite of advances in technologies and statistic indicating both accident and emissions are on the decline, only a reduction in traffic is understood as providing for safety.

Within the discourse on traffic calming the strategic use of the language of safety is highlighted because it connects the mundane movement of an automobile with the social contract. The state is expected to produce a regulatory apparatus to advance the safety for the citizenry to defend against traffic, or a population of danger. The discourse and the use of regulatory apparatus is highlighted by the dispute over traffic on 'Bluebonnets Hill.' In this case a Quebec Superior Court Judge decided the Town of Montreal West has a sovereign right to reconfigure the roads in its territory in order to produce safety.

In the dispute over the hill, the opponents of the barricade also entered into this discourse, by saying the barricade inhibited emergency response times, but they also felt the argument about safety presented by their neighbours was disingenuous. They felt the real dispute was over traffic calming was decided upon an effort to gain greater tranquillity. As mentioned in the last chapter there is evidence that this notion is the underlying rationale behind the contest on Coursol Street. Within the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8) the connection between a reduction in traffic and the value of tranquillity is made explicit with its inclusion of the *Charte des mielleux de vie montréalais* and the Green Neighbourhood initiative. The charter goes beyond controlling motorized transport and aims to lower pedestrian traffic. It aims to control the instances of revellers, homeless persons, prostitutes and other persons deemed undesirables in the city's central neighbourhoods. In this way the city reiterates the construction of traffic as a subjective reading of the stranger that existed in earlier times.

Tranquillity is a location for the current interest for traffic calming. It is a commodity according to transportation engineer Ian Lockwood. His argument for reducing the flow of traffic into Montreal is that it will produce higher tax revenues for the city. His argument is bolstered by an understanding that the geographic expanse of the urban matrix is based upon a quest for tranquillity. Statistics indicate that the Island of Montreal is competing with the cottage country of the Lower Laurentian's for population growth.

This contest suggests that the flux and flow of urban life must be reconfigured to resemble village and suburban life in order to attract potential residents.

Another explanation for the city's interest in reducing traffic, is that Montreal has always been in competition with other urban centres for status. Initiatives that increase the status of other western cities find their way into the planning of this city. In this history we witnessed the building of a central park, an investment in giantism, the development of a subway, and the production of a world's fair. So it is fitting, that Montreal will again be re-invented along lines that have allowed other cities to advance in status. The Parisian Green Neighbourhoods and downtown tramway, for instance cannot be viewed as populous enterprises, but initiatives to enhance the status of the city through the enhancement of particular locations.

In spite of evidence that an explicit goal of traffic calming is to accommodate the upper classes, it is a project championed by the Left. Within the organized opposition towards the mega projects are the political parties and trade unions who 'speak' for the working class. 'Health' provides the discourse for their opposition. This message is found among the grass roots protesters as well. Classism provides for the binary opposition of the urbanite and the suburbanite. The construction of the suburbanite is someone who resides off island, or on the west-end of the island. Their car use is viewed by the opposition as the cause of local suffering and environmental degradation. Within this contest, all evidence presented by the government indicating that "road improvements" will alleviate

these problems are rejected in favour of a reduction in accommodations to reduce the volume of traffic. The appeal of purity is underscored here by the silence of left toward the government's forty year long position that road building is a social welfare program and the answer to economic development and higher levels of employment opportunities in the city's economically disadvantaged east end.

The current support for traffic calming is related to a heightened interest in health in addition to safety. Air pollution shortens the lives of the population. The relationship between levels of car exhaust and health problems has been recognized since the late 1950's, and has been the target of government regulatory power for decades. As a result the air quality in the City of Montreal has been increasing steadily for almost forty years. However Transport Quebec's assertion that this trend will continue is rejected by the opposition to the mega project and for the most part ignored by the authors of the Montreal Transportation Plan (2007-8). Traffic calming is informed by a belief system that only recognizes a reduction in traffic as a solution to health problems caused by pollution.

Traffic calming is also advanced by the satisfaction trade mill. Evidence of Phillips (2006) concept is found in the Montreal transportation plan (2007). In particular in the utopian project of continually providing for a discipline of mobility that will eventually eradicate accidents. It is also found in the letters written by citizens of Montreal West in support of the barricade. The current incredulity these writers felt over the persistence of

outsiders using neighbourhood streets that were recently thoroughfares reflects a change in expectations over road use. Their world view is shaped by the work of the safety committee, a governmental safety apparatus, which has for over twenty years continually produced danger through insisting upon presumptive measures for security. The satisfaction treadmill has led the town from closing off one busy residential street, which was attached to an on/off ramp of the highway, to building a speed bump laden maze, which the outside world is not expected to enter.

The final location for the support for traffic calming comes from recent evidence that the cumulative effect of automobile emissions have a large impact on the global environment. This realization has provided for initiatives, both effective and symbolic, which have produced a myth that we are in a new era. This myth of the late-car or post automobile era is responsible for the cognitive dissidence expressed by the opponents of the mega project. They view the further accommodation of vehicles as a product of regressive thinking.

In place of investments in the automotive infrastructure they see the opportunity to reinvest in nature, parking lots can become gardens, the Turcot Yards a large urban natural park, and the truck laded industries near the Port of Montreal, green space by the river. They don't see the autopoietic nature of the automobile. It cannot be restrained by investments in nature; it is driven by investments in nature.

Objectively, at this time, we are not moving toward a post- automobile era. The matrix is attracting more cars than people. Depending upon the source, last year the area of Greater Montreal incorporated 50 000 more cars into society, or 50 000 more cars were registered on the Island of Montreal in the last four years. However, it took ten years for the population of the Montreal Censuses Area to grow by 83 000. This is because the matrix continually expands into the countryside. Fifty years ago it incorporated the farmland surrounding the Maples Inn, now it is the cottage country of the Lower Laurentian's that is becoming part of the city.

If the contest over traffic found in this work are indicative of the city of the future, Montreal will be a conurbation of quiet tranquil urban subdivisions connected by an ever-expanding and overcrowded system of urban parkways and public transportation. However, the city 'is' a history of unfinished plans: Montreal is not a pure city of Catholic Natives, Mount Royal Park has no main entrance and the wrong pathways, and most central neighbourhoods never got their promised expressways. Because of this history of reversals we may move off the path of mechanical solidarity, and retire the suburban mentally. However, society will have to find it honorific to have "neighbours close enough to touch your nose" to be happy drunk teenagers are walking home instead of driving, and enjoy the rumble of tracks and tolling of the bell of commuter trains, taking people to the edge of city in order to make sure the neighbourhood does not get too crowded.

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Appendix A

Interview Frame

Brief explanation- This interview is to confirm comments you made during a telephone interview, concerning your life- history, and the changes you have witnessed in the composition of the neighbourhood you lived in as a child. Your comments have been very important in my investigation of traffic calming initiatives in the Montreal area and I would like to include them in my Masters thesis. Your answers will only be used for the purpose of collecting data for my study.

Do you agree to participate in this interview?

Yes __
No __

The following questions can be answered "Yes" or "No." However if you feel, a need elaborate, I can record a brief comment.

1- I have described you in this work as a fifty-three-year old musician. Is this accurate?

Yes__
No __

Comment

2- Between 1965- 1969, did you live in a in a row house at 1131 Jeanne Mance in what is now Downtown Montreal. __   __

Yes__

No___

Comment

3-Would I be correct in describing this home as having the following features; two stories, three bedrooms, and a yard that looked over an alley?

Yes___

No___

Comment

4- I also understand that the street you lived on as well as the adjacent Cheneville Street was razed in order to build Complex Desjardins. Is this correct?

Yes___
No___

Comment

5- I have recorded that the school you attended, St Patrick's Elementary and Junior High, and the playground, Dufferin Park were lost due to the construction of Complex Desjardins?

Yes___
No___

Comment

6- I also have recorded that your house was located where the door to a parking garage for Complex Desjardins can now be found. Is this correct?

Yes___
No___

Comment

7-Is the following information correct? Directly after you moved from Jeanne Mance, you relocated to St Urban Street and had to leave this location because of the building of Complexe Guy- Favreau.

Yes___
No___

Comment

Thank You

Appendix B

Interview Frame II

<u>Brief explanation-</u> This interview is to confirm comments you made during a telephone interview concerning your life- history, and the changes you have witnessed in the composition of the neighbourhood you live in. Your comments have proven to be very important in my investigation of traffic calming initiatives in the Montreal area and I would like to include them in my Master's thesis. Your answers will only be used for the purpose of collecting data for my study.

Do you agree to participate in this interview?

Yes __
No __

Most of the following questions can be answered "Yes" or "No." However, if you feel, a need to elaborate, I can record a brief comment.

1- I have described you in this work as a fifty-one-year-old entrepreneur and life long resident of Plateau Mount Royal. Is this accurate?

Yes__
No __

Comment

2- I have noted that you attended our lady of Mont Royal Elementary School and as a child witnessed traffic police change street directions signs on side streets in order to allow the traffic to move more quickly through the neighbourhood during peek hours. Is this accurate?

Yes__
No___

Comment

3- Would I be correct in assuming all the streets went south in the morning and, and north in the evening?

Yes__
No___

Comment

4- I also have recorded that in the 1970's street directions were changed around a park to discourage clients from driving through the neighbourhood looking for sex trade workers. To the best of your recollection; is this information accurate?

Yes__
No___

Comment

2- I have recorded that you have lived on Henri Julien since the 1980's.

Yes__

No___

Comment

3-I recorded that during the nineteen 1980's the street was beautified, by adding shade trees and widening the sidewalks. Is this information accurate?

Yes__

No___

Comment

4- I also understand that this action resulted in legislation to restrict the size of vehicles parked on your streets, and that you feel the action was unjust. Is this how you feel?
Yes__
No___

Comment

5- I understand that you feel that this action has resulted in damage to your vehicles. Would this statement be correct?

Yes__
No___

Comment

6-I have recorded that your neighbourhood is more residential than it was in the past.

Yes__
No___

Could you comment on this change? What other usage were there for buildings on residential streets in your neighbourhood? Walter B. recalls, such diverse businesses as bakeries, food markets, a chocolate factory, licence bureau, and bicycle rental that could be found on the side streets near his home

7- I also believe you stated, that many of the businesses in the area do not provide for your daily needs and that you often use your car to shop outside e area. Could you explain?

Thank You

Appendix C

Si J'étais banlieusard
J'fil'rais cheap certain'ment
De voir que pour mon confort
On d'éracine tant de gens

Si j'étais Ministre
De L Environnement
Le project Turcot
j'trouverais, ca effrayant

Mais chu pas Ministre
j'reste sur Cazelais d'puis 30 and
Pas d auto, pas assez riche
J'y ai élevé tous mes enfants

Je n'veux pas Turcot
Vienne changer ma vie
Madame Blais, j'vous en prie
Défendez St-Henri !

Translation

If I was a Suburbanite
I would feel cheep
to see the for my comfort
we uprooted so may people

If I was the minister
of the environment
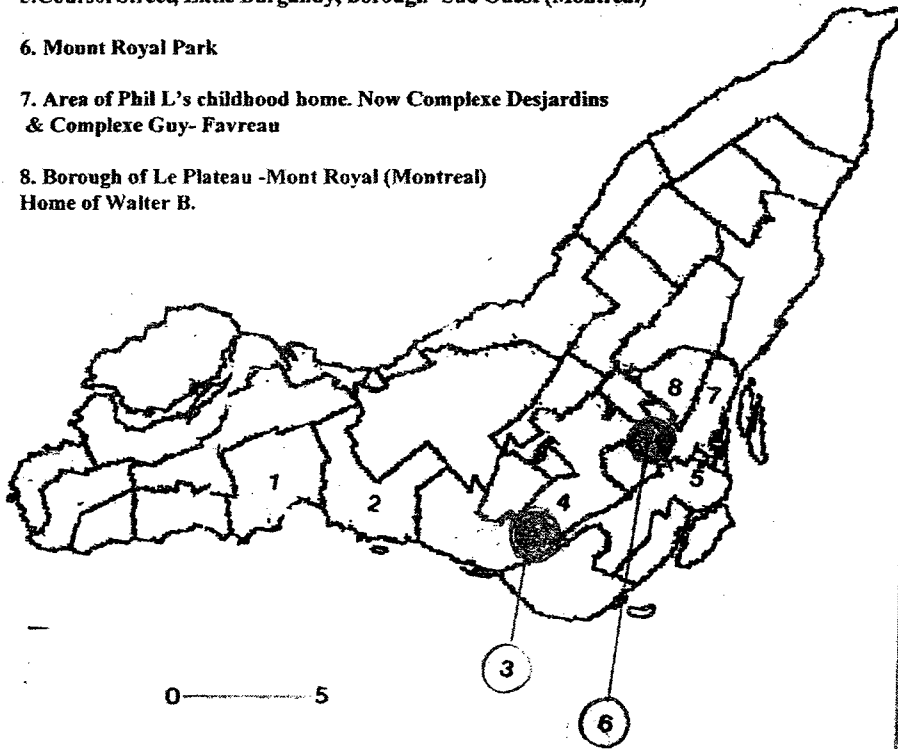The Turcot project
I would find Scary

But I'm not a minster
I live on Cazelais for 30 years
No car- I'm not riche enough
I raised all my children there

I don't want this (Turcot Project)
to come and change my life
Madame Blais, I implore you
Defend St-Henri!

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Appendix D

The Island of Montreal- Areas of Interest

1. City of Pointe Claire (West Island)
Historic location of the Maple's Inn
Location of MHN Gunner & Company construction

2. City of Dorval (West Island)

3. Bluebonnets Hill
also called Devil's Hill
Border of the Town of Montreal West
and Ville Sainte- Pierre (Boroughs of Lachine, City of Montreal)

4. Notre Dame de Grace, (NDG)
Borough of Cote de Neiges- Notre Dame de Grace (Montreal)

5.Coursol Street, Little Burgandy, Borough- Sud Ouest (Montreal)

6. Mount Royal Park

7. Area of Phil L's childhood home. Now Complexe Desjardins
& Complexe Guy- Favreau

8. Borough of Le Plateau -Mont Royal (Montreal)
Home of Walter B.

Appendix E

The Island of Montreal Highway (Autoroute) System

- ● Major Road Construction Project
- 1 The Turcot Complex
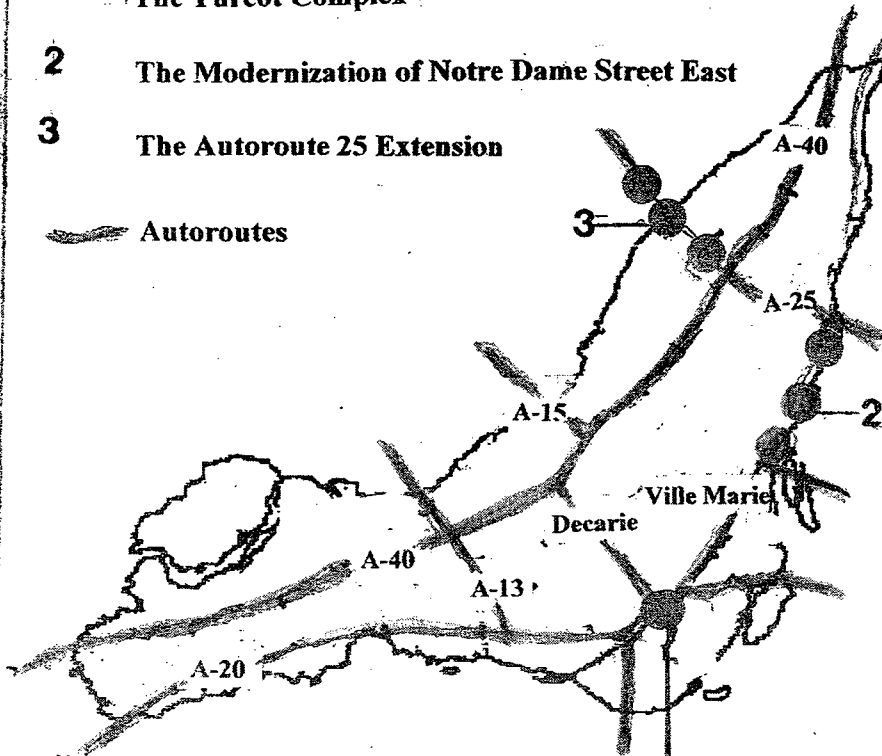- 2 The Modernization of Notre Dame Street East
- 3 The Autoroute 25 Extension
- ~ Autoroutes

A-40

A-25

A-15

A-40

A-13

A-20

Ville Marie

Decarie

3

2

1

0———5

N