Reconfiguring Antiracism: Cyborgs, Response-ability, and Canada's Parliament Hill

Nichole Elaine Grant

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Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa

Abstract

Antiracism consistently decries its lack of transformative effects, particularly in relation to embodied experiences of racism and the complexity of racist processes and experiences (e.g., Ahmed, 2004; Hage, 2016). By contrast, cyborgian theory (Gray, 1996; Haraway, 1991) highlights the cyborg as a powerful resource for an embodied transformative politics that is responsive to the structures and processes of embodied understandings, and to the entanglements of knowledge and being. This thesis theorizes how the cyborg may be operationalized for antiracism specifically.

I reconfigure antiracism considering the cyborg through three steps. First, building on my own embodied experience as a white, cisgendered woman, I ground antiracism in a praxis of embodied *response-ability* (Haraway, 2016) moving from a reactive form of antiracism to an on-going project of engagement. Second, I draw on posthumanist anti-oppressive and feminist theory (e.g., Braidotti, 2011; Thweatt-Bates, 2016) to align antiracism with Donna Haraway's (1991, 1992, 2016) conceptualization of the cyborg. This alignment refigures antiracism as actively embodied, theoretically grounded, and attentive to relationality and processes of cultural production. Third, I operationalize my theorizing through my embodied engagement with Canada's parliamentary precinct, Parliament Hill.

My diffractive mapping through an antiracism attuned to the cyborg shows how Parliament Hill produces and continues racism through an assemblage of mechanisms of nationalist dominance that actively fortify overt boundaries, network dialectic understandings of identity, and pattern racist relations of belonging and otherness. My analysis reveals how intimately and insidiously racism lives and entangles in knowledge production. It also shows how engaging the world, recognizing the onto-epistemological orientation in posthuman cyborg provides a means for critically living in and with entanglements of embodied racisms that enable a transformative antiracist praxis.

Key words: antiracism, posthumanism, cyborgs, praxis, Parliament Hill

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

> *Despite* past and ongoing anti-oppression struggles things have not changed much. The historical atrocities against Indigenous, racialized, colonized peoples are still ongoing. (Dei, 2017, p. vii)

> There is little doubt that the 're-configuring' of anti-racism is an urgent task today. As a current of thought and as a social movement, anti-racism has a long history […] *Despite* this long history and some remarkable victories against the forces of racisms in their variety of forms, it cannot be said that anti-racism has been particularly successful as a social, cultural, and political force. (Hage, 2016, p. 123).

Racism has persisted and even increased in recent times, despite antiracism. Despite mass social movements for change like Black Lives Matter and Idle No More, racist violence against Black peoples and Indigenous Peoples are "still ongoing" (Dei, 2017, p. vii). As Stanley (2017) in Canada and Hage (2016) speaking from an Australian context both argue, the continued and even intensification of racisms locally and globally shows the massive failure of antiracism. The challenge is to reconfigure antiracims as successful social, cultural and political forces.

Indeed, despite several decades of antiracist education policies, pedagogies, and public programs, antiracism as a social force and educational endeavour continues to struggle to enact lasting change (e.g., Tateishi, 2020). Critiques of antiracism education focus predominantly on methods of antiracist engagement and response. Antiracism education in Canadian schools has been called 'missing in action' (C. Smith, 2010). It has also been critiqued for lacking in transformative effects (Dei & McDermott, 2014). Antiracism is a responsive praxis to racisms, and therefore the approach and definition of racism inflects on the methods of antiracist engagement, response, and transformation. Yet such critiques miss a deeper engagement with how definitions of racism inflect on the approach and methods of antiracism. As Paradies (2016) argues for instance, though much scholarship has focussed on race, racism, and processes

of racialization, “relatively few have centred their work on antiracism” (p. 1).

In what follows, I reconfigure antiracism theoretically, grounding it in relation to Donna Haraway’s posthumanist cyborg.

Cyborgs, Response-ability, and Canada’s Parliament Hill

My particular focus in reconceptualizing antiracism is engaging and interrupting the mechanisms of racism’s circulation and embeddedness in the world. In previous work I documented the production of patterns of racialized white dominance in an online blog (Grant, 2018; Lowe, 2012). Such documentation revealed the mechanisms of dominance that entangle in the production of racialized white identity formation at a discursive level. In turn, I developed the analyses of the effects of these patterns of racialized white dominance further in collaboration with Timothy J. Stanley (Grant & Stanley, 2014). This collaboration theorized that the coproduction of racisms with cultural mechanisms online works like a ‘wallpaper:’ where patterns of racist production for those in racially dominant positions are both ubiquitous and repeated to the point of banality; to the point that they fade into the background, becoming a wallpaper in our everyday relations and material, cultural and political contexts. Together, these analyses were an initial effort to understand and describe the mechanism in the everyday production and circulation of racisms.

These works also encouraged me to consider antiracist responses that may acknowledge and work through the complexities of these mechanisms and processes. In turn, as an antiracist response, I proposed the ‘methodology of the app’ (Grant, 2014). In this theoretical exploration, I focus on the mechanisms of everyday entanglement that digital applications or app mechanisms afford as potential methodological mechanisms for antiracist response. Such mechanisms include time and location sensitive notifications and social collaboration. Such a focus highlighted the way technologies are co-constitutive, what Hodder (2016) might call being ‘entangled,’ in our lives and beings. It also focussed on the mechanisms of antiracist response in an effort to develop antiracist responsive practice to the deeper implications of the intra-active shaping between society and technological mechanisms (Hayles, 2012). In these analyses, I

came to see the need for a deeper theorization of the methodological mechanisms of antiracism, particularly in what these mechanisms are responsive too – the *what* aspect(s) of racism – and how they are responsive to these mechanisms.

The continued critiques of antiracism education and its lack of effect has bolstered the need for this deeper theorization. Further, literatures on racism increasingly point to the need for responsive praxis to the interconnections of materiality and embodiment (e.g., Ahmed, 2012; Puwar, 2004). They also point to the complex relations that structure difference and identity in social places as interactive aspects in racisms (e.g., Dei, 1996; James, 2007). As such, the theoretical landscape of antiracism requires the 'recall' Hage (2016) suggest. 'Recall' acknowledges past achievements, but also reconfigures aspects that are not working. Along with the emphasis in my previous research, the calls and critiques in the ensuing literature in antiracism frame my doctoral project.

Cyborgs: More Than a Representation

In popular culture, cyborgs are generally considered to be monstrous representations of humans with technological augmentations. Often these cyborgs are meant to incite fear, misunderstanding, and violence, highlight their monstrous otherness, and invoke anxieties of the loss of human essentialism (e.g., Bacon, 2013; Dijkstra, 2014). Yet they are also constructed as 'friends,' aiding ailing or failing organic humans to become 'alive' or whole again (e.g., Baeva, 2018; Case, 2011). In these representations, the cyborg is characterized as a material being with a combination of mechanic and organic elements (Graham, 2002; Gray, 1999). Feminist critical scholar Donna Haraway (1991, 1992) reworked the cyborg as a more deeply theoretical and imaginative resource for rethinking the politics of organic and mechanic entanglements in the production of gendered and racialized oppressions. It is Donna Haraway's approach and vision of cyborgs that I engage here.

Haraway (1995) "used the cyborg as a blasphemous anti-racist feminist figure reshaped for science-studies analyses and feminist theory alike" (p. xvi). As a "antiracist feminist figure," Haraway conceptualizes the cyborg as an embodied and performative position that lives an open acknowledgement

and awareness of its entanglements with technologies. Its performative position is important for reconceptualizing antiracism in relation to the entanglements of mechanisms of production and racisms. Instead of the cyborg as a representation of these entanglements and their effects, Haraway (1991) argues cyborgs encapsulate and embody "potent fusions" of organic and mechanic elements (p. 154). For Haraway (1991, 1997), these fusions are points of potent political and tactical becoming that engage the politics and ethics of the entanglement as a formation over the representation such a fusion may invoke. As such, Haraway positioned the cyborg as a political and relational identity that is awake to the ways technological mechanisms and organics produce their bodies. In turn, Haraway (1991) describes and employs the cyborg as a "figuration" (p. 11). A *figuration* is a performative representation; one that is inhabited and lived through. In other words, as a figuration, the cyborg moves beyond the trope of representation, to political positionality from which to move and act. Yet this embodied positionality, as Braidotti (1994) argues, requires further theorization to be operationalized in practice.

I draw on several key theorizations to further Haraway's cyborg for reconceptualization antiracism. The figuration of cyborg along with its production as a hybrid emphasize its spatial and ontological elements. I therefore make use of Henri Lefebvre's (1991) concept of space to theorize more fully this aspect of the cyborgian figuration in my reconfiguration of antiracism. Lefebvre argues space is an active production rather than the finished artifact. This articulates the way Haraway positions the cyborg as an actively embodied and produced figuration. Moreover, I use Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of *assemblage* to further relate the cyborg as a hybrid, potent fusion.

At the same time, Haraway acknowledges the monstrous identity of the cyborg as a tactical political position. To acknowledge the complexity of this identity I use the work of Ian Hodder. Hodder (2016) conceptualizes human-thing relations (both relations with material things as well as mechanisms as things) as *entanglements.* Entanglements, for Hodder, are paths of dependencies between organic and mechanic elements. These paths afford multiple opportunities as well as traps for relations. The cyborg as monstrous embodies and lives the consequences of these relational entanglements. The cyborg is enabled as monster to become in a middle ground between human and other that disrupts the borders of these

relations. Yet its monstrous positionality also traps the cyborg in this relation: as 'other' to demarcate the edges of humanity. In another example, representational systems, as Barad (2003) argues, enable people to make communal meanings. These systems also trap them in the constitution of making matter through representational systems. These three aspects of the cyborg, (its figuration, its potent fusion, and its monstrosity) establish the boundaries of my conceptual framework that informs my reconfiguration of antiracism attuned to entanglements in the production of racisms.

I situate Haraway's cyborg and these theoretical elements in *posthumanism* and *new materialism*. Posthumanism and new materialism develop Haraway's cyborgian embodied politics more overtly as ontological and epistemological. This is because posthumanism and new materialism are approaches that encourage a skepticism of the centrality of humanness as a means of relating to the world (van der Tuin, 2014). In decentering humanity these approaches, particularly versions that articulate with feminism, advocate for knowing *in* being and embodied positions that are relational over hierarchical to the world (see for e.g., Barad, 2007; Niccolini & Ringrose, 2019). They also openly acknowledge the 'vitality' of things – like technologies, but also material things more broadly – in the constitution of the world (Bennett, 2009). Posthumanism and new materialism therefore provide theoretical fodder for enacting a cyborgian embodied means of response attuned to the entanglements of technologies and racisms because they openly attend to technologies as material, vital, and entangled in cultural processes. As such, the guiding hypothesis of this thesis is that Haraway's cyborg, bolstered by operationalizing theories and situated in and with posthumanist and new materialist orientations offers an embodied theoretically driven practice, that can reconfigure antiracism in important ways.

Response-ability: Posthumanist Recall of Antiracism

Antiracism at its most basic is the negative response to racism (Bonnet, 2000). The approach and practice of response to racism continues to be point of theoretical and practical engagement. In these engagements, the conceptualization of racism orients antiracist response (Bonnet, 2000). As such, antiracism even in its variety of practices and orientations is reactive to specific racisms. Reconfiguring

antiracism grounded in the cyborg and posthumanism shifts the understanding and response to racisms upon which antiracism is founded. This is a shift from reactive response to racisms to antiracism as *response-ability.*

'Response-ability' is an embodied capability of response (Haraway, 2016), which requires relationality with history and material and cultural effects. As feminist posthumanist scholars Allyssa Niccolini and Jessica Ringrose (2019) explain, response-abilities are "situationally and ethically attuned to discursive material power relations" (p. 6). Importantly this means response-ability is entangled with praxis and contextually specific. It is intimately linked to embodied positions and their entanglements, acknowledging the limits of embodied positions, but also their affordances in ethics and politics of power (Ringrose, Warfield & Zarabadi, 2020).

Response-ability in antiracism is, as Cary (2004) suggests, "work that addresses the regimes of truth and the technologies of power while interrupting hegemonic practices and highlighting the way the historical colonial project shapes the spaces we find ourselves inhabiting today" (p. 70). In response-ability, the actual openings of "response" to racisms in the everyday emerge. Response-ability is a process and practice that is "wide-awake" to relationships (Greene, 1977, p. 121). It is also "comprehensive" of its relationality to materials and history (Arendt, 1973, p. viii). Response-ability is a practice of bearing the weight of history in complex, contextual, and embodied ways (Arendt, 1973; Wiesel, 1982). In this bearing (in both the sense of laying bare but also a taking the weight of response-ability enacts an embodied antiracism praxis (Dei, 1996). It is this praxis that may recall and reconfigure antiracism.

Parliament Hill: An Empirical Example for Operationalization

I take Ang's (2011) methodological suggestion that understanding complexities as an intellectual enterprise requires a "scrupulous detour through the empirical" (p. 791). To understand the implications and effects of my refiguration of antiracism, I engage an empirical example: Ottawa's Parliament Hill.

Situated in Canada's national capital city of Ottawa, Canada's federal parliamentary precinct is known as 'Parliament Hill.' As with all of Ottawa, Parliament Hill is situated on the traditional and

unceded territories of the Anishinaabe Algonquin Nation. Parliament Hill is a material space entangled in colonialism and settler-colonialism (Razack, 2002). These territorializing settler-colonial processes have been critically analysed as deeply entangled with the continuance of racisms in Canada (Carr & Lund, 2007). These processes have also be articulated within Canadian public sites in particular (e.g., Donald, 2009; Osborne & Osborne, 2004). Parliament Hill is also a site of strong national commemoration. The expansive public grounds house many historical plaques, monuments, and statues. The Federal Heritage Buildings Review Office (1987) designated the site a national historic site of significance.

Most of its material grounds are openly public (Dance, 2014). They require no specific credentials or research ethics for entry or engagement of the site. Within its bounded space of public engagement, human bodies actively navigate and negotiate an overtly and carefully constructed and organized space. Parliament Hill, as a federal space of governance but also as a commemorative space, is what Lefebvre (1991) refers to as a *monumental space*. Monumental spaces pattern conceptual, perceptive, and lived territorial arrangements that are organized towards maintaining an overt 'focal point' of power (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 225). In Parliament Hill, this 'point of power' is the power of the settler-colonial nation-state (Osborne & Osborne, 2004). This power is reified for instance through the many plaques and statues depicting the 'exalted subjects' (Thobani, 2011) of Canada's settler-colonial nation-building that are part of Parliament Hill.

Parliament Hill encourages a cyborgian engagement. Bodies must interact with mechanisms that produce and assemble its spatial production: mechanisms of communication and representation like commemorative narratives of nation-building in the form of plaques and monuments, and mechanisms of discipline in terms of material and conceptual social-relational arrangements like paths, gates, and architectural buildings. It also engages somatic mechanisms of resonance and dissonance that territorialize subjective relations in and with the space. In this way, Parliament Hill acts as a powerful site for settler colonial mapping the potential processes of racist production. Consequently, for me, Parliament Hill acts as an important entry point into understanding the potentials of cyborgian positionality for antiracism.

Research Questions

With these contexts and theoretical components in mind, my research questions ask:

1. What is an antiracism practice of cyborgian response attuned to the entanglements of technologies in knowledge production?
2. How can cyborgian response-ability disrupt the mechanisms of racist cultural production?
3. How are racisms enacted in the material and cultural productions of Ottawa's Parliament Hill?

Plugging in: A cyborgian research project

> A slightly perverse shift of perspective might better enable us to contest for meanings, as well as other forms of power and pleasure in technologically mediated societies. (Haraway, 1991, p. 154)

The cyborg, as Haraway reminds us, offers that "slightly perverse shift in perspective" for engaging antiracisms. Operationalizing this perspective and reconfiguration requires attending to the components of the cyborg theoretically and methodologically. To do so, I draw on Alecia Jackson and Lisa Mazzei's (2012, 2013) methodology of *plugging in.* Plugging in is a methodological approach that acknowledges and highlights how methods are informed by theoretical elements, and how these elements effect analysis. Such an approach aligns with a posthumanist cyborgian position through an overt attention to the relational connection of theory and method in the research process (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, 2013). In this alignment and methodology, the positionality of researcher is also a component that is acknowledged as plugging in to the research endeavour. A focus on embodiment in cyborgian entanglement means response is both individual and communal (Shotwell, 2016). It also means that analyses are 'partial' and 'situated' (Haraway, 1988; Niccolini & Ringrose, 2019). As Haraway (2016) more recently argued, an embodied posthumanist response reveals "we are not all response-able in the same ways" (p. 29). Though it also reveals that my response-ability is relational to the responses of others and the world. In turn, this project reveals what a cyborgian positionality might engender as an initial means of antiracist response-ability through the practice of research.

In these connections, the cyborg's complexity as a figuration is engaged. I describe this engagement in my methodology chapter (Chapter 4) as a nested methodology. This nested methodology operationalizes the cyborg's figuration, hybrid fusion, and its monstrosity with methods that attend to the empirical site of Parliament Hill. Specifically, I employ methods of diffraction, contextual mapping, mediated discourse analysis, and rhizoanalysis. In my methodology chapter, I delineate these methods more specifically.

Diffraction is a process of drawing attention to and following the patterns of difference and difference making in the production of relations (Barad, 2007; Haraway, 1991, 1992). From a cyborgian perspective, this involves describing the relations of production of wholes from assembled parts, the production of the borders of marking and maintaining difference, and the constitutive elements deployed to produce wholes, borders, and their relations as they are lived out. Parliament Hill becomes the research context in which this diffractive reading occurs. As Parliament Hill is the example for diffractive analyses, I pair the method of diffraction with the method of contextual mapping. Contextual mapping is based in cultural studies and social geography (Elden, 2001; Grossberg, 1992). It focusses the contours of the diffractive reading of Parliament Hill. Importantly, contextual mapping with diffraction is not about producing a 'God's eye view' of Parliament Hill and hence potentially reproducing a colonial gaze and approach to land. Contextual mapping with diffraction is an active marking and navigating territorial production and entanglements, not a description of territory as if it were already produced (see for e.g., Cormier, 1999).

Nested with a diffractive contextual mapping is more specific methods attending to the material discursive and the somatic aspects of cyborgs and of Parliament Hill. Mediated discursive analysis looks at the mechanisms and processes of material and discursive production. It is a method that aligns with notions of entanglement and processes through which organics and mechanics are intertwined in complex assemblages. Somatic and embodied aspects of diffractive contextual mapping I align with *somatechnics*, which involves understanding the entangled mechanisms that assemble bodies (Sullivan & Murray, 2009). To actually write the effects and processes of mapping, I draw on Deleuze and Guattari's (1987)

notion of the rhizome, and more specifically its methodological cognate – *rhizoanalysis*.

Rhizoanalysis develops analyses as relational and in the middle of theoretical plugs, the empirical, and the researcher (Ibrahim, 2014; O'Riley, 2003). It therefore attends to cyborgs' embodied and assemblage identities. The analysis chapters for this thesis appear as assemblages: articulating and arranging data from the components of empirical, theoretical, and conceptual elements. It is the production of an assemblage between these elements that acknowledges their constitutive forces in its production as research. These assemblages I have called 'analytic plateaux' – drawing on Deleuze and Guattari (1987) again, to relate the way aspects of analysis as writing come together in the 'middle' of these elements.

Of Things to Come: Outline of Chapters

Much of what "hampers" antiracism is often a lack of clearly defined markers from which any response, and response-ability in this case, can be built (Berman, & Paradies, 2010, p. 1). With this in mind, following this introduction, Chapter 2 (Literature Review) delineates the scholarly literatures I use to conceptualize racisms and antiracisms towards antiracism as response-ability. This chapter begins by describing the contours of racism grounded in the work of Timothy Stanley, David Theo Goldberg, and Stuart Hall. I lean on Goldberg's (1993) conceptualization of racist culture in particular to relate the deeply embedded ways racisms are complexity manifested and continued in the world. These literatures relate a complex understanding of racisms as a process of production furthered through my engagement with the mechanisms of production more specific to my chosen exemplar: racisms and state-formation, colonialism and settler-colonialism, and racism and material spatial production. These elements further the connections of local, specific manifestations of racisms to broader formations and the continuance of racialized oppression. They also provide important insights for the mapping of the spatial production of racisms on Parliament Hill that I engage here. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the contours of antiracism. These discussions articulate the need for antiracism to engage an embodied stance. Such a stance also requires a means of continual responsive transformation to racisms in the world, advocating as

Stanley (2016) posits, to become a *project* rather than simply a phenomenon of response to racism. I therefore position this project as attempting to take up these insights and argue for an embodied praxis of response to racisms as response-ability. I texture this argument through literatures on technologies and racisms and the ways antiracist responses using technologies require a more deeply embodied and theoretical grounding to enact transformative antiracist response.

Chapter 3 describes the conceptual framework I deploy for antiracist response-ability through the cyborg. I use three main elements based on Haraway's cyborg: the notion of its production as figuration over representation; its process of production as hybrid fusion of mechanic and organic elements, and its politically disruptive positionality in this production as monster. These aspects of Haraway's cyborg I further with posthumanism and new materialism. I operationalize these aspects of the cyborg from Haraway's work more deeply through conceptualizing figuration as spatial production in a triad of perceptive, conceptual, and lived aspects (Lefebvre, 1991); Its processes of fusion in its production I articulates with assemblage (Delanda, 2006; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Its politics of relational production of monster I operationalized through entanglement (Hodder, 2016). These elements produce a conceptual theorization of a posthuman cyborg for reconfiguring antiracism.

In Chapter 4 (Cyborgian Methodology), I delineate my methodology that incorporates the cyborgian posthumanist attention to embodied and technical relations of becoming, including those of researcher, through Jackson & Mazzei's (2012.2013) plugging in. This methodology operationalizes the cyborg through nested methods that attend to its theoretical components. It also describes how I develop analytical assemblages from and in mapping Parliament Hill that form three plateaux. These three plateaux are the three major analysis chapters in this thesis. This section also provides some critical acknowledgements of the limitations and effects of my methodological decisions for this thesis.

I open the results section with a Preamble (Chapter 5) that discusses relevant literatures on my Parliament Hill. These literatures show the ways the site is a powerful monumental place of national commemoration and pedagogy (Anderson, 2017; Lefebvre, 1991). The also relate how Parliament Hill reifies historical narrative of nation-building building (Osborne & Osborne, 2004; Rogers & Grant, 2017).

Literatures on Parliament Hill further describe its spatial complexity as a negotiated governmental and public space (Dance, 2014; Puwar, 2014). Three analysis chapters based on my site visit in June 2016 follow this contextual discussion of the empirical site.

In these analysis chapters, I show that my cyborgian diffractive mapping of Parliament Hill reveals it is far from an established and static 'place.' Parliament Hill is a controlled, bounded space that is actively and continually produced, through which bodies are disciplined to participate (Chapter 5). Its organized spatial production is enforced through expressive rhythms of representation and discourse linked to Western, European, and colonial perspectives, histories, and structures. These rhythms ensure 'other' expressive elements are contained, silenced, or denied all together, making the settler-colonial production of the space totalizing and common-sense (Chapter 6). My contextual and diffractive mapping also shows how the mechanisms of material and expressive territorialization produce somatic relations of belonging and otherness that reify and naturalize Parliament Hill as a settler-colonial place of whiteness and racist state-formation (Chapter 7). These chapters cumulatively show how mechanisms of relation, organization, and expression are the technologies that inform and entangle in the production of everyday spaces and continue racisms in Parliament Hill. More deeply they show the everyday production of systems, rhythms, and patterns of dominance that continue racisms within and as part of the active production of space more broadly. The cyborgian diffractive mapping reveals these processes at work and the intimately co-constitutive effects of these mechanisms of dominance.

Chapter 8 (Conclusion) returns to the cyborg and the cumulative elements each chapter reveals to comment on the ways the development of the methodological process of cyborgian antiracist response-ability can rework antiracism. This concluding chapter also explains how this process has answered my three research questions. These discussions finish with a reflective engagement with the process of this study, and points of departure for future work.

CHAPTER 2

Grounding Literatures

To recall antiracism, requires understanding how racism works in the real world: in the immediate material, symbolic, and embodied contexts in which it is situated. Thus, I need to know how racisms are circulated and are reproduced, so antiracism can produce responses to their very production. This chapter delineates the key conceptual elements and literatures I rely on in this thesis to articulate a the cyborgian-informed reprogramming of antiracism attuned to the entanglements of racisms in the world. I begin with a delineation of racism as involving the production of the category of race and racialization as the process of ascribing race. I then lean on the works of Stanley, Hall, and Goldberg to situate and illustrate racism is an overarching culture with specific contextual manifestations. These manifestations are 'articulated' to the larger formation of racism cannot fully describe racism. They also show that any one description of racism is connective to understanding the broader formation of racism as a cultural production. With these theorists, my work is positioned to engage the specific manifestation of racisms in their active production and to understand the broader mechanisms of power that work to continue racisms. Therefore, as I am operationalizing my reconfiguration of antiracism in the material site of Parliament Hill, this chapter also engages the specific contextual discussions of racisms in material spaces and their connections to nation-building. The mechanisms and contours of racism in these discussions show key areas and processes of attention for reconfiguring antiracist response that acknowledges the material context in which it is operative, along with the epistemological and theoretical aspects that articulate in this context.

I close this chapter with scholarly work on antiracism to specify my understanding of it as a form of embodied theoretically driven practice of response. I relate this as move from response to response-ability. I argue it is this form of antiracism assembled from scholarly work that can provide a form of "recalling" antiracism to attend to the contours and spaces of racisms described herein. These works then

form the basis for my argument for the cyborg as a means of reconfiguring antiracism as response-ability which I turn to in the next chapter.

Racism

Delineating racism is the first contextual element in developing my theorization of cyborgian antiracist response-ability. Its conceptualization grounds the way antiracism may be responsive. It also articulates the elements of entanglement that require attention based on established literatures. Literatures on racism show it is systemic, rooted in knowledge structures, and part of culture (Goldberg, 1993). I begin by relying on scholarly literatures to establish my position that racism is a socially constructed process involving the production of the category of race.

Racisms: Constructing Race

I am guided by the premise that races are, as Stanley (2016) posits, "not the product of some essential difference between [human] groups, but rather are the product of racisms that signify certain differences in specific historical contexts" (p. 8). This position has a number of conceptual consequences that require some unpacking. First, racism produces race as a process of organized signification of human difference that is historically contextual and specific. This makes racism "the active process of structuring social relations around racialized differences" (Stanley, 2016, p. 9). In effect, I am arguing it is racism that makes race, "not the other way around" (Stanley, 2016, p. 9). Second, because it is racism that produces race, race is not an essential, natural, or inevitable organization of human difference. Instead, it is a purposefully and historically produced category. Finally, far from universal, or a singular historical 'birth' as a concept, many other social relations of power and difference have inflected upon the development of race for racism. In turn, I take a social constructivist perspective of race and racisms.

I acknowledge however that any genealogical tracing is but one means of describing the construction of race and racism. For instance, the developments of racism from biological sciences have been widely and consistently engaged (e.g., Barzun, 1937/1965; Hughey et al., 2015). It has spurned

analyses of the developments of particular forms of racial understanding linked to scientific forms of measurement (e.g., Keevak, 2011). Race has also been critically articulated within anthropology (Montagu, 1964). Race and racism have also been strongly linked to capitalism (e.g., Allen, 2012; Hannaford, 1996). In these analyses articulations in racial and socio-economic identities take center-stage (e.g., Roediger, 1999). Race and racism further link to broader forms of knowledge like Western modernist epistemologies (e.g., Goldberg, 1993; Grosfoguel, 2013; Law, 2015). These are all prominent genealogies in social construction approaches to racisms. Of particular concern to my research context in mapping racism in a national space like Parliament Hill is the entanglement of race with the production of the nation-state. This genealogy has been mapped by Stanley (2011, 2009, 2016) and Razack (2002) in Canada. The processes of racism and nation-building have also been taken up by others in Western contexts more broadly (e.g., Omi & Winant, 2014; see also Arendt, 1944; Foucault, 2004). Indeed Goldberg (2002) also traces the coterminous formation of nationstates and racisms. I return to this relation below in discussing the literatures specific to my research context.

I inform my conceptualization of race as social construction, by drawing on the arguments levied by Stuart Hall (1980a). Hall relates race as articulation, and part of an "articulated hierarchy" of societies structured in dominance. Race as an "articulation" invokes Hall's double meaning of the term. It is connective to/with other modes of oppression, and also gives voice to the varied processes and contexts that produce racism in this connection and voicing. Thus, racism cannot be limited or fully related to or in these connections or relations. Race as the articulation of, and articulated with, structures of dominance, has been shown to make racism the driving force of racial production (Hall, 1980b; see also Essed & Goldberg, 2002; Miles, 1989).

Patrick Wolfe (2016) provides an informative figuration to describe the production and continuance of racism as contextually articulated. He describes racism like Hydra heads sprouting up out of the water. Each contextual instance of racial production comes with its own means of assigning, ordering, creating relations through and in local contexts and spaces in which it appears. Yet each of these racial productions as Hydra heads are also attached to, and developed in relation to, the monster's larger

body under the water (P. Wolfe, 2016). Response or description of one 'Hydra head' therefore provides glimpses of, but does not fully relate or explain, the other Hydra heads connected to the larger body. It also does not fully describe the body of the Hydra itself. The larger body is always a murky formation, to which local expressions are connected but cannot fully describe. This means there is always an 'articulation' of local forms of racism to the shifting larger form of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2013; Hall, 1980b).

I see Patrick Wolfe's (2016) figuration as building on Stuart Hall's work in the development of post-structural theories of race and racism as a "discursive system, which has 'real' social, economic and political conditions of existence and 'real' symbolic and material effects" (Hall, 2002a, p. 453). These 'reals' are identifiable, traceable, effects on material, ideological, and discursive planes. Though any one manifestation or example cannot subsume or fully describe racism as a social constructed phenomenon. As such, I am critical of limiting racism to any particular process or system like Miles (1989) as socially constructed ideology, or as Henry and Tator (2002) and Van Dijk (1993) do to a discursive system. Instead, in line with Hall (1992b), I see racisms effecting real material consequences as much as ideological, or discursive ones. Racism is not only about meanings but is also about real material effects. This means I do not deny the power of discourse and ideology in terms of the material processes of racialization and racism. Rather, I conceptualize discourse and ideology as part of a larger contextual articulation of racism. They are in effect technological mechanisms of racism's production.

This position moves away from Miles and Brown's (2003) argument for narrowing the definitional parameters of racism to ideology in order to maintain its "analytical value" (p. 112). It implies, as Lichtenberg (1998) argues, that our understanding of racism cannot be limited to ideologies or matters of 'the head' in the form of privilege or individual prejudice or intent. Instead, they are embodied and performed 'in the world' in the form of complex articulated systems of hierarchical dominance (Lichtenberg, 1998). At the same time, racisms are also contingent and not guaranteed as contextual social constructions. Scholarly work that follows this formulation of racism show part of the task of antiracism is a process of documenting the historically specific relations of racism in its contextual

productions (e.g., Stanley, 2012a; P. Wolfe, 2016). This means documenting the specificities of any 'Hydra head' and shows articulations of this production to the larger body. Therefore, contextualizing the historically specific articulations of racisms informs my development of a cyborgian antiracist response that I take up more fully in my Methodology (Chapter 4). It also means this process is part of my mapping of Parliament Hill that follows in my three analytic plateau chapters.

The ideological aspects of racisms that Miles (1989), and Miles with Brown (2003), discuss are nonetheless well taken. Their emphasis on the deep interdependence between racisms and nation-states in the rationalization of invented social categories and the practice of divisive inclusion and exclusion within them is an important argument to consider. Prior articulations of their arguments are levied by Barzun's (1937/1965) and Arendt's (1944) work on the ideological registers of racism. Arendt (1944) makes the same connection between national filiation and developments of racism through ideological structures of otherness. Barzun and Arendt however both describe a "race-thinking" that sits within processes of racism. This is a pertinent entry of Goldberg's (1993, 2009) critique on the limiting of research on racism to descriptions of racializing processes. Goldberg argues this can sideline the ways rationalized and material structures of inclusion and exclusion are producing these relational frames and processes of racisms in the first place. Thus, my project takes on understanding the mechanisms of the entanglements of racisms in and with social and material processes of production and circulation more broadly.

Producing Racisms Through Race: Racialization

Racialization has been discussed as the process of constructing the self through a negotiation of the "historical racial schema" that organizes the boundaries of difference (Fanon, 1952/2008, p. 91). Work in this area has documented for instance, how certain processes like language and culture become linked to race and produce racial identities (e.g., Gilroy, 2000; Ibrahim, 2014). Antiracist work focussed on racialization is consequently a process of documenting the production of identities and the bodies linked to those identities as always already 'racial identities' in particular. These are identities "inscribed with symbolic meanings" and, in turn, "assigned social places" (Kobayashi & Fuji-K, 2007, p. 4). As

Stanley (2016) argues: “to racialize a group is to position it in relation to at least one other. If the group is the dominant one, it possibly will be unnamed” (p. 9).

I draw on the works of Stanley (2011, 2014, 2016), Goldberg (1993, 2009, 2014; 2015), and Miles (1989) to further delineate the relational schema of racialization. Goldberg (1993) argues racializations enact inclusions and exclusions that articulate racial categorization along the lines of humanity, a point also made by Gilroy (2000) and more recently explored in the edited collection from Lea, Lund, and Carr (2018). Like Goldberg, I use the term in relation to Fanon’s (1963/2004) understanding as a contrasting process of “racialize” or “humanize.” This emphasis on humanity as the divisional border of inclusion and exclusion answers Goldberg’s (1993, 2009) criticism of the over emphasis of racialization motioned above. It also provides an important articulation to cyborgs as they are also constructed around and with the divisional border of ‘human’ (Graham, 2002). Yet, I also see the importance of Stanley’s (2014) critique of Goldberg. Stanley argues, embodied and discursive processes of racialization must remain part of understanding the conditions of inclusion and exclusion within racisms in order to work for antiracist response to these conditions. Therefore, ending the exclusions of racism requires an attention to how racialization occurs during such processes. This keeps racism in focus in the processes of racialization and positions it as “essentially a tool of othering” (Chao, 2015, p. 60). It carves “different types of human beings out of the human population” (Lea et al., 2018, pp. 1-2). Racialization as I deploy it here from this grounding is the process of social relational organization that cuts up humanity through the lens of ‘race’ in order to establish a dominant and normalized understanding of humanity and its differences. More deeply, following from previous work on the racialized production of whiteness (Grant, 2018; Lowe, 2012), I see racism occurring in and through the everyday processes of racialization along “registers.” These registers are structural relations of dominance/subordination, conceptual relations of biological essentialism, and racialized performance as a lived enactment. I therefore align with Goldberg (1993, 2009) in conceptualizing racism as *systemically* entangled in cultural production in Western societies.

Racism as culture

As a systemically articulated production, racism is entangled with complex elements that are both far reaching and intimate. In the broader sense, Goldberg (1993) traces racism as a historical development interwoven with Eurocentric liberalism in relation to modernist understandings of subjectivity, universality, and reason from the Enlightenment. These epistemological and ontological framings articulate and pattern a framework or "grammar" (see also Rizvi, 1993) of racism's production that operates within and through discursive, physical, ideological, and subjective rationalizations of difference. These rationalizations of difference, Goldberg (1993) argues, create exclusions along racialized lines.

Goldberg's (1993) argument emphasizes the way racisms are entangled with theses frames and structures, and actively articulated through them , thus harkening back to Hall (1980b). These frames create the conditions for racisms as racialized and rationalized exclusions and part of culture. It is in this historical and conceptual entanglement that Goldberg argues racism is not *in culture* or society but *is culture*. Goldberg's work is pertinent here as it reveals the continuities and relations between structures of thought and their effects. Feagin (2013) for instance offers an insightful analysis of how racial processes 'enframe' identities, particularly in relation to whiteness

It is the continuities between structures of thought and effects that not only produce racisms, but also embed structures of knowledge in the complex layers of cultural production on a diffuse and systemic level. Goldberg's point is articulated by Fields and Fields (2014): "racism is first and foremost a social practice, which means that it is an action and a rationale for action, or both at once" (p. 17). Furthermore, as rationale and action, racism as culture means as Hodder (2016) describes in terms of entanglements, that "the history of ideas is entwined in the history of material practices" (p. 86). This means not only is racism entangled at the level of epistemology in terms of structures of thought, but also in material cultural artifacts produced through and with these epistemological structures. Racism is in the world as Lichtenberg (1998) reminds.

This perspective of racism as culture wrestles race and the processes of racialization away from

essentialism situated in ‘nature’ and natural processes beyond human intervention or control, by foregrounding the human activity of social production that made this connection (race as ‘nature’) possible in the first place (see Eglash, 1995; Haraway, 1997). In turn these discussions show that racism is deeply entangled with cultural processes of social practice, carrying ideological, symbolic, and representational ‘rationales’ linked to material perceptive elements. Yet it also “folds back” as Beer (2013) calls it: these rationales and material elements interchange within action in social relations (p. 10). In turn epistemological and ontological mechanisms articulate (with) the production of racisms showing their deep entanglement, but also the need for attention to how they are co-constitutive.

Understanding and describing the ubiquity of racisms in social processes is also advocated in a powerful body of theoretical work under the banner of critical race theory (CRT). Though I do not engage with CRT specifically in this project, I follow the assertion that racisms are normalized within Western society. I divert from the approach of CRT in seeing this normalization not as endemic, but a complex processes of entanglement that manifest locally following the work of those described above. Further, one of the major responsive thrusts of CRT is the method of counter-narratives from racialized people of colour to reveal and speak to the ways in which racisms are embedded within society and social relations (see for e.g., Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; E. Taylor et al., 2009). The inclusion of silenced and excluded voices and perspectives to name and document racisms is an important responsive task, particularly in understanding the a/effects of racisms in the present and the intersections of oppression. Yet I follow Cole’s (2017) critique that the responsive methodology of CRT directs attention away from the active modes of production of racisms. CRT positions response as descriptive of oppression and privilege (particularly along distinctions of racialized whites and people of colour) and puts less emphasis on the active and embodied production of the systems that hold up and pattern relations of oppression and privilege. It is these processes of production and circulation that are the focus of my research questions. Therefore, the literatures and concepts of racisms I engage here are to articulate a means of understanding and responding to these processes over a description of oppression and privilege they produce. Further, CRT emphasizes policies and laws as the space for critical responsive engagement – from CRT’s roots in

critical legal studies (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In this project, I seek to engage a reconfiguration of antiracism responsive to active production in this everyday landscape. Therefore, CRT's premise of the normalization of racisms in society is a guiding element, though I depart from this theoretical work in the manner of understanding how this normalization occurs, is theoretically positioned, and should be responded to. Instead, I draw from Goldberg and Stanley in conceptualizing this normalization as produced through structures of racialized inclusion and exclusion that are entangled in cultural production more broadly.

These discussions ground my anti-essentialist conceptualization of racism. I lean predominantly on the arguments of Stanley (2011, 2012a, 2016), Hall (1980b, 1997; 2002a) and Goldberg (1993, 2002, 2009, 2015). My anti-essentialist position recognizes the active production of racisms "in the plural" (Stanley, 2016, p. 9). Racism is made up of racisms that hold their own particularities. They are constructed and organized with their own histories and consequences (Stanley, 2016). Racisms are not fully separate or separable from other structures of dominance or other racisms: the many Hydra heads are always connected to the blurry shifting body, and this body is made with articulations to 'society structured in dominance' (Hall, 1980b). In turn, an anti-essentialist conceptualization relates how there is both an overarching understanding of racism as cultural production, but also specific contextual manifestations of these productions. The production of racism as cultural phenomenon from these discussions shows three overarching conditions in racisms. First is the condition that racisms involve the process of making the category of race: a process most often termed racialization. The second condition of racisms involves racializations that are systemically rationalized and organized into inclusions and exclusions. Third, these organizations carry negative consequences for the racialized and excluded (Stanley, 2014). I deploy this anti-essentialist conceptualization of racisms to ground my reconfiguration of antiracism.

I now turn to discussing literatures of racisms pertinent to my research context. Namely, racisms as they are entangled within material spaces to ground my mapping of their specific productions and circulations on Parliament Hill. I also attend to the way racisms have been understood in the production of

colonial nation-states as Parliament Hill is a national space of commemoration and governance of a settler-colonial nation-state. I begin with the entanglements of racisms in material spaces.

Racial-spatial entanglements

Racializing processes entanglement with material spaces remains a diffuse literature. Most research that engages space in relation to racisms directly comes from social geography. Social geographers have consistently engaged how power dynamics inflect in the production and conceptualizations of space. Race, racism, and racialization are one area of importance in these dynamics. This work exposes the entanglements of spatial and racial processes and emphasizes the material and organizational aspects of spatial processes (for e.g., Choi, 2018; Delaney, 2002; see also Peake & Kobayashi, 2002). Such an emphasis therefore becomes important for engaging in how processes and mechanisms of racism's production are entangled in the spatial production of Parliament Hill.

These studies reveal for instance how distributions of bodies across and in material space, create ethnic neighborhoods, gated/exclusive communities, or racialized landscapes (e.g., Frankenberg, 1993; Sharma, 2010). They come to show the way "humans are embedded within spatialized materialities" that are also entangled with processes of racialized dominance (Murdoch, 2006, p. 2). Further, these studies reveal how entanglements of "cultural assumptions affect physical settings and vice versa" becoming racialized and racist "cultural landscapes" (Atkins, 2008, p. 118). This articulates with Goldberg's argument on racism as a cultural production. Yet it emphasizes the way space in its materiality as a landscape is also part of this production and creates conditions for the continuance of racisms (Atkins, 2008). This focus shows space is "central to the construction of race and race is central to the unfolding of spatialities" (Van Ingen & Halas 2006, p. 380). Further, spatial understandings of race, racism, and processes of racial formation or racialization show "our system of race carries with it a spatial dimension" because "when we sort people by categories, we do so spatially" (Sundstrom, 2003, p. 93). This racialized spatial organization "travels like a virus through institutional structures, policies, practices, relationships, fights and identities" (Fine, et al., 1997, p. x). In other words, as Dei (2000) clarifies, "our society is

racially stratified" (p. 24), and the relations of society and race are deeply entangled with spatial dynamics. I therefore position my research within this literature to acknowledge the ways racism is entangled with spatial understandings. This is both in the material sense of the distribution of bodies in landscapes, but also more conceptually as the distribution of bodies in terms of representatives 'cutting up' humanity that racializing processes promote. In turn, in my conceptual framework I attend to these dynamics using the cyborg's acknowledgement of its spatialized becomings as hybrid.

More specifically my work sits with Atkins (2008) who shows that cultural landscapes are about "reciprocal effects of physical environment and social conflict" (p. 117). Atkins engages how governmental policy and activist response, as well as "the interstices of place and displacement, not only of reserves and people, but also landscape" shape one another in dynamic ways (2008, p. 117). This understanding reveals, as Delaney (2002) claims, that the "elements of the social (race, gender, and so on) are not simply *reflected* in spatial arrangements; rather, spatialities are regarded as *constituting* and/or *reinforcing* aspects of the social" (p. 7, original emphases). There is no 'outside' to racial processes in social realities (Delaney, 2002; Foucault, 1984). As Toni Morrison (1992) says, it is a "wholly racialized world" (p. 4).

In this racialized world, Delaney (2002) for instance shows how the 'inner city,' the 'reservation,' and 'the border' along with the 'outer city,' the 'unreserved,' and the 'hinterland' are equally racialized spaces and spaces for enacting racial processes and racisms (p. 6). In turn, this project articulates with these arguments acknowledging the deeply embedded spatial and racial processes entangled in the material exemplar of Parliament Hill. The associative entanglements of racism with nation-building and the settler-colonial city further contextualize the spatial-racial place of Parliament Hill. I now turn to discussing these literatures.

Race/racism, State-Formation, and Settler-Colonialism

The entanglement of racial processes with state formation, particularly for Western societies, has been well established (for e.g., Foucault, 2005/1966, Omi & Winant, 2014). Arendt (1944), Foucault

(2005/1966), and Goldberg (1993, 2002) trace racial formation to be deeply articulated with modernism and the shift from sovereign structures of dominance based on lineage to nation-states. This shift is where biologically defined groups became the key means of organization and defining nationalized populations. In effect, grafting race to national filiation. These theorists show nations articulate(d) a biological, ideological, and physical border of 'us and them' (see also Glover, 2017; Hall, 1992b). Therefore, the spatialization of race as the 'cutting up' of humanity is entangled in the production of nations as well.

Omi and Winant (2014) for instance, show how "state formation" is akin to "racial formation" in the United States. They argue however that their formulation can be extended to "practically every other multiracial society on earth" (Winant, 1994, p. xi). Thobani (2011) for example employs Omi and Winant's (2014) theorization in Canada. The production of the colonial nation-state positioned "race" as the 'colonial difference' Tobani (2011) argues. It is the pivot upon which colonial production and relation hinged (Thobani, 2011). Indeed, the articulations of colonial state formation and race as co-constitutive processes in Canada (e.g., Donald, 2009; Paul, 2006), and more broadly have also been made clear (see for e.g., Hannaford, 1996; Tordorv, 1992/1984).

Yet, Stanley (2016) has argued, the racial inflection on state formation from Goldberg (2002) and Omi and Winant (2014) acknowledges the racial relations of states, but does not push far enough to attend and respond to the ways racial processes – or racializations – are organized as exclusions in this formation. In turn, their formulations miss how racisms are "the active process in state formation" (Stanley, 2016, p. 9). By documenting the state formation in Canada (e.g., Stanley, 2011, 2016), Stanley argues that the entanglement of racial formation and state formation produces a racist state formation in particular. Stanley's focus on the racist over the racial reminds that as much as Goldberg (2002) makes clear that processes of racial classification and differentiation produced nations, they are also entangled in the continued production of the modern state. This is not only in racial ways but racist ones. This emphasis means I am attentive to the mechanisms of this relation between racist and national formation(s) in my mapping of Parliament Hill.

Such attention is supported with other works on racism and state formation as Stanley argues

above. A portion of this work historically details for instance the ways legal policies racialized and excluded peoples from national citizenship (e.g., Benhabib, 2004; Sunahara, 1981). This has been shown to be especially the case in Canada for bodies othered in relation to European whiteness (e.g., Backhouse, 1999). This work articulates a pattern of racial inflection on the formation of discursive and institutional aspects of the state (see also Razack, 2002). Yet, it is not simply the racial character of states that must be engaged, institutionally or historically, but also the mechanisms of racism within this organization. Despite the strong genealogy of racism with state formation as documented here, I am however mindful not to over-determine the power of state apparatuses in the production and reproduction of racisms. I acknowledge Foucault (1980), and more recently Goldberg (2014) and San Juan Jr.'s (2002), critiques in seeing state formation as part of a purposefully invented system of power in the governance of populations more broadly, not completely isolated or subsuming of power in itself. In turn, though I am attentive to the relations of state formation and racisms, they are not guaranteed or isolated relations within my mapping of the larger assemblage of mechanisms that may form and continue racisms in material places such as Parliament Hill.

Acknowledging the racist system of state formation in Canada as my contextual focus in this study also requires connecting to critical bodies of work that engage the processes of colonialism and more specifically, settler-colonialism in this context. *Colonialism* and *settler-colonialism* describe a mode of understanding the racist formation of Canada.

Tuck and Wang (2012) explain as a process of production and relation settler-colonialism operates through both internal and external forms of colonialism. Internal forms of colonialism involve the management of "people, land, flora and fauna within the 'domestic' borders of the imperial nation" (p. 4). This management occurs through particularized modes of control that are spatialized to ensure the "ascendance of the nation and its white elite" and "authorize the metropole and conscribe her periphery" (Tuck & Wang, 2012, p. 5). Therefore, internal forms of colonialism operate to inscribe and ensure spatial partitioning and policing of spatial relations that naturalize colonization and its settlers. Yet also at work are external forms of colonialism where "all things Native become recast as 'natural resources'" (Tuck &

Wang, 2012, p. 4). It is in this way settler-colonialism ensures it is actively produced from the removal and use of Indigenous 'resources.' Settler-colonialism shows the complexities of racisms in spatial production involving conceptual, ideological, material, and lived elements in its production and continuance.

These forms and complexities of colonialism have been consistently documented by scholars. The removal of Indigenous Peoples across Canada for instance, shows not only a "clearing" of the land (Daschuk, 2013) for European settler-colonialism, but also articulates their purposeful removal. This removal is in terms of their subjective positionalities, their relationality as active bodies occupying the land, and their histories, relations, and rights to do so (e.g., Lawrence, 2012; Paul, 2006). More deeply, as Simpson and Bagelan (2018) explain, "the forceful erasure of Indigenous sociological systems is a condition of possibility for the creation of the settler colonial city" (p. 558). In turn, settler-colonial processes are themselves systemic, like racisms, and remain deeply entangled with material space.

To draw out the complexities of these processes of settler-colonialism from a spatial perspective, I draw on Cary Wolfe's (2006) formulation of the processes of settler-colonial nation-building. C. Wolfe (2006) argues settler-colonial processes act through replacements of Indigenous bodies and meanings into onto-epistemic structures of colonial society. Replacement describes the 'construction out' and use of Indigenous life and history to form the 'construction in' of European, particularly British and French life. It is not a complete erasure, but rather a colonial re-organization of spatialities in their physical but also epistemological and institutional relations. Such theoretical insights inform my mapping of Parliament Hill in highlighting the processes of production, not simply describing the production itself.

Henri Lefebvre's (1991) work informs my position further, as I see the organized production of colonial settlement serves as "an instrument for the violation of an existing space" (p. 152). In its materiality, colonial settlement becomes a "superstructure foreign to the original space [that] serves as a political means of introducing a social and economic structure in such a way that it may gain a foothold and indeed establish a 'base' in a particular locality" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 151). It is in this way that the colonial settlement marks out its boundaries of inclusion and exclusion: through the continual re-

placement of Indigenous bodies, ways of knowing, and representations, to import and establish the settler-colonial bodies, ways of knowing, and representations as the space. Dwayne Donald (2009) has characterized this relation as "the pedagogy of the fort." He too acknowledges this "pedagogy" occurs along multiple scales and relations from the everyday to the epistemic and structural relations of cultural production. It is a pedagogy that characterizes settler-colonial relations in Canada and part of the active production of the settler-colonial nation-state (Tuck & Wang, 2012).

This position is reinforced in studies that describe the production and continuance of settler-colonialism through the inventory of the colonial artifacts that banally remain and endure as part of Canadian cities. Mapping other Canadian cities, both Stanley (2009) in Vancouver, and B. Smith (2017) in Toronto, show how coloniality is banally marked as part of these cities through street signs, place names, and languages spoken for instance. These studies emphasize the way the purposeful inclusion of colonial meanings and the sedimenting and cementing of these meanings in/as the cityscape, reveal the very materiality of re-placement in settler-colonial processes. Further, the production of these materialities articulate the way bodies are entangled in the production and continuance of these processes and spatial productions of dominance. As Stanley (2009) comments, it shows that "we are daily in contact with ghosts. Not ghosts of the ectoplasmic kind, but with countless unseen hands and minds that have quite literally cemented their meanings into the fabric of our day-to-day lives" (p. 143).

The entanglement of bodies in the formation of settler-colonial processes is particularly prominent in settler-colonial capital cities (see for e.g., Driver & Gilbert, 1998; Hugill, 2017). As Parliament Hill is located within the capital city of Canada, this context in its articulation is also important to consider. Gordon (2001) for instance shows how Canada's national capital, Ottawa, was carefully controlled and constructed by settler-colonial elites and their colonial ideologies, particularly the governor generals and prime ministers between 1850 and 1950. Gordon (2001) indicates that much of the planning of Ottawa as an urban space was inflected by the continued articulation of it as a capital city. Gordon's analysis shows that ideological influences of the many ministers and officials worked to ensure that a particular colonial ideology be represented in and as the city.

Yet it is not only the 'ghosts' of settler-colonial elites that articulate and produce the settler-colonial city and continue processes of settler-colonialism more broadly. This re-organization and its pedagogy are further complicated by settler-colonial processes of immigration not simply of racialized white Europeans, but racialized immigrant 'others.' As Chatterjee (2019) has recently articulated, settler-colonial politics needs to also acknowledge the positions of 'immigrant settlers.' Immigrant settlers are those who variously benefit and entangle with the settler-colonial project in colonial nation-states like Canada. Acknowledging the position and racialized labour of immigrant settlers to the entangled production of settler-colonial state-formation Chatterjee (2019) contends allows for a focus on more complex and fuller theorization of settler-colonial state formation. It acknowledges the "notions of sovereignty, spatial belonging, and national borders" that inflect on the production of the settler-colonial state and shaping of antiracist politics of response to this production (Chatterjee, 2019, p. 646). In turn, the emphasis on the various bodies entangled in the production and formation of the settler-colonial state in its formation is a significant element in theorizing the ways in which Parliament Hill may be produced as a settler-colonial space, but also how antiracist embodied response-ability may be recalled attending to this complex entanglement.

The process of settler-colonialism continues to be evident not only in the materialities of settler-colonial places like cities, but also within the articulating layers of culture in Canada more broadly (see for e.g., Baker, 2009; Francis, 1999). In particular, the processes of its production have been marked in narratives of nation-building in the present (e.g., Anderson, 2018; Montgomery, 2005). Closely linked to this project, Pamela Rogers and I (2017) engaged Parliament Hill as what Anderson (2017) calls a "site of pedagogy" for enacting national narratives. This involved a discursive analysis of the historical nation-building narratives in two sound and light shows projected onto Parliament Hill's Centre Block during summer months. The narratives in these shows make spectacular the settler-colonial nation-building narrative to a large extent. The use of digital technologies to enhance and popularize the settler-colonial narrative was a noted finding in our analysis. Further, the narratives themselves reveal Patrick Wolfe's (2006) concept of settler-colonialism as re-placement in deploying narrative representations of 'others' –

First Nations, women, and racialized people of colour – as marginal or absent in relation to the masculine European nation-building narrative and its protagonists. Poignantly this work, along with Stanley's (2011, 2016; see also Stanley, 2000) works cited above, articulates that Indigenous Peoples are not the only constitutive others in national historical narratives that exalts the settler-colonial processes of state formation. The internment Japanese and Japanese Canadians documented by Sunahara (1981), and the "razing" of Africville in Nova Scotia by Nelson (2008), are prominent and powerful examples. Further, many critical scholars have engaged the way racialized exclusions in national historical narrative, and the present social relations within Canada, occur through complex intersectional relations (e.g., Francis, 1999; Thobani, 2011). These works enforce Stanley's argument above that Canada was not only formed as a 'racial state' but a racist state that continues its effects in the present. These engagements also support the notion that Parliament Hill, as a prominent place and site of national commemoration, historical narrative, and nationalism (see for e.g., Dance, 2014; Osborne & Osborne, 2004), is entangled with producing racist culture in complex ways. These are ways that are not only about representative bodies, ideologies, and histories, but their active processes of production and relation. In turn, these studies reveal not only the discursive and ideological aspects of racism in the formation of the modern state and its cities, but material exclusions that are powerful parts of state formation and maintenance. As such the material, conceptual, and embodied ways settler-colonialism is entangled with the production of Parliament Hill as my exemplar are aspects I take up in my analysis. I inform my theorization of these elements as spatial productions specifically in the next chapter.

Embodied racialized spatial production

The entanglement of bodies in the processes of spatial production is largely what makes up my third analysis chapter. This entanglement takes on understanding the technological mechanics of spatial production in an embodied way, but also the way bodies are produced through organic mechanic assemblages towards certain relations. In what follows, I describe the literatures that inform my understanding of this entanglement. In the next chapter, I conceptualize how the cyborg may enact and

embody an antiracist response-ability to the processes and mechanisms of embodied production.

A number of studies have engaged the dynamics of the ways bodies are articulated to certain spaces and not others that produce racialized spaces and continuance of racisms. Ruth Frankenberg (1993) produced a landmark social geographic study that highlights the entanglements of embodied racialized belonging and the production of space. It is a particularly pertinent example of how racial identities, social relations, and patterns of dominance inflect on people's understanding of their communities, neighborhoods, and who belongs within them. Frankenberg's study engages the way white women construct and understand the neighborhoods in which they grew up. From the memories of racialized white women, Frankenberg highlights the ways racialized others are not 'seen' (perceptively visible) in spaces 'seen' (symbolic/conceptually related) as white spaces, even if they are not openly acknowledged as white spaces. Therefore, Frankenberg's study reveals how the production of neighborhoods as spaces for belonging entangles with the production of racialized identities linked (and not linked) to certain spaces. This emphasizes how it becomes naturalized that neighborhoods break and filter belonging along racial and ethnic lines.

It also shows how patterns of dominance are not only perceptive, but also conceptual, and lived. Nirmal Puwar (2004) shows how the linking of racialized bodies and identities to certain spaces carries to institutional spaces such as parliamentary governance. Puwar relates how spaces are 'reserved' for certain bodies, where often those excluded from these reserved places – traditionally women and people of colour – are marked as *space invaders*. Puwar's work shows the importance of understanding the ways bodies are entangled with spaces, not just in terms of living like Frankenberg, but working and becoming representatives of institutions and their functioning. Such processes highlight the need for understanding the entanglement of racisms with the production of understandings of space in deeply complex ways.

More recently, Sharma (2010) argues racialized space in particular is produced through a demarcation from 'normalized civic space.' Focusing on post-9/11 urban areas in the United States, Sharma shows how racialized "brown space" is territorialized with the historical concussions of the 9/11 attacks. Sharma sees the production of the space of 'brown' as racialized space through disciplinary

tactics of halting the "malleable spectrum of brown," or marking the parameters of racialized identity with a material spatial temporal context (p. 186). In these material spatial organizations, distributions of power also follow racialized processes. Sharma's study shows how racialized spaces are not only entangled with maintaining and producing racialized identities but also entangled with contexts of geography and history that enforce racisms.

Relatedly, Teelucksingh (2006) has documented how Canadian cities are spatially organized in a material way to reproduce pockets of ethnic culture, neighbourhoods, and restaurants. This organization she argues reveals a "commodified version of multiculturalism" that is the normalized and even a celebrated component of most Canadian cities (Teelucksingh, 2006, p. 1). In other words, racialization 'codes' the spatial organization of urban areas. Racialization also controls these areas along this organizational code as 'multiculturalism.' These studies draw attention to the need to contextualize how the spatial material organization of bodies not only naturalizes the continued racial organization of Canadian urban areas, but also continues racisms. These organizations furthermore inflect on access to important resources for health and well-being (see for e.g., Moore & Diez Roux, 2006), and common-sense relations of belonging.

Nirmal Puwar's (2004) work further develops the way racialization and racisms in particular articulate with space. Puwar's (2004) work is particularly poignant as it discusses the somatic relations that produce embodied racialized and gendered spaces within the institution of British Parliament (see also Puwar, 2014). Puwar shows how somatic relations occur through processes of resonance and dissonance. In these resonances and dissonances Puwar shows how representations, architecture, and other authorized bodies linked to Parliament (historically and actively) create or disrupt somatic articulations of and in spaces. These somatic articulations reveal how spaces are produced for certain bodies as the naturalized occupants of those spaces. This also means 'other' bodies are positioned as *space invaders*. Puwar's work provides a conceptual and analytical fodder for the ways racial bodies are created and create resonances and dissonances in spaces, particularly institutional and governmental ones.

Similarly, Ahmed (2012, 2014) describes the ways diversity and resistance are embodied and

inscribed in bodies in institutions. Ahmed (2012) engages post-secondary educational institutions showing how bodies of colour are 'called' to institutions to become space invaders. Ahmed describes that this 'calling' is contained to the limited task of shifting the somatic resonances of the institution to represent or rather embody 'diversity'. Diversity is therefore embodied in racialized people of colour. Their racialized bodies become the limits of what diversity 'does' or where it 'goes' within whom, and for what purpose. Puwar and Ahmed's critical works show the political and embodied ways racisms and antiracism carry somatic effects that are articulated in spaces. Furthermore, they show the ways whiteness is normalized institutionally at the relational embodied expense of racialized bodies of colour. These works reveal that race is entangled with other markers of difference in creating somatic belonging and otherness where gender, class, ability, history, and place of living all interact in the somatic relations that inflect on the production of spaces and identities.

These authors all point to the deep entanglement of spatial context in the production and relation of racialized bodies. They also show how racialization is embodied not only in human bodies but in institutions like Parliament, concepts like diversity and multiculturalism, or 'senses of place' like 'urban civic publics,' neighborhoods, and landscapes of belonging and otherness. In turn, the ways bodies are entangled in spatial production along with the particular mechanisms through which such production occurs in order to naturalize and continue racisms is an important element in my mapping of Parliament Hill. It is also important to an antiracist cyborgian response.

To inform my cyborgian response to the embodied racial production of spaces in the continuance of racisms, I draw on other critical works that document how racisms in spaces also reveals spaces and processes of resistance. Carl James (2007) for instance describes how students marginalized in and through schooling strategically create spaces. James argues these students show a negotiation of the spaces of power that marginalizes them in schooling and to assert their identities. James shows how the navigation of marginal identities requires the claiming, affirming, and asserting of spaces. Yet these spaces are spaces 'between' like hallways, linguistic gestures, and absence/presence.

Ng-A-Fook, et al., (2012) make a similar argument in advocating for the potential of cyberspace

and its digital social networks to engage the hybrid identities of many immigrant Canadian youth in schools. They explain cyberspace is open to different ways of naming and "symbolically representing" oneself that can be both within and against the apparatuses of knowledge/power like "instituted educational structures" (p. 99). This articulates cyberspace as a space revealing the intra-active instability of co-constitutive identities; a place of 'quantum' engagements where all is changed in interaction. This means cyberspace from their research is also the space between spaces, for spaces of identity construction and navigation. As such, an attention to the 'between' spaces with the spaces of power are important to consider as spaces in and through which resistance can and does occur. These works also point to the complexities of spatial and embodied production that encourages a perspective of intra-action and relationality that the cyborg forwards.

Consequently, the literatures on spatial and racial entanglements show how spatial production in relation to racisms is not only material in the organization of bodies in cities, classrooms, digital spaces, and neighborhoods. It is also ideological and discursive in the ways racisms 'place' bodies in relation to one another through mechanisms of racialization. These relations are revealed to be intimate and local, but also national and epistemic. In particular, the entanglements of racisms with state-formation and settler-colonialism complicate these relations further but are important processes to acknowledge in my mapping of Parliament Hill. These literatures cumulatively relate the ways spatial processes require mechanisms of material, conceptual, and embodied production to continue racisms.

Antiracism

I draw most prominently on the work of Alistair Bonnet (2000), Timothy Stanley (2011, 2012a, 2014, 2016), and George Sefa Dei (1996, 2000, 2006, 2014) to situate my operationalization of antiracism in this project.

Bonnet: Antiracism as Responsive to Racism

For Bonnet (2000), antiracism is a fundamentally negative response to racism. As Essed (2007)

describes of Bonnet's approach, it articulates "differing conceptions of racism are conceptually linked to different notions of antiracism" (p. 234). Response is contingent upon the conceptualization and the operationalization of racism it attempts to oppose.

Bonnet develops his notion of antiracism through a survey of practices of response to racisms. He shows first that antiracism is a global and long-standing phenomenon. Indeed, negative responses to racisms occurred far before there was a conceptual signifier for the term (see for e.g., Todorov, 1984/1992). Bonnet describes forms of response position racism as bad for public consciousness as it is socially disruptive. Antiracism also positions racism as a foreign notion and intellectual error. It has also approached racism as anti-egalitarian, sustaining the ruling class or group. Racism is further defined as a hinderance to progress, distorting and erasing identities, and socially unjust. Though I align with Bonnet in seeing antiracism as fundamentally a negative response to racism, I am mindful that Bonnet's work shows development of conceptualizations of racism, and thus antiracist response, are largely inflected by contexts in the world[1] – social, political, historical, but also contexts of research as well (see for e.g., Essed & Goldberg, 2002; Kendi, 2019; Murji & Solomos, 2015). The 'work' of antiracism is in this way reactionary and co-constitutive with the contexts in which it operates. This means it remains always 'behind' the processes of production of racisms, reactionary to them. Therefore, Bonnet's work is helpful in grounding racism as broadly a negative response to racism. But I am critical that it does not offer a theory or process of antiracism that can *continually* work to understand these contexts as they shift and change as is suggested in Dei and McDermott (2014) as well as Fleras and Wallis (2009). As my project looks to engage the mechanisms of production and response, I pair Bonnet's work with Stanley to further engage antiracism as response to the broader conditions that form racism.

Stanley: Antiracism as Responsive to Organized Exclusions

Throughout his works, Stanley develops and articulates a conceptualization of antiracism that

[1] As Murji and Solomos (2015) suggest, events both local and global have been "significant in influencing new scholarship and public debate around the politics of difference" (pp. 6-7).

puts focus on particularly the historical conditions of racisms. These conditions he argues are systemically produced through racialized inclusion and exclusion (see for e.g., Stanley, 2011, 2012, 2014). Stanley follows Goldberg (1993, 2009) advocating that in response to racisms "it is exclusion and not racialization that needs to be overcome" (Stanley, 2016, p. 8). Stanley argues racisms involve racialization, but it is the negative effects of the processes of exclusion organized around racializations that produces racisms (Stanley, 2011, 2014). With this he explains "my antiracist project is to disrupt the taken-for-granted nature of racial categorization and to establish how racisms organize racializations into exclusions" (Stanley, 2016, p. 9). This shifts antiracism to not simply reactionary to forms of racism. Stanley's approach engages an anti-essentialist position on racisms in antiracist response: if there are historically specific racisms, there can be and are historically specific and contextualized anti-racisms as well. This means antiracism continues to be reactionary to processes of racism, but is more open to developing multiple forms of antiracism as a broader on-going project of disruption. More specifically, Stanley positions this as a project of disruption that documents instances of racialized exclusions in their historical formation and continued effects. In the process of this documentation, antiracisms can enact meaningful inclusions (Stanley, 2014, 2016). It is in the act of documenting the production of racialized exclusions that Stanley sees a way of disrupting the 'taken-for-granted' of racial classification, pulling at the historical, conceptual, and lived ways racisms are entangled in the everyday. In turn, Stanley's work highlights antiracism not simply as a responsive practice, but one that involves understanding and engaging the specific mechanisms of racist production and their effects.

In a collaborative piece using his formation of antiracism, Stanley and I used the metaphor of *wallpaper* (Grant & Stanley, 2014) to articulate the process of racisms in their production and the complexity of antiracism practices of enacting inclusions. This metaphor was a means of articulating the processes of exclusion that occur in the everyday but also conceptualizing how antiracist inclusions are produced and themselves responded to. I am consequently deeply indebted to Stanley's formation of racism and antiracism, but also our work together. This work builds my conceptualization of the processes of racisms and antiracisms occurring in everyday contexts I use in this work.

Briefly, the wallpaper describes how racism is a banal fabric of repeated patterns of racialized dominance that covers over the deeper structures that produce and prop up these patterns – like the epistemological relations articulated by Goldberg (1993). These patterns are actively produced in everyday relations. They are also resisted in their production in particular ways. We describe these resistances as bubbles or tears in the wallpaper. These are moments that point to the patterns at work, pulling away from the structure of dominance upon which they rely. These everyday antiracist resistances are bubbles when they only 'bend' the patterns of dominance that enact racisms. They articulate with them in some ways but also disrupt and shift them in others. Holes as antiracist resistances are those that break open patterns of dominance, revealing the structures they cover. Holes become particularly powerful in that they are often picked up further by others, torn open, and provide a graspable space to form antiracist practice. These moments revealed that the everyday resistances to racisms have the potential to open bigger pockets of antiracist engagement, patterning relations differently, and cultivating systemic resistances from a moment. This is therefore a mode of seeing the potential in an antiracist project involving responding to mechanisms of racist production. It is the continual and broader productive potentials in an antiracist project that I lean on for my development of a cyborgian antiracism. I further this argument with the works of other anti-oppressive scholars and practitioners who advocate for the everyday practices of antiracism as key to larger systemic change (e.g., Kendi, 2019; Pollock, 2008). I am at the same time mindful of the potential in things in an antiracist project, as a posthumanist orientation encourages (Bennett, 2009; Haraway, 2016).

Despite the positive potentials of antiracism as a disruptive project in the everyday, bubbles and holes of antiracist resistance can also be responded to in ways that rework interruptions back into patterns of dominance (patched, flatted). This process of reworking back to patterns of dominance is poignantly described by Lentin (2016) as 'the three Ds': deflection, distancing and denial.

The reworking of antiracism by racisms is made more urgent in the recent calls that antiracism is "failing" (Hage, 2016; Stanley, 2017, Mar 30). Particularly in its praxis, particularly in educational settings, C. Smith (2010) has called antiracism 'missing in action.' Ahmed (2004, 2012) has critique

antiracism as largely 'non-performative' to what it is said to work against – racisms. These critiques point to the consistent way antiracism has remained largely descriptive of racisms rather than transformative of the conditions in the production of racism. In this, Dei (2014) posits, "there is a need to retool anti-racism" towards a more sustained transformative orientation that would rescue it from "the trash bin of history" (p. 1). To this end, Dei advocates in positioning antiracism as praxis. Consequently, I further my conceptualization of antiracism with George Sefa Dei's notion of antiracism as a praxis.

Dei: Antiracism as Praxis

George Sefa Dei (1996, 2006, 2014) has consistently argued for antiracism as praxis, particularly an educational form of social justice. He describes this praxis as "a proactive, process-oriented approach" for engaging difference in educational contexts (Dei, 1996, p. 9). As a praxis, antiracism has an "everyday practical grounding" (p. 9). It is not simply responding to racism as instances of violence, but crucially also responding to the systemic relations of power in which they live. This is also something stressed by many other prominent antiracist educators and theorists (e.g, Essed; 2002; Kendi, 2019; Lee, 1985; Pollock, 2008).

Dei situates the praxis of antiracism in a discursive framework. This framework works to politically articulate racism and the centrality of race for educational social justice. Dei is cautions however not to limit antiracism to discourse (Dei, 1996). This articulates the anti-essentialist notion of racisms I discussed above in not limiting racism to any one element or form. Racism in his formulation is a structural oppression linked to other social categories of difference like class, gender, sexual orientation, language, ability, and religion (Dei, 2000, 2006).

Antiracism for Dei involves the discursive practice of naming one's oppressions and positions of dominance to better respond to their complex constructions and effects within educational realities. More deeply, Dei is concerned with how this discursive praxis may respond to exclusions and silences throughout educational contexts and through subjects entangled with schooling (teachers, students, parents, community). He is also concerned that it provides affective support for those in oppressive

positions within these contexts: Antiracism must "also heal the physical and emotional wounds of racism, dealing with the 'spiritual injury' of racist oppression" (Dei, 2006, p. 15). Thus, as Dei argues, antiracism praxis requires moving into affective and embodied practices of response to racisms in their contextual productions and effects.

Therefore, Dei's antiracism praxis is a framework and an approach for addressing and practicing the value of differences. It is also to equitably share power in the places people share – like classrooms, neighborhoods, and other 'public' spaces. Dei sees the relational aspects of social difference demand what he terms *integrative antiracism*. Integrative antiracism engages the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexual oppression, "helpful in fully addressing educational equity, social justice and change" (Dei, 1996, p. 11). I follow Dei in seeing that despite the focus on racism in antiracism, engaging intersectional oppressions is also important to better respond to racism as systemic and articulated with these oppressions (Hall, 1980a), but also enact equitable social change more broadly. I see the utility of Dei's (2006) argument in using this positional and intersectional conceptualization to work through how "everyone is differentially burdened by the history of racism and all other discriminations in society" (p. 13). It requires all of us to understand and acknowledge our positionalities in and with these oppressions as part of naming the structuration of racism. Through a praxis that forwards such a relational approach to understanding social positions and effects, people become responsible for their positions and the places of response they produce. It becomes a form of active response in seeing and acting in and with the spaces of response. It is, as Kumashiro (2002) suggests, "for all of us to rethink our practices constantly…in ways that interrupt our complicity with multiple forms of oppression" (p. 88). This takes on an embodied stance in antiracism where I must acknowledge what my position is able to accomplish in antiracist work, but also what contexts of racisms I am participative in and with.

Antiracism as response-ability

Taking an embodied stance allows for antiracism to continue as a project as Stanley suggests. It is to enact antiracism as an active embodied process of response to racisms that overtly acknowledges

positionality that is individual and systemic as well as rooted in praxis. As posthumanist scholars Franklin-Philips and Rath (2019) elegantly put it, it is to "resist[s] an arrival at an adjective – anti-racist – in favour of on-going practices that sustain productive discomfort and uncertainty" (p. 153). This on-going practice of response I articulate with Haraway's (2016) call to move from response to response-ability. Response-ability describes the situated and embodied praxis of responding to oppressions and inequities in the world. As a praxis it is about articulating and describing places of response as well as being responsible to responding in the contexts in which we find ourselves. Such a methodology for antiracism is about cultivation: acknowledging our entanglements produces a relationality with the entities of our situated abilities to respond. As Shotwell (2016) argues using Haraway's conceptualization, "the capacity of response coproduces the obligation for response" (p. 127). Therefore response-ability is a becoming of capacities of response that builds from a deep sense of situated entanglement with the world. This includes the entanglements of structures and mechanisms of power.

Antiracism as response-ability then, means seeing that an antiracist positionality requires not simply an articulation of one's complex positionality in "the multiplex of oppression" (Dei & Calliste, 2000, p. 16). It also requires bearing witness to the historical weight of this positionality. This is part attending to the historical 'burden' of racism – including one's "complicity" (Kumashiro, 2002, p. 73). It is also in part critically engaging the way history itself can be re-membered as shown by critical historians like Stanley (2011, 2016), Munro (1998), and Nora (1989, 1996). Further, Weisel (1982) reflects that bearing witness takes on multiple and overlapping definitions; it relates the experience of racism itself as something he had to bear and lay bare (on multiple levels). To 'bear witness' is to be an actor in witnessing, but also to bare/bear the emotions of such witnessing. To bear witness is also to bear the burden of being such a witness as the speaker of such experience. Such bearing/baring is not the same for all people in all contexts and means we are not "all response-able [to racisms or oppressions] in the same ways" (Haraway, 2016, p. 29). As much antiracism scholarship attests (e.g., hooks, 1984; Stanley, 2011), the initial bearing is on the part of people who experience racisms like Weisel.

Having myself the assembled identity of a racialized white cis-gendered woman and settler-

colonial, my bearing witness and laying bare this positionality is not necessarily to bear the racist violence on my own racialized body. Instead, it is about continual support and making space for those who more directly experience racialized violent exclusions. This position is itself a position fraught with complexities in its bearing as discussed by Condon (2012) and Tochluk (2008). These complexities are also not completely disentangle-able from the other subject positions that overlap and blur within and around my body (Braidotti, 2006a). Racism is a "structural problem" and therefore "a failure to understand how racism works within structures and how we are complicit in such structures can only erode our credibility in doing anti-racist work," (Dei, 2006, p. 17). This is particularly the case for those bodies in structural positions of dominance like my own. With this, I listen to Ibrahim (2015) who argues "our absolute challenge" is to "experiment with how to humanize and liberate ourselves and our bodies" from the oppressive vertical hierarchization of and in society (p. 3). A conceptual attention to entanglement and embodiment in antiracism attends to the above insights in foregrounding the way race is structurally related *in bodies* and come to relate the particular, partial, and situated ways antiracism practices are also enacted *in bodies* and *through bodies*. Our bodies are entanglements in this instance of our capacities to conduct ethical antiracist work (Alcoff, 1999). This brings to the fore the notion that bodies, and the understanding of the complexities of human bodies in their embodied living, is pertinent to recall in and for antiracism as argued by Ahmed (2012, 2014), Braidotti (2011) and Puwar (2004). It is embodied beings who produce and circulate racisms (Stanley, 2011, 2016). But it is also embodied beings who can resist, name, disrupt, and creatively live humanness differently and make racisms "uninhabitable" (Hall, 2002b, "Contesting stereotypes" section).

Pulling these elements together, I conceptualize antiracism as an embodied responsive praxis to racism. It occurs on a variety of levels, and in a variety of ways across knowledge structures, levels of analysis, and depths of focus. The conceptualization and practice of antiracism also rests on not only the conceptual definition of racisms (Bonnet, 2000), but also the frameworks of its production – conditions and the exclusions they manifest and sustain (Goldberg, 1993; Stanley, 2011, 2014). As a means of response, antiracism need to be anti-essentialist in its attempts at a pragmatic productive praxis (Cole,

2017; Dei, 1999, 2006; E. Taylor et al., 2009). It also requires tactical interventions (Jiwani, 2011), or even a sort of 'guerrilla warfare' (Goldberg, 2009), fluid in modes of opposition to the embodied contextual encounters with racisms. This position holds "the concern is to end racist exclusions and the conditions that give rise to and sustain such exclusions, however and whenever they manifest" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 217). Further, I see this responsive praxis requires an embodied stance that can attend to the entangled positionalities in which racism is operative, but also means enacting such an embodied praxis. More deeply, it is in continual resistances to racisms as a bearing of their embodied and contextual weight that moves antiracism as a project of disruption to a transformative praxis in the everyday.

This chapter has come to outline the major concepts and literatures that inform and build my analysis, namely: that race, racialization, and racism are articulated contextual social productions that are embodied, performed, and normalized in and as culture; that racisms and space, particularly state formation and settler-colonialism, point to complex contours and entanglements of national, historical, social, institutional, conceptual, and everyday spatial production with racisms. I have also conceptualized in this chapter that antiracism is response to racisms that requires an embodied praxis that bears the weight and lays bare such entanglements in the everyday. This embodied praxis needs to move beyond reactive response to a project of cultivating capacities of responses to racisms as response-ability. Such a position of response-ability requires bearing the weight of a situated positionality of entanglement in and with the processes of racisms as advocated in posthumanism (Niccolini & Ringrose, 2019). In the next chapter, I show how the cyborg is a means of reconfiguring antiracism that enacts this embodied responsive praxis of antiracist response-ability in our present. This discussion forms the theoretical and conceptual framework that supports and informs my cyborgian antiracist methodology in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

Cyborgs for Antiracist Praxis: A Theoretical Framework

Cyborgs often appear in culture and scholarly work to describe or embody relations of humans and technologies. As a 'cyborg anthropologist,' Amber Case (2011) documents popular representations of cyborgs arguing they are understood broadly as all technological interfaces with the organic. She contends that "anything that is an external prosthetic devices creates one into a cyborg" (Case, 2011, Definition section). In this definition, taking a pill for pain is interfacing with a tool (for pain relief), or using a pen to write on paper – where the pen and the paper are both tools to 'extend' one's being linguistically into the world – are cyborg processes and qualify as cyborg (Hayles, 2008). Case elaborates further that the narrower definitional boundaries of 'cyborg' relate to specific material technological connections or extensions as prostheses. Such cyborgs occur when people have prosthetic organs or body parts. With these two definitions, the ubiquity of cyborgs and cyborgian processes in our current contexts are readily apparent. These definitions articulate the cyborg as an entity or representation outside or separate from the human: cyborgs become the embodied interface of human/organic elements and technologies in these definitions. In this thesis I work with the premise offered by feminist techno-science scholar Donna Haraway (1991, 1992, 1995, 1997) that cyborgs should be understood not only as external or as embodied interfaces in Western technologically-saturated contexts, but also as "imaginative resources" for re-thinking and practicing relations in and with the world (Haraway, 1991, p. 151).

This chapter examines Haraway's concept of the cyborg because of its potential for reconfiguring antiracism towards an embodied praxis of response. I begin by outlining the context and major contours of Haraway's (1991, 1992, 1997, 2004, 2016) concept of the cyborg. In particular, I focus on three aspects of Haraway's theorization that I use here: first, the cyborg as feminist figuration; second, as an embodied symbiotic fusion of organic and mechanic elements; and third, as a monstrous entity and representation in its disruption of entrenched categorical distinctions between nature and culture, body and mind, human and technology. These three aspects from Haraway's cyborg form the foundational

layer of my theoretical framework for reprogramming antiracism.

I also engage critiques of Haraway's conceptualization, largely the claim by Braidotti (1994) that Haraway's cyborg conceptualization remains largely theoretical and lacks methods and means of enacting its transformative potentials in practice. As such, I follow my elaboration of Haraway's theorization of the three aspects of the cyborg (figuration, fusion, and monster) by delineating the ways I extend and operationalize them in my project for antiracism. These associated theoretical elements act as a secondary layer of my theoretical framework. I describe each of these theoretical extensions in this second layer in turn, starting with figuration as spatial production (Lefebvre, 1991), moving to engage fusion as assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), and finally relating monstrosity as entanglement (Hodder, 2016). Haraway's cyborg, along with the second layer of operationalizing theories, are linked to a posthumanist positionality that I take in this thesis. Indeed, as Rekret (2019) argues Haraway's cyborg as a figuration was "paradigm forming" (p. 83) for posthumanism. Braidotti (2006a) and Thweatt-Bates (2016) also both argue the cyborg is a figure of posthuman potential. Briefly, the posthumanist positionality relates a decentering of the human as locus of agency. It advocates for non-essentialized and complex interactions of the human and the world, and the co-dependence of ontological and epistemological understandings in forming relations (Barad, 2007; van der Tuin, 2014). I will elaborate on these connections below.

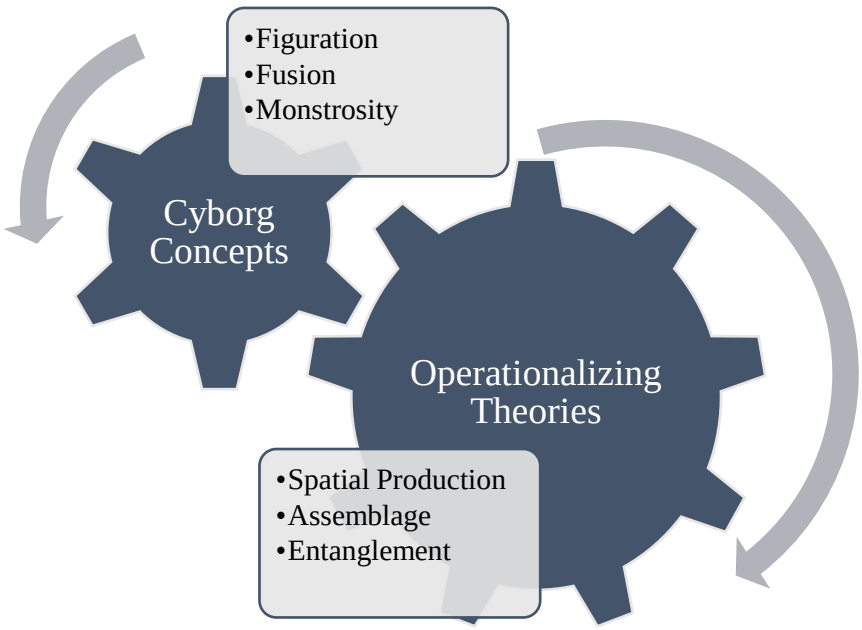
The outline of my theoretical framework is Haraway's conceptualization of the cyborg as layer 1, paired with theoretical operationalizations as layer 2. I have visualized the relationships of these theoretical elements in the figure below in Figure 1. This framework becomes a scholarly foundation for my methodology, which concentrates on plugging in these theoretical elements with methods. As will be explained further in my methodology chapter, plugging in based on the work of Jackson and Mazzei (2012, 2013), acknowledges the complexities of these inter-acting and overlapping theoretical elements. The analysis from plugging in becomes an example of what this theoretical orientation shows for enacting

an embodied antiracism as response-ability as I articulated in Chapter 2.

Haraway's Cyborg: A Political Myth and Language for Historical Transformation

Figure 1

Theoretical Framework



> We are cyborgs. The cyborg is our ontology; it gives us our politics. (Haraway, 1991, p. 150)

Self-proclaimed feminist and techno-science theorist Donna Haraway consistently advocates for seeing the complex interactions and co-constitutions of humans and their identity/ies with the world, and finding more equitable relations and positions because of these interactions. In the course of her works, Haraway engages several 'others' to show and theorize current and potential relations to forward feminist and anti-oppressive political thinking and action. Some notable 'others' in Haraway's writing include engaging the particularly powerful inter-relations of 'companion species' like dogs (2003), the masculinist positions and effects of knowledge communities and practices like biological science studies (1988), and the effects of communication technologies on identity (1997). Haraway consistently argues

for critically engaging the inextricable 'weave' of human identity with the world. It is this foundational premise that also guides my approach to understanding and advocating for a reprogramming of antiracism. Critically engaging the processes that weave the world can provide a hopeful means of living and being in the world, and more specifically for antiracism to transformatiom of the world. I draw on her engagements with the relations of communication technologies as a potential for rethinking response to racism.

In her "Cyborg Manifesto" (1991), Donna Haraway offers an argument for recognizing and responding to a "massive" shift in relations of identity and communication that were occurring in the early 1990s, particularly in the areas of science and technology. Haraway saw these shifts as important to the way race, class, and gender dominations were affecting feminist and antiracist movements. She argues such shifts have consequences for how feminists, antiracists, and antiracist feminists may understand their communal and relational sense of response and identity, as well as the ways dominations were affecting, continuing, and restructuring relations in the world. In large part, it is out of a recognition of these shifts and the continued need to rethink and understand relations in the world of humans – including what such a category means – and 'others' that Haraway has formed her scholarly works.

Haraway (1991) goes through a number of important effects of these shifts (see also her work of 1997, 2003). Haraway (1991) cites for instance, the disintegration of boundaries as essentialized and natural elements seeing that domination has rearranged to a politics of "design, boundary constraints, rates of flows, systems logics" (p. 162). These boundary breakdowns reveal a rearrangement from "comfortable old hierarchical dominations to the scary new networks" Haraway terms "the informatics of domination" (p. 161). Such informatics are linked to communication technologies along with biotechnologies for Haraway. This is particularly apparent in her argument in relation to the effects for women and the potential for feminist and antiracist response. These technologies she argues, "indicate fundamental transformations in the structure of the world" (p. 165). Haraway focusses on three boundary breakdowns she sees occurring in Western contexts and that are important to acknowledge for forming political responses to shifting structures of domination in terms of racisms and sexisms: (a) nature/culture

(b) organism/machine; and (c) physical/non-physical. As an example of the effects of such rearrangements and boundary breakdowns, Haraway cites racisms and colonialisms as ideologically reworked to languages of "development and under-development, rates and constraints of modernization" (p. 162). Policing of these network relations of domination Haraway argues will therefore mean the need to "concentrate on boundary conditions and interfaces, on rates of flow across boundaries" (Haraway, 1991, p. 163).

In turn, the change to network relations means response to domination needs to work within these systems and networks. It also means feminist and racialized analyses that continue to focus on "hierarchical dualisms" are now becoming "inadequate" as political discourses and modes of response (Haraway, 1991, p. 163). "We need fresh sources of analysis and political action" Haraway contends (p. 165). And in such a search a recognition that "some of the rearrangements of race, sex, and class rooted in high-tech-facilitated social relations" can make anti-oppressive responses such as feminisms and antiracisms "more relevant to effective progressive politics" (p. 165). Haraway's point is articulated to Hage (2016) in terms of the need for a shift in the ontological and epistemological thrust of anti-oppressive response and research work to acknowledge the complex systemic relations of domination. Hage (2016) for his part sees this as a need to acknowledge the "multi-realist complexity" in which racisms are produced and circulate (p. 132).

Cyborgs as an Imaginative Resource for Response

Haraway (1991) positions the cyborg as both a "fiction mapping our social and bodily reality" and a resource for reworking theory and culture responding to the "border war" in which the West has contextualized social reality and hence social relations (p. 151). This means Haraway sees cyborgs as both material and social reality - a "lived experience" (p. 150) - in human relations to the world but also a figuration of potential for reworking that reality in their tactical and political use. This is particularly in terms of gender construction and feminist politics for Haraway and about racism and antiracist politics for me.

Haraway builds her argument for cyborgs on the premise that 'we' are already cyborgs. In openly and tactically acknowledging this positionality Haraway argues, we can enact a political ontological and epistemological means of transforming relations in the world. Relations that sustain difference as otherness and societies structured in dominance. In Haraway's (1991) "Cyborg Manifesto" this 'we' is social feminists and antiracists, as well as those who are interpreted and organized through the border wars of late capitalism that make bodies into representational systems and hierarchal orders: racialized bodies, gendered bodies. These are bodies Haraway sees as already positioned and understood in and through the 'integrated circuit' of technologies of communication and representation.

Ladson-Billings and Donnor (2005) for instance, show how racialized bodies are always "called" back to their racialized identities (p. 279). They are re-placed with language and representation into racialized representations specifically to ensure that this representational identity does not slip too far (see also Hall, 2002b; Puwar, 2004). In acknowledging this premise and the shifting relations in which it is formed, Haraway (1991) finds "'we' [racialized white social feminists in this case] cannot claim innocence from practicing such dominations" (p. 157). Rather, 'we' need to seek a means of political connection that does not rely on or re-inscribe the structures of domination and the borders of hierarchical relation they are built upon.

Haraway (1991) argues that much of feminist thought and practice has been a response to dominations as an "endless splitting and search for a new essential unity" (p. 155) which is in her argument wrong-headed. Instead, Haraway sees the potential in "coalition – affinity, non-identity" and participating in the "confusing task of making partial, real connections" that the cyborg relates and embodies (p. 155). Drawing on the work of Chela Sandoval, Haraway offers the notion of a non-essential identity, of political affinity and coalition that Sandoval (1995) calls *oppositional consciousness*. This is a consciousness built from and with otherness, that draws on the political bringing together of parts without the "logic of appropriation." (Haraway, 1991, p.157). "This identity" Haraway (1991) explains, "marks out a self-consciously constructed space that cannot affirm the capacity to act on the basis of natural identification [like those of gender and racialization might encourage], but only on the basis of conscious

coalition, of affinity, of political kinship" (p. 156). Further, the effect of attempting a unity of approach to feminism in Haraway's case and antiracism in my own, is that these attempts produce a "taxonomy" of feminisms or anti-racisms that as Haraway (1991) claims of feminism "police deviation from official women's experience" (p. 156). What Haraway sees as the potential in Sandoval's theorization and related to her argument for the cyborg is the "emphasis on the daily responsibility of real women to build unities, rather than naturalize them" (p. 158). In turn, the cyborg is not about understanding becoming and antiracism as a naturalized unified theory against racism, but rather the real-world everyday practice of an embodied building of connections. Stanley (2017) made a similar argument in advocating for engaging human connections both historically and in the present that produce material and social relations as antiracist work. In both cases, this is a building that is non-innocent to the aspects of its constructions and effects, and that is about the practice rather than the totality of what is built – the totality is the always partial whole of the building towards as political affinity, not the finished production of an onto-epistemic organization of the world. A stance of non-innocence of such coalition building links to Arendt's (1973) arguments for a deep comprehension of history to stave off thoughtlessness at the dark heart of domination. Such processes of acknowledgement and practice of relational connection further recognize the notion of recalling antiracism as anti-essentialist response to racisms in the everyday. It encourages reworking such response as an emphasis on the orientational practice of response, a labour, as response-ability. As Haraway (1991) explains: "If we learn to read these webs of power and social life, we might learn new couplings, new coalitions" (p. 171).

Defining the Cyborg

Haraway (1991) offers the cyborg as a figuration of embodies practice and response to the shifts in relations of domination. She also contends it provides a means of embodying coalition and affinity needed to enact anti-oppressive change. The cyborg for Haraway is not one that has an 'origin' from which it must measure progress or understand its 'pure' or essential 'state.' Rather, Haraway's cyborg is always already producing/becoming cyborg through the connections of organic and mechanic themselves.

Within the definitional boundaries of 'cyborg' I opened this chapter with for instance, – from either the broader organic and technological interfacing to physical prostheses – there is the idea that cyborgs embody the hybridity of organic and mechanic elements. Such a position articulates the cyborg as a creature that "undermines dichotomies" (Lewis & Kahn, 2010, p. 1): an entity that becomes in the in-between of organic and mechanic elements. Yet, the cyborg, as a hybrid of organic and mechanic elements, also marks and embodies a categorical breakdown of where the 'human' ends and the 'mechanic' begins. Its entity is always one of assemblage and fusion; of hybridity, disruption, and contamination. The human and the technological are not pre-established or disentangleable from the cyborg's body. It is this always already entangled becoming that Haraway (1991, 1992) sees as the cyborg's "monstrous possibilities" because it means that essential understandings of boundaries and the subjectivities they invoke have no truck with cyborg thinking and being (p.?). At the same time categorical breakdown and hybridity signifies the cyborg as monstrous and reveals a disruption of the entrenched structuration of societies structured in dominance that organize categorical relations (Haraway, 1991, 1992; see also Graham, 2002; Hall, 1980b; Lewis & Kahn, 2010).

In the definitional parameters of the cyborg above, this is evident in the way technologies are related as extensions of humanness, of 'one's being' in some way (Case, 2011.; Graham, 2002). This subtly positions the cyborg as an 'other' to the whole human. The human's technologically infused monstrous shadow: at once human and other, nether and both. In effect, the cyborg described through prosthesis and extension relies on and continues the notion of an original form that is either added to, or that is returned to, through a technological extension (prosthesis). It also means there is a continuation of privileging a universal, whole, total subject as an organization of relations (Shildrick, 2015; Stowell, 2016). Poignantly, this relational understanding and privileging of the whole total subject is where most discussions of difference have circulated (Braidotti, 2002; Fuss, 1989; Stowell, 2016). Braidotti (2006b) for instance calls these others that form the structurations of difference "constitutive others," as their otherness comes to constitute the unitary subject of classical humanism by being other. Constitutive others "form the interconnected facets of structural otherness defined as a hierarchical scale of pejorative

differences which takes its bearing from the centre or standard of Sameness" she explains (Braidotti, 2006b, p. 44). Therefore, I am mindful of the varied definitions of 'cyborg,' and the ways these definitions can continue the same structures of dominance and subjective relation I see, following Braidotti's insights, as continuing oppressive understandings of subjects and difference. Consequently, I define the cyborg as interface and fusion of mechanic and organic components to acknowledge the structures of domination and relation that produce relational otherness but also the potential of Haraway's formulation as disruptive of this organization.

Haraway's formulation of cyborgs has in part opened thinking and practice to engage the limits of human-centric epistemologies and ontologies: ones that privilege the human as locus of knowing and as central to which 'others' pivot. Rekret (2019) argues Haraway's work out of 'Cyborg Manifesto' shifted thinking about the effects of humanism and the effects of human-centric understandings of the world (p. 83), in part forming the paradigmatic foundations of posthumanist orientations. At the same time, Harway's conceptualization of the cyborg requires some operational articulations to move from a conceptualization to a praxis of response to dominations, and in particular for this project of response to racisms.

Operationalizing Haraway's Cyborg

Invoking the cyborg from Haraway as a framework for antiracism, I am nonetheless mindful of Braidotti's (1994) critique. Braidotti (1994) argues that Haraway's theorization of the cyborg jumps too quickly from the entrenched categorical reality in which we are enmeshed. Braidotti (1994) correctly argues that Haraway does not "show the steps and the points of exit from the old systems" (p. 170). This is why I also plug in theoretical and methodological elements from Lefebvre (1991), Deleuze and Guattari (1987), and Hodder (2016) to my usage of the cyborg. More specifically, Lefebvre's (1991) theory of space as spatial production aligns and furthers the cyborgian figuration as a process of embodied, performative, and conceptual becoming. Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) work on assemblages, paired with Delanda (2006) and Nail's (2016) more recent work on the subject, articulate more fully the ways the

entangled becomings of cyborgs as nonunified entities can be imagined and theoretically related. Finally, Hodder's (2016) work on entanglement deepens the theoretical understandings of the way cyborgs' monstrosity is about a practice of becoming as tactical entities of organic-mechanic elements. I leverage the theories from these thinkers to orient towards 'the steps and points of exit' that the cyborg promotes as called by Braidotti (1994).

Cyborg as Figuration

A foundational element of Haraway's cyborg is that it is not simply a metaphor or representation to speak about or visualize relations of domination and antiracism, but it poignantly "gives us our politics" (Haraway, 1991, p. 150). This occurs through Haraway's orientation to the cyborg as an embodied practice of theorization and living: what Haraway calls figuration. Figuration, as I employ it here, articulates a feminist orientation towards rethinking and action. I lean on Braidotti (1994) to articulate the political feminist thrust of figuration.

Figurations are more than representations of experience, thought, or subjectivity. Figurations refer to "a style of thought" that both evokes and expresses "a politically informed account of an alternative subjectivity" (Braidotti, 1994, p. 1). Figuration literally figures; it organizes a performative entity in a material sense. But it also becomes a means of invoking and orienting a shift in theoretical and political work (Haraway, 1997, 2004). Figuration is a spatial and complex practice linking it not only to epistemology and ontology as a performative image, but also methodology. Figurations are therefore in part discursive tools that aim to shift thinking and living. By invoking and performing an ontological and epistemic shift, figurations offer a "way out of the old schemes of thought" (Braidotti, 1994, p. 3). Haraway (1997) describes figurations as "bumps that make us swerve from literal-mindedness" (p. 11). Therefore, the figuration is a political and tactical "performative image that can be inhabited" (Haraway, 1997, p. 11). Indeed, as Haraway (2004) explains, figuration is a "mode of theory when the more 'normal' rhetorics [sic] of systemic critical analysis seem only to repeat and sustain our entrapment in the stories of the established disorders" (p. 47). This "mode of theory" in figuration is a deeply feminist and political

practice.

Figurations have long been the tools of feminists to relate and work through the effects of patriarchy and gendered subjectivity. as Braidotti (1994) explains, Haraway's cyborg is but one example. Figurations have also been used by racialized scholars and anti-oppressive scholars and practitioners in working through racisms and racializing processes. Audrey Lorde's (1984) "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" argument is an example of a significant figuration for rethinking the relations of white women and women of colour in feminist thought and action. Her figuration helped develop a more complex understanding of relations of gendered and racialized oppression and action. It also helped cultivate further figurations like Patricia Hill-Collin's (2014) 'matrix of oppression' and the conceptualization of intersectionality (Hill-Collins & Bilge, 2020). Hill-Collin's matrix of oppression figuration describes the ways oppressions interrelate rather than act in an additive mode. These two figurations were foundational to Black feminist thought as its own orientation to understanding and responding to complex gendered and racialized subjectivities, particularly those experienced and expressed by Black feminist women (see Hill-Collins, 2014; Lemert, 2004).

Relatedly, though not specifically grounded in feminist orientations, Deleuze's rhizome is another example of a figuration. The rhizome for Deleuze was a means of expressing and enacting a shift in hierarchical and progressive modes of thought and being (see Delanda, 2006; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). In terms of racializing and antiracist scholarship, the rhizome has poignantly been taken up by Ibrahim (2014) to express and explain the ways racialization entangles subjects in a process of becoming that is connective but also multiple, uneven, and situated. Further, Braidotti (1994) links Haraway's cyborg figuration with Deleuze's rhizome. Braidotti (1994) argues both "stress the need to work on transforming the very image of thought and of subjectivity as an intensive, multiple, and discontinuous process of becoming" (p. 11). Therefore, figuration has a theoretical, practical, and political thrust to disrupt and shift thinking, knowing, and being/becoming, particularly in places where structures of dominance have become entrenched or banal. In this way, the cyborg as figuration carries important consequences for shifting the more entrenched or normalized modes of antiracist thinking and practice as well.

As a performative image, the cyborg is a figuration in the theoretical sense but also powerfully cannot be denied in its more material and literal senses. Cyborgs are material as much as they are figurative Haraway (1991, 2004) maintains. The cyborg figuration is a means of invoking the more literal quality of organic-mechanic entanglements of social relations, specifically in post-World War II and hyper-technologized contexts. Haraway's cyborgian figuration is according to Lupton (2015) "for political contestation and action" (p. 2), blurring the boundaries of humans and machines, the organic and mechanic, as well as the implications of technologies for human embodiment and subjectivity. Haraway's figuration, Lupton (2015) argues, has been "particularly useful in theorizing the interaction of the human and nonhuman in sociology, science and technology studies, feminist theory, cultural studies and race/ethnicity studies" (p. 2). Yet poignantly, it is also a means of (re)thinking relations on a theoretical and political level – it leverages its image and its performative thrust all at once. Braidotti (1994) sees Haraway's cyborg as an example of a figuration that evokes "new patterns of connectedness and affinity" (p. 3). According to Braidotti (1994), it is Haraway's way of struggling to find language towards "affirmative representations" (p. 3).

Haraway (2004) reflects that the cyborg was a means of affirming' the organic-mechanic aspects of her contexts, but also "the degree to which human beings and other organisms have a kind of commonality to them" in terms of their entanglements in/with organic-mechanic communication and representation systems (p. 322). This communication and representational system Haraway sees as the 'integrated circuit,' and the cyborg is a means of trying to understand and express a feminist space and place in this circuit. As such, the figuration of the cyborg is also spatial – about shifting spatial entities, claiming theoretical space to invoke new spaces, and 'exits' from oppressive spaces. In turn, in focussing solely on the literal representation of cyborgs as interface for instance, misses the figurative potential of the cyborg to shift, swerve, or bump thinking and expression in interesting and politically powerful ways.

In particular, the cyborg figuration "proposes a realignment" of structures of subjectivity and becoming – like race, class, gender, ability, age (Braidotti, 1994, p. 170). It is in this way that I use the cyborg as a figuration to operationalize a shift in thinking and responding to the complexities of entangled

material-mechanic processes for antiracism. It is in attending to the tension of both the more literal cyborgian figures and the methodological and ontological potential of cyborgian figuration that I aim to shift antiracism to become response-able to the 'integrated circuit' of communication and representation systems in the production and continuance of racisms in the everyday. As Braidotti (1994) comments, the cyborg is a "friendly vision of a body-machine relationship in our high-tech world … reconceptualizing the human being as an embodied and yet nonunified" entity (p. 106). I work through the effects if the cyborg as figuration for antiracism in my methodology through Jackson and Mazzei's (2012, 2013) plugging in. The implications of figuration also come through in my analysis chapters as I engage the way my body and perspective are co-produced with Parliament Hill (Chapter 7) as well as systems of representation, relation, and becoming linked to dominance that produce Parliament Hill as a place (Chapters 5 and 6).

Figuration and Spatial Production

Figuration as a theoretical position and practice of thought invokes the complexities in processes of political transformation. It relates a perceptive entity; something to grasp from the material world, situated in the contexts of our surroundings. As the popular definitions of cyborgs attest, cyborgs are part of a collective existence: "we are they" (Haraway, 1987, p. 35). It is also a conceptual element, an image capable of "mak[ing] an impact on our imagination" (Braidotti, 1994, p. 105). Finally, it is a form of 'liveliness'; a mode of living (Haraway, 1997). These aspects describe a complex production of the space figurations offer for thinking, being, and action. In turn, I pair the figuration with a deep theoretical understanding of spatial production, drawing on the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991), to relate and understand how the cyborg as figuration reconfigures antiracism.

Henri Lefebvre's (1991) The Production of Space argues much work has taken the notion of space for granted. Such work has offered little critical engagement with the conceptual underpinnings of space, mostly limiting it to a fixed, dead entity synonymous with a container. Lefebvre points out most work that engages space often focusses on representations of space (e.g., as geography, as container or

vessel), and representational spaces (e.g., ideologies, the body) over seeing space as a socially produced and negotiated entity. This is a point also made by Foucault (1980, 1984), and more recently Stanek (2011) taking up Lefebvre's work.

Similarly, recent 'turns' in research to attend to materiality (e.g., Bennett, 2009; Coole & Frost, 2010; van der Tuin & Dolphijn, 2012) in understandings of social processes of everyday, including racisms and antiracisms, reveal the need to engage in the process of space over a description of it as a fixed entity.

Lefebvre (1991) proposes an interdisciplinary theory of the production of space. As Soja describes, (1996), in Lefebvre's theory:

Space is simultaneously objective and subjective, material and metaphorical, a medium and outcome of social life; actively both an immediate milieu and an originating presupposition, empirical, and theorizable, instrumental, strategic, essential. (p. 45, as quoted in Teelucksingh, 2006, p. 8)

As such, shifting to engage the production of space rather than describing space as finished allows as Stanek (2012) suggest, for "the acknowledgement of the multiplicity of social practices" that are entangled in the production of space (p. 50). It also opens theorization of spatial production and its effects to the "contradictory and political character of the processes of production of space" (p. 50, emphasis mine). In turn, Lefebvre's theory of spatial production articulates and deepens my use of figuration for cyborgs as it takes on the complex and active ways it occurs. It also provides some specific elements through which to understand this complexity. I elaborate on this below.

Lefebvre (1991) is careful to note that though space is actively produced through and with social relations that involve history, the production of space cannot be limited to a progressive or causal chain of events (p. 46). He describes space is not an object or thing but "rather a social reality – that is to say, set of relations and forms" (p. 116). Such approach articulates with Haraway's notion of cyborgs as figurations. Both emphasize active relational entangled production along with the ontological effects of that production.

For Lefebvre, these relations and forms, occur through a triad: representations of space

(conceived spatial production), representational space (lived spatial production), and spatial practice (perceived spatial production). I see these aspects articulating with figuration, where it is a representation of space, a representational space, and a spatial practice. Hence, this triad of spatial production grounds the way I conceptualize the cyborgian engagements in my methodology and analysis. I will use the terms perceived/perceptive, conceived/symbolic, and lived/practiced to relates this triad going forward, in order to maintain a conceptual clarity between these spatial processes.

Spatial practice relates the structures and activities that produce and shape space in certain ways. This is the organization of space that inflects on human bodies and finds prominent exemplars in Michel Foucault's work on spatial history and discipline. Architecture is a poignant example of this type of spatial production as it is the art and practice of shaping space and activities in space through its production (Elden & Crampton, 2016; Foucault, 1977, 1980). I engage spatial practice as a cyborgian figuration by mapping the ways material, ideological, discursive, and embodied processes of colonial dominance work together to actively produce Parliament Hill and consequently actively reproduce colonial and white settler dominance as a Canadian national spatial practice.

Representations of space, the way space is conceived, is the dominant space of a society, felt through the three aspects of spatiality (perceived, conceived, and lived). Slack and Wise (2014) explain representations of space "include the ways that scientists, engineers, planners, architects, and others understand and represent space as something to be lived. Maps, blueprints, architectural plans, rulers, and light-years are all representations of space" (p. 137). These are organizations in the ontological and epistemological relations that assemble with spatial practice. Representations of space become "a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture" in its inscription on/as materiality, creating representations that "will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realm" because there are materially perceptive as much as conceptually inscribed (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42). As Lefebvre (1991) remarks, representations of space "have a practical impact" in that they "intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology" (p. 42). In my second analysis chapter, I show how this occurs through material and discursive relations meant to produce a place of national memory and belonging.

Yet the representation of space of Parliament Hill is one of colonial conquest and European settler supremacy that silences 'other' representations of space historically and in the present. Most notably those of Indigenous orientations and histories linked to and with the material space.

Representational space is then the "lived experience in the intersection of spatial practices and representations of space" (Slack & Wise, 2014, p. 137). It is dominated, passively experienced space, yet one that "overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 38-39). It is "what space 'feels' like" (Slack & Wise, 2014, p. 137). This means "representational space is alive: it speaks … it may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42). Spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space assemble to produce 'social space' (Lefebvre, 1991). The 'form' of social space Lefebvre (1991) describes directly as "encounter, assembly, simultaneity" (p. 101). For the purpose of this project, the 'form' of this encounter and assembly occurs through the cyborg, and particularly its assemblage of mechanic and organic. This 'encounter' between organic and mechanic for the cyborg, and in Haraway's (1991) conceptualization, is a "potent fusion" (p. 154). This aspect becomes the second element of my theoretical framework that grounds this thesis project. I engage the aspect of representational space as cyborg predominantly in my third analysis chapter (Chapter 7) working through the ways my 'encounter' with Parliament Hill co-produces my relational position of belonging as racialized white settler colonial and woman along with Parliament Hill itself through this encounter.

Cyborg as Potent Fusion

The cyborg is not simply an interface of mechanical and human, nor is it simply an aggregate of human with mechanical extensions, but as an embodied form of assemblage. Haraway (1991) relates the cyborg "is not about unity, or ideologies of wholeness," it is rather "resolutely committed to partiality, irony, intimacy, and perversity … The relationships for forming wholes from parts, including those of polarity and hierarchical domination, are at issue in the cyborg world" (p. 151). Cyborgs are creatures "simultaneously animal and machine;" a "fruitful union" of these interactionary relations, un-separable,

and co-constitutive (Haraway, 1991, p. 149). This un-separable simultaneity of interactionary relations as cyborg Haraway calls ‘fusion’ (1991, 2004). She elaborates that this fusion from and in a cyborgian figuration is one that is “potent” and “illegitimate” (p. 154), meaning that it critically and tactfully acknowledges and engages the ways power inflects on interactions and co-constitution of relations and identity. Yet this illegitimacy and potency also means it is always partial, incomplete, and active. It is from these foundational relations that I engage and extend Haraway’s notion of cyborg as fusion with Deleuze and Guattari’s notion of assemblage.

Both Annette Gough (2004) and Rosi Braidotti (2002) argue for the utility of cyborgian embodiment because it is theoretically powerful and physically relatable for transformative understandings of subject positions. For Gough (2004), cyborgs help make sense of the physical relations of embodiment in human-technology relations, particularly for understanding a researcher’s body in their engagements with methods as technological tools. Whereas Braidotti (2002, 2011), sees the ability of the cyborg’s nonunitary subjective becoming to offer better ways of understanding and responding to the processes of subjectivity, particularly as entangled with language and representation. She argues the cyborg is a means of enacting a political nomadic subjectivity that “marks a positive process of transformation of the pain of loss [like exclusion] into the active production of multiple forms of belonging and complex allegiances” (Braidotti, 2011, p. 80). It also “allows for a means of illuminating and transforming our knowledge of ourselves and the world” (Braidotti, 2002, p. 21). As such, the cyborg provides a theoretical, conceptual, and performative example of living a relational understanding with the mechanisms of social structuring processes like subjectivity. Yet, I am mindful that this fusion remains fairly abstract in its processes of production and effects. I therefore deepen Haraway’s notion of cyborgs as fusions with Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) theorization of assemblage.

Fusion and Assemblage

Deleuze and Guattari (1987), in a frustration over the (continued) effects of hierarchical and dualistic relations of representation over reality, mind over body, developed assemblages as another

interpretation of reality. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) sought instead a means of writing/thinking a complex co-constitution of reality beyond binaries, which they came to theorize as assemblage (pp. 6-7). Assemblages do not allow concepts, or structures more broadly, a privileged status in determination.

The term "assemblage" is a translation from the original French term "agencement" in Deleuze and Guattari's work (Buchanan, 2017; Nail, 2017). The English word stands closer to Hall's (1980b, 2002b) notion of articulation – a process of "a bridging or coming together" a "joining union of two things" (Nail, 2017, p. 22). The French term "agencement" of Deleuze and Guattari's original writings offers something distinct and means more "to arrange, to lay out, to piece together" and "a construction, an arrangement, or layout" (Nail, 2017, p. 22). In turn, Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage highlights not only a linking but also the means, modes, methods, and mechanisms of linking. I continue to deploy the English 'assemblage' throughout this work but use it in attentive tension with the implications of its translation. I therefore use "articulation" to describe the more anglicized understanding, and "assemblage" to relate more specifically to Deleuze and Guattari's formation. Both articulation (following Hall, 1980b) and assemblage provide a means of explaining how organic and mechanic elements come together as a nonunitary production, a cyborgian fusion. These terms – articulation and assemblage – also describe more specifically what the formation of organic-mechanic elements that become cyborg looks like and how they occur.

This is because assemblages are not unities defined by "intrinsic relations that various parts have to one another" (Nail, 2017, p. 22). This understanding of intrinsic relations links to metaphors of organicism and the more popular understandings of cyborgs as humans with mechanical extensions or prostheses. In an organic understanding of part-whole relations, each part (organ) works for the whole of the organism and cannot work alone: like an organ in the body (Delanda, 2006). Such unities "do not allow for the possible emancipation of recombination of their parts without destroying themselves in the process" (Nail, 2017, p. 23). An organ cannot function without other organs linking together to form an organic whole in this case. Organicism therefore creates a part-whole dependence, an interiority of relations that assemblage disrupts (Delanda, 2006; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Nail, 2017). This is akin to

understanding the pure human as the essentialized basis from which cyborgs become, rather than understanding cyborgs as becoming in the combination of elements themselves. Assemblages take up different, non-essential relations:

> Each member and proto-member of the assemblage has a certain vital force, but there is also an effectivity proper to the grouping as such: an agency of the assemblage. And precisely because each member-actant maintains an energetic pulse slightly 'off' from that of the assemblage, an assemblage is never a solid block but an open-ended collective, a 'non-totalizable sum.' (Bennett, 2009, pp. 23-24)

This means assemblages have relations of exteriority rather than relations of interiority as connections like in organicism (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Relations of exteriority also mean assemblages are not governed by a central 'head' or point of power: power is instead a sum of force that makes up the assemblage (Bennett, 2009; Delanda, 2006). Therefore, the cyborg as assemblage means that the organic and mechanic elements of its becoming whole are always shifting and vibrating to form the whole: the whole is not pre-established, and neither organics nor mechanics are essential entities outside the assemblage of cyborg. A cyborg 'is' precisely through assemblage; it does not have a 'before' to its relational understanding.

This means "assemblages [and cyborgs as assemblages,] are living, throbbing confederations" that "function despite the persistent presence of energies that confound them from within" (Bennett, 2009, pp. 48-49). Assemblages therefore come together as temporary, shifting, contingent wholes not universal, natural, or assumed essential spaces. The whole of assemblage Bennett (2009) calls "confederations" above, where others call them identities (e.g., Delanda, 2006; Nail, 2017). These terms are to describe the whole that is not dependent on essentialism and highlight temporal and contingent relations that make wholes. The articulations to Canadian confederation in Bennet's term cannot be lost here. It too was a process of coming together of various elements – peoples, politics, European onto-epistemic structures, and material ones (like Parliament) – towards the creation of a territory: Canada, the nation-state. Consequently, the always shifting process of production of a whole is important consider in how elements are articulated and assembled and to what effects.

In these processes of articulation and assemblage towards a 'whole,' 'territory' Deleuze and Guattari (1987) explain, "is the first assemblage, the first thing to constitute an assemblage: the assemblage is fundamentally territorial" (p. 323). As such, assemblage articulates with Lefebvre's spatial triad as well as it is deeply a spatial concept. Without the acknowledgement of its territoriality Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue, we cannot come to see how assemblages move, change, shift, break, and are remade. It is this process I engage in mapping Parliament Hill, particularly in Chapter 5 where I show the ways Parliament Hill becomes through an assembling of material, conceptual, and lived relations. This assembling is carefully organized to actively produce Parliament Hill as a territory of settler colonial history and dominance.

The production of this territorial whole is influenced by power and repetition that develop "in tandem," "each exerting a distinct but not necessarily deterministic pressure on the other" (Mills, 2016, p. 51). Assembling relations therefore create an "uneven topography" in the production of a whole or identity where "the various affects and bodies [that] cross paths are more heavily trafficked than others, and so power is not distributed equally across its surface" (Bennett, 2009, p. 49). In turn, the production of cyborg as assemblage or fusion is also poignantly inflected by power and repetition, making "uneven topographies" of its bodily whole. It is therefore the mapping of this topography and the mechanisms that inform and inflect on its production that concerns me here. Both in the way the cyborg can provide a means of better understanding how this occurs in material spaces like my exemplar of Parliament Hill, but also in how this understanding can reconfigure antiracism as a process of response to and with the mechanisms that make this topography uneven in ways that continue racisms. Mapping the relational process of assemblage of Parliament Hill shows for instance the potential in the spaces of borders – where articulations are organized to connect as a place to disrupt and change the assemblage of Parliament Hill and the relations of dominance it relies on in its production.

The production of this topography I informed further with Lefebvre's (1991) notion of spatial texture or *archi-texture* (p. 118), and Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) understanding of the production of assemblage territories. Lefebvre (1991) describes spatial textures are "made up of a usually rather large

space covered by networks or webs" where territorializing elements make up "the strong points, nexuses or anchors of such webs" (p. 222).

Territorialization describes the process of producing a spatial entity, a territory. It is a process that stabilizes the identity of an assemblage, "by increasing its degree of internal homogeneity or the degree of sharpness of its boundaries" (Delanda, 2006, p. 12). The "increasing degree of homogeneity" occurs through habitual repetition. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) describe it: "Territorialization is an act of rhythm that has become expressive, or of milieu components that have become qualitative. The making of territory is dimensional, but it is not a meter, it is a rhythm" (p. 315). Territorialization therefore marks and binds a space through a rhythmic repetition of relations in and on all aspects of spatiality: containing and binding knowledge, function, flow, comportment, and access (Delanda, 2006; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

Deterritorialization, describes the destabilizing and folding back on the spatial production of the territory, disrupting or reworking the motifs and expressive elements of the rhythm and the rhythm itself (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Poignantly, as Delanda (2006) explains, component parts within an assembled space can both territorialize and deterritorialize "by exercising different sets of capabilities" as they assemble and intra-act with other components and elements (p. 12).

These assemblage methods of interaction in the production of territory ground the way I conceptualize the nonunitary formation of the cyborg. Assemblage and its territorializing processes articulate the complex ways potent fusion of organic and mechanic elements occurs and their effects on the cyborg's production. It is these processes that I deploy to map the ways Parliament Hill is actively produced in and with these elements without over-determining any one mode of its production as well as acknowledging the complex contingent production of it as a place. It also allows for a means of conceptualizing antiracist response by furthering Stanley (2011, 2014) and Hall's (1980b, 2002a) call for an anti-essentialist position in terms of racism and antiracism (see also Hussey, 2014; Wright, 2016). Assemblage structures as I conceptualized and deploy them here offer a means of reworking and disrupting racism through multiple entries, as each element that makes the whole of spatial context is

contingent, entangled, articulated. Disentangling, interrupting, shifting any one relation also shifts the whole of spatial production and its effects. I further texture this conceptual framing with literatures that more overtly discuss the spatial relations of racisms, spatialization of racialization, and racisms from my literature review in the previous chapter to inform my mapping of Parliament Hill. These literatures inform what aspects and processes of power and repetition may be inflecting on the spatial production of Parliament Hill. Assemblage, and the territorializing processes it invokes, link to the ways cyborgs not only become as a fusion but powerfully the way structuring processes inflect on its 'whole.' Haraway attends to this through a tactical operationalization of its monstrous position.

Cyborg as Monstrous

The cyborg figuration as I use it here is a relational embodiment of living a fusion which assembles a tactical and shifting middle ground of the "border wars" of binary politics as Haraway (1991, p. 151) describes it. These are politics that naturalize the organizational distinctions and relations of organic/mechanic; human/non-human; mind/body; nature/culture among many others (Graham, 2002; Haraway, 1991; 1992). Embodying and becoming in this middle ground the cyborg is one of many 'border creatures' (Lewis & Kahn, 2010). Border creatures inhabit the "gates of difference" (Cohen, 1995, pp. 7-12), a position flagged as monstrous and other in its shifting always already hybridity (see also Graham, 2002). Donna Haraway's cyborg is not simply a representation of a monstrous border creature becoming as the fusion of organic and mechanic, but is an embodied figuration awake to its noninnocence as a border creature, making it responsible to the boundaries in which it becomes, and unfaithful – "blasphemous" and "ironic" – in relation to the structures and traditions in which it was born (Haraway, 1991, p. 149).

In Haraway's vision, the cyborg becomes in the border as complex composite of its edges. As Wise (1997) describes in Haraway's figuration, the cyborg becomes the border (as opposed to merely inhabiting the border as Terminators do) and "by becoming the border, problemtizes the distinction itself" (p. 29). This problematization of the border draws critical attention to its production and effects. It also

opens a space for engagement of the politics and processes of producing and structuring borders. In other words, “the cyborg is not subject to Foucault's boipolitics; the cyborg simulates politics, a much more potent field of operations” (Haraway, 1991, p. 163).

Simulating the politics of the border, becoming the composite or fusion as the border, means taking “pleasure in the confusion of boundaries and for responsibility in their construction” (Haraway, 1991, p. 150). This “more potent field of operations,” articulates with antiracist praxis by disrupting the categories of border production: Identity categories like race are socially constructed relational containers whose borders mark and organize distinctions of human/non-human; universal/other they relate. Such disruption works towards a praxis of making representational containers “uninhabitable” rather than shifting the contents or border of organizational processes and structures (Hall, 2002b, “Contesting stereotypes” section). Consequently, this form and praxis of disruption offers a way for antiracism to make the social organization of racism, including its categories and exclusions, uninhabitable.

Haraway (1991) articulates this politics more specifically as a “monstrous promise” that encourages “learn[ing] to read the webs of power and social life, [so] we might learn new couplings, new coalitions” (p. 170). These coalitions are “a poetic/political unity without relying on a logic of appropriation, incorporation, and taxonomic identification” (p. 157). Haraway (1991, 2016) articulates this practice with subaltern, postcolonial, and indigenous works, like Sandoval’s (1995) work on oppositional consciousness (Haraway, 1991, 1992), Trinh Minh-ha’s (1989) work on in/appropriated others (Haraway, 1992), and with Navajo practices of weaving (Haraway, 2016). Haraway articulates the practices and insights of these scholars and knowledges with cyborg practices of noninnocence and a becoming that is tactically and unfaithfully aware: “a consciousness that changes the geography of all previous categories” Haraway (1991) argues (p. 157).

The cyborg in its political orientation to take on, rather than be described as, monstrosity, attends to the way resistances to the production of racialized spaces occurs in the marginal and spaces ‘between’ spaces of power from James (2007) and Ng-A-Fook et al.’s (2012) work discussed in the previous chapter. Further, this notion of politically navigating the spaces between in the production of the whole is

articulated to anti-oppressive work such as B. Smith, Ng-A-Fook, Radford, and Pratt's (2018) edited collection on "hacking education." In this collection they advocate for working in the spaces between structures of dominance and resistance, hacking into the systems of power that produce the world, and dismantling them from within through a political understanding of their production and circulation. In deploying this cyborg as monstrous positionality as part of my conceptual framework, I rely on the work of Ian Hodder (2016) on entanglement.

Monstrosity and Entanglement

Ian Hodder's (2016) theory of *entanglement* describes the processes and relationships between humanness and technological mechanisms as things broadly understood. Though Hodder limits things in his analysis to material elements, I position things following Bennett (2009) and Barad (2007) and their arguments for vital materialist and posthumanist relations. These relations acknowledge the constitutive as well as material power of things: inclusive of conceptual and symbolic expressions as well as material and lived elements.

Hodder's (2016) work looks at the way humans have become dependent on things, and things on humans in complex relationships that come to constitute both. This relationship therefore describes the same processes of monstrosity. It is as Sartre describes in the preface to Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1963/2004): in colonial relations "the European has only been able to become a man [sic] through creating slaves and monsters" (p. 22). Sartre describes how humans and monsters hold constitutive relations. In other words, one is needed to define the other through a border of negation. I utilize Hodder's theorization for relating the way racisms (as complex things) are about creating the very relations of humans and things Hodder describes in his concept of entanglement.

Developing his theorization, Hodder (2016) argues despite more recent work on systems and networks (like assemblages) as a means of understanding the complex relations of human and things, the "key nodal point" in these relations is "that they involve asymmetrical tensions and a dialectical co-dependency" (p. 2). Humans and things are not separate or separable but always already relational

through a co-constitution: what Karen Barad (2007) calls *intra-action*. This means system and network theories enable the mapping of connections, but do not go far enough in acknowledging the way power inflects on relational production of systems and networks. Consequently, I use Hodder's conceptualization as a means of situating my reading of "the webs of power and social life" (Haraway, 1991, p. 170), that fusions of organic and mechanic relations assemblages may reveal.

Hodder (2016) argues instead of network theories alone, the intimate and complex relations of humanity and 'things,' are better described as entanglements. Entanglements relate co-constitutions of humans and things through what Hodder calls "path dependencies": the asymmetries of enablements and entrapments in relations. These path dependencies go both ways, where humans depend on things (Human-Thing), but "so too do things depend on humans" (Thing-Human) and things depend on each other (Thing-Thing)" (p. 2). This relationship is important because it describes how humans are constituted and enabled through and with the things with which they interact – like tools, language – but also that these relations "also depend on each other" in "chainworks" (p. 3). I use Hodder's conceptualization of entanglement to conceptualize the social-material processes of production of racisms as human-thing relations. In turn entanglement also conceptualizes how technologies inflect on these processes as human thing-relations as well. In both, entanglement conveys how these relations are constitutive of each element in complex ways and provides a framework for engaging the active relational constructions of the borders of humans and things that the cyborg invokes. Such conceptualizations show in the analysis of Parliament Hill how its spatial production as a thing is relationally producing racisms and humans as subjective entities. In Chapter 3, I work through how the cyborg can become a responsive figuration to map these relational co-constitutions but also become responsive to their power-laden asymmetries which continue racisms and patterns of dominance.

Haraway's cyborg concepts of figuration, fusion, and monstrosity continue to be pertinent to understanding organic-technological relations and anti-oppressive politics. I argue this is the case as antiracism, according to Hage (2016), has "failed to preform and rise to the situations it is confronting" in its conceptualizations and practices of response (p. 125). I am particularly concerned here with

"confronting" the "situation" of technological and human relations in the everyday that are entangled with continuing racisms. For entanglements of human and technology/ies create pathways of mattering, making certain things 'matter' in certain ways as has been shown in the works of Barad (2003), Haraway (1991, 2016) and Hodder (2016). Entanglements of humans and technologies are also deeply connective to making race and racisms 'matter' (or not) (see for e.g., Goldberg, 1993; O'Riley, 2003; Stanley, 2011, 2014). The cyborg from this perspective is "our ontology; it gives us our politics" by being "a condensed image of both imagination and material reality, the two joined centers structuring any possibility of historical transformation" (Haraway, 1991, p. 150). The historically transformative potential in the cyborg comes out in part through its development out of these concepts towards ontological and epistemic shifts it encourages: different ways of seeing, becoming, and relating to the world like posthumanism.

Posthumanism: Engaging a 'More-Than-Human' Context

As Cary Wolfe (2010) describes, posthumanism "names a historical moment in which the decentering of the human" and the humanist tradition is a critical point of orientation and a body of critical research (p. xv). As such, posthumanism acknowledges its embeddedness in the histories of humanism from which it derives its "post." My project and approach to the cyborg is informed by posthumanist theorizations. Most prominently I am guided by the works of Karen Barad (2007), Cary Wolfe (2010), Elizabeth Graham (2002), Katherine Halyes (2008, 2012), Rosi Braidotti (2006a, 2016), and Jeanine Thweatt-Bates (2016). These theorists carry a strong feminist and new materialist emphasis in their approach to posthumanism. They territorialize posthumanism as ambiguous and plural: something itself to be critical of as a category, as distinctions of "humanism" and "posthuman" or "posthumanism" are at least partially cultural constructions. Bignall and Rigney (2019) for instance remind that despite its turns as a 'new' approach, posthumanism carries important continuities with Indigenous thought and theory of identities, bodies, and relations. Bignall and Rigney (2019) as well as Last (2017) point out that this work must be careful not to colonize Indigenous thought and occlude the long histories of this type of thought and approach in its link to responding to humanism. Niccolini and Ringrose (2019) and Haraway

(2016) also acknowledge the relational connections of Indigenous onto-epistemologies and methodologies with posthumanism.

Posthumanism nonetheless concerns important, technologically driven shifts in thinking about humanity, human exceptionalism, and its centrality in and for understanding processes of cultural production (Graham, 2002; Hayles, 2008, 2012). This means posthumanism is not used here "in the sense of being 'after' our embodiment [as essentialized humans] has been transcended" (C. Wolfe, 2010, p. xv). Rather, posthumanism is critical of the separation of knowing and being, as adequate or equitable for understanding and relating in the world. This criticality comes through in its emphasis on relationality and its turn to knowing in being as ontology and epistemology, or *onto-epistemology* (Barad, 2007; van der Tuin, 2014). An onto-epistemic position is one that accounts for "knowing in being" as always already entangled and the basis for positioning oneself in research and the world (Barad, 2007, p. 185; van der Tuin, 2014). Onto-epistemology also encourages a sense of relationality and intimacy of body, thought, and action that situated, partial, and connective to the research context and the development of research itself (de Freitas, 2017; St. Pierre, 2016). As such, the posthuman approach to the cyborg acknowledges the assembled and nonhuman relational becoming of cyborgs that Haraway advocates as a paradigmatic thrust and not simply a representational or metaphorical element in research and scholarly work.

The consequences of engaging a posthuman positionality for the cyborg as I take it up here also inflect on my approach to understanding racism and antiracism. By decentering the human as a relational pivot for instance, the relations of becoming are disrupted as well. Such acknowledgement I see as important for working through the complexities of the productions of racisms in the world. As I conceive of racialization as the process distinction that pivots around the notion of humanness following Fanon (1963/2004) and Goldberg (1993), posthumanism takes a critical orientation towards acknowledging the relationality of constructions of the human in racisms. Humanness and racialization can no longer be the categorical containers to inscribe and organize difference. This position therefore also opens to a broader relationality in human becoming than human and non-human, humanness or racialization.

In decentering the human, the attention to 'other' elements in the relational processes of racisms

and patterns of dominance become possible: The more-than-human world which describes our technologically infused social and educational contexts is critically acknowledged in its inequity and effects in continuing racisms and other oppressions (Pedersen & Pini, 2017). As Franklin-Philips and Rath (2018) explain, posthumanism invites "relationality that emphasizes how bodies, matter, time, and space overlap and diverge in compositions. Entanglements of relationality disrupt the entrenched binary of human/less-than-human in which certain bodies are consistently produced as less-than-human, minoritized and racialized" (p. 146). Yet I am also mindful of Jane Bennett's (2009) comment that posthumanist attention to relationality

> will not solve the problem of human exploitation or oppression, but it can inspire a greater sense of the extent to which all bodies are kin in the sense of inextricably enmeshed in a dense network of relations. And in a knotted world of vibrant matter, to harm one section of the web may very well be to harm oneself. (p. 38)

In turn, I take a posthumanist orientation to the cyborg drawing from these theoretical insights as my theoretical framework because it acknowledges the more-than-human contexts of cyborgs. Posthumanism from this grounding also articulates and emphasizes the deep ways racisms are enmeshed in and with the world. A posthumanist orientation offers a way of engaging that racism is not only connected to humans, but poignantly part of a much more complex web in which humanness and racisms are operative, can be resisted, and intervened in relationally embodied ways. This positionality also engages Bennett's (2009) argument in the potential of seeing "the locus of agency is always a human-nonhuman working group" (p. 18), much in the way a cyborg becomes through this entangled positionality. In this engagement posthumanism becomes "a way of naming the unknown, possible, (perhaps) future, altered identity of human bodies and selves … it is an act of projection, of speculation about who we are as human beings, and who might become" (Thweatt-Bates, 2016, p. 1).

Donna Haraway's (1991, 1992, 1997) feminist cyborg as a posthumanist entity informs my framing for reconfiguring antiracism to acknowledge its situated yet systemic complexities as embodied response. Haraway's cyborg offers the very hybridity, "plurality" and "plasticity" of thinking and being of

posthuman approaches that may develop a transformative antiracist praxis (Thweat-Bates, 2016, p. 1). In Chapter 5 for example, posthumanism drew more overt attention to the agential entanglements in spatial production. This attention revealed the way material elements like stone and flora are organized and relationally territorializing Parliament Hill. The agential relations show how bodies and other "earth others" as Braidotti (2006b, p. 44) calls them, are equally entangled in the spatial productions of Parliament Hill. This points to another layer of complexity to racism as it is produced in the public national space. Further in Chapter 7, I more fully engage the complex plurality of somatic becomings and relations on Parliament Hill from a posthumanist position. It foregrounds the way monumental bodies of statues as well as living bodies of tourists, Parliamentary police, tour guides, labourers, and even visual representations of bodies on posters, come to be configured and co-constituted with the material and representational aspects of Parliament Hill. It is in attention to decentering the human and carrying a critical acknowledgement of agential entanglement that posthumanism forwards that showed the more material and technical relations that continue racisms in everyday spaces. As such, it is my argument that such plurality and plasticity can invoke an intervention attuned to the entanglements of organics and mechanics in our presents that continue to organize racisms. A posthumanist positionality also engages, in Haraway's (1991) terms, the 'potency' of the monstrous and "dangerous possibilities" of the cyborg as a figuration for developing an antiracist intervention attuned to entanglements in the organization of the world (p. 154). It gives technological mechanisms their constitutive power in this relation. Moreover, it does not over-determine human agency or technological agency in this development. Cyborgs disrupt the centrality of humans in processes of production and relation (Haraway, 1991; Gough & Gough, 2017). They openly become through a "human-non-human working group" (Haraway, 1991, p 154) that I argue is part of reconfiguring antiracism as response-ability. As Thweatt-Bates (2016) and Braidotti (2006a) argue, the cyborg from Haraway is an embodied figure of posthuman potential. My use of the cyborg is situated in a posthumanist uptake of Haraway's political and tactical figuration of the cyborg.

In this chapter I have articulated the conceptual framework of the posthuman cyborg for reconfiguring antiracism. This framework consists of interlocking elements that ground my use of the

cyborg in this work and its potential for reconfiguring antiracism to become responsive to entanglements in our present. The perspective of the cyborg I use here is couched in Haraway's work and in more recent engagements of this cyborgian theorization for and with posthumanism. In particular, I use the notions of the cyborg as a performative image that can be inhabited as a figuration, the positionality of the cyborg as a fusion of mechanic and organic elements, and the politics of the cyborg as a monstrous border creature. These elements I bolster with conceptualizations that operationalize these aspects more overtly. Namely that figuration implies space is an active, conceptual, and embodied production over finished entity; that elements of organic and mechanic come together in non-guaranteed coalitions as assemblages; and that the politics of relational and constitutive connections that produce otherness and monstrosity occur as entanglements that enable and entrap constitutions of potential wholes.

In the next chapter, I turn to describing the methodological processes through which I plug in these theoretical and conceptual aspects and the specific methods through which I conduct my analysis of Parliament Hill. This methodology situates my engagement with the potential of the cyborgian position for understanding and responding to racisms in their active production.

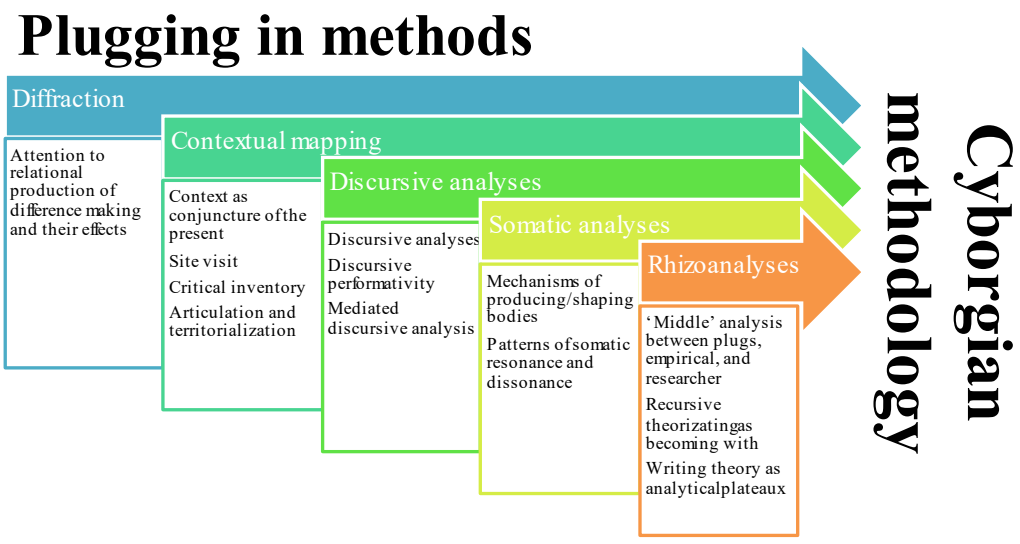
CHAPTER 4

Plugging In: A Cyborgian Antiracist Research Methodology

This chapter works through three major sections to describe my research methodology. This methodology operationalizes the posthuman cyborg figuration as antiracist response-ability, working through how this perspective reconfigures antiracism and answers my research questions. In the first section, I describe how the cyborg inflects and informs the research project as a process itself. I draw on the work of Jackson and Mazzei (2012, 2013) and their methodological approach of *plugging in*. This approach takes the posthuman cyborgian figuration developed in my theoretical framework (Chapter 3), along with the insights in the literature review (Chapter 2), as active elements that plug in to the research study. In other words, these groundings inform the contextual mapping of racisms in the site of Ottawa's Parliament Hill.

Figure 2

Cyborgian Methodology With Plugging in Methods Breakdown



The second section of this chapter discusses the specific methods I use that relate the assemblage of plugs from my posthumanist cyborgian theoretical framework and literature review: diffraction,

contextual mapping, discursive analyses, somatic resonance, and rhizomatic analyses (see Figure 2). Each method acknowledges the figuration of the cyborg, keeping its posthumanist, tactical becoming in focus. My methodology also builds in a nested framework from the literatures previously discussed. As a nested framework, I did not use methods sequentially, but throughout the research process as layers of analysis. I close this chapter with a section that comes back to the development my methodology and my 'critical acknowledgements' of the entanglements within my methodological decisions in this project.

A cyborgian Antiracist Research Methodology

My cyborgian methodology provides a grounded account of the production of entangled patterns of dominance and resistance in their "actual complexity" (Ang, 2011, p. 791). As Haraway (1995) states: "the cyborg is a figure for exploring these inventions [of dominance], whom they serve, how they can be reconfigured" (p. xix). This is because cyborgs are "wide-awake" (Greene, 1977, p. 121) to the methodological processes of their own becoming. Haraway's (1991) cyborgs become through "fruitful unions" (p. 149), making what constitutes "fruitful" (i.e., effects and approaches of connections as productive towards a specific ends) and "union" (i.e., the spatial production of relational connection) are at stake for cyborgs. Each connection, not only what connects and how they connect, such as tools of method, matter to cyborgs. How relations they are conceived to connect (or not), such as the approach to connection in methodology, also matter to cyborgs, precisely because these 'matters' are what come to constitute cyborgs themselves.

Saukko (2003) further informs my position by seeing methodology as a "wider package of both tools and a philosophical and political commitment that comes with a particular research 'approach'" (p. 8). Methods are the practical 'tools' to make sense of empirical reality (Saukko, 2003). In turn, the methodological approach (say what constitutes fruitful) and the tools for connection and articulation (the process of union) are not assumed, but openly what 'matters,' in the sense of their material, conceptual, and lived production. In this sense of their purposeful assemblage becoming, cyborgs 'matter' differently. It is this 'mattering' from a cyborgian onto-epistemic position that reconfigures antiracism (theory and

practice) to ‘matter’ differently in turn. Indeed Haraway (2016) explains, “the details matter” too, in that the details of these “matters” “link actual beings to actual response-abilities” (p. 29). It is in a cyborgian approach to connections where conjunctures and assemblages can be remade. This is also the process of response-ability, where “inventive connection [i]s a practice of learning to live and die well with each other in a thick present” (Haraway, 2016, p. 1; see also van der Tuin, 2014). Cultural theorist Lawrence Grossberg (2010) furthers this importance of connection in the process of transformation saying, for “it is at the level of conjuncture,” where relations meet, that “knowledge can be usefully and concretely articulated to political struggles and possibilities” (p. 40). This open acknowledgement of connection and relation as a means of enacting change requires an equally critical and aware methodological approach for which I employ Jackson and Mazzei’s (2012; 2013) methodology of *plugging in*.

Plugging in is methodological in the sense that it provides a specific orientation to my methods. It provides the means through which I approach the relationship of theorization in this project to answer my research question: How can cyborgian response-ability disrupt the mechanisms of racist cultural production? Plugging in also operationalizes the cyborg as theoretical configuration by attending to its tactical unions as a process of becoming. I elaborate on these aspects below.

Methodology and Method Matter: Plugging In

Jackson and Mazzei’s (2012, 2013) plugging in builds from Deleuze and Guattari (1987). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) use the term to conceptualize the entanglements of “arborist” (i.e., hierarchical and linear) power in technologies of book production (p. 4). Jackson and Mazzei (2012) take this position and employ it methodologically, emphasizing theoretical intra-action through plugging is a “way of thinking methodologically and philosophically together” (p. 261). They show this process by working different post-structural theories into a common empirical exemplar revealing how “knowledge is opened up and proliferated rather than foreclosed and simplified” from/through analysis (p. 261). Poyntz (2009) does something similar in their work, and plugs in Jacques Derrida and Marshall McLuhan’s theoretical work as “resources” (p. 146), towards developing differing understandings and

descriptions of cultural processes. Such as a process method is also evident in the works of many posthumanist feminist and anti-oppressive scholars like bell hooks1984) and Sara Ahmed (2017) as they engage specific theorizations of feminism to understand complex cultural processes for anti-oppressive theory and practice.

Plugging in therefore acknowledges theoretical elements are relational to the embodied positionalities of researcher who decides on the plugs in relation to the empirical. This process method is also openly contingent and emergent with what a specific plug can both reveal and obscure in the process of its connection. Consequently plugging in also acknowledges the conceptualizations of entanglement and assemblage from my theoretical framework and their inflection on analysis.

Through this relationality, plugging in provides "the kinds of cognitive maps appropriate to the complex nature of contemporary culture" but also allow for "putting levels of analysis in a productive tension" (Poyntz, 2009, p. 146). With this, Jackson and Mazzei (2013) remind that plugging in as assemblage

> isn't a thing – it is the process of making and unmaking the thing. It is the process of arranging, organizing, fitting together. So, to see it at work, we have to ask not only how things are connected but also what territory is claimed in that connection. (p. 262).

In this way plugging in articulates with the becoming processes of cyborgs as they strategically, fruitfully, become through organic-technological assemblages with – their bodies as the 'territories' of this becoming. With plugging in, cyborgian processes are operationalized in the methods of theory relating to the empirical as a process of creating "fruitful" unions (Haraway, 1991, p. 149). The cyborg is also operationalized through plugging in's approach to theory as a research practice. In this case, plugging in the theorization of the posthumanist cyborg becomes methodological, where the cyborg is not a formal or rigid tool or technique to employ *on* antiracism, but a practice, a theorizing of the relational connections, or territories, of the complex interactions of posthuman cyborg and antiracism with the empirical as research. Theorizing as a practice, is a way to "think with rather than a mastery project" (Lather, 2006, p. 50). In other words it encourages an on-goingness that is about the larger project of

transformation (Lather, 2006; see also Haraway 1997). This also operationalizes antiracism as an on-going project as it encourages further 'thinking with' in its approach. At the same time, it presupposes a cultural studies approach to theory.

Plugging In as Theorization

In cultural studies, theory is not "something that comes from on high: it is the (re)making sense of our stories so that they make sense to ourselves and others" (Davies, 1995, p. x). Theory is a "detour" "to help ground our engagement with what newly confronts us and to let that engagement provide the ground for retheorizing" (Slack, 1996, p. 114). Further, theory is a "resource to be used strategically to respond to particular problematics, struggles, and contexts" (Grossberg, 2010, p. 27). Analysis occurs in the middle of theory meeting the world (the empirical), plugging into it as it were, and producing (with) data. Writing is an assembled effect of this meeting; "the assemblage in formation" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p. 262). Plugging in as theorization aligns with Stuart Hall's (1980b) notion of articulation through its process of linking theory with the empirical that is not assumed or naturalized, but tactical and purposeful. Plugging in theory is a strategic, yet a momentary closure, "always inadequate," nonetheless helpful, to move understanding "a little further on down the road" as Hall argues (in Slack, 1996, p. 114).

Plugging in therefore articulates the cyborgian approach to the methods I deploy for mapping how mechanisms of racist cultural production are enacted on Parliament Hill. The plugs I deploy relate cyborgian qualities and are theoretical conceptualizations of processes of structuring power relations of becoming grounded in my literature review and theoretical framework. These methods foreground the spatial production of connections and mechanisms of power that organize to produce and/or rework connections and their effects as contingent wholes. They focus on the mechanisms of the cultural production of racism and antiracism with(in) relations as they appear in my exemplar site of Parliament Hill. Below, I describe each of the specific plugs I employ as layers that work together to form the cyborgain methodology of this study (see Figure 2).

Methods

Layer One: Plugging In Diffraction

In the first layer, I use the method of diffraction, drawn from Haraway (1992) and Barad (2007). Diffraction operates as a "wide-awake" (Greene, 1977, p. 121) and "comprehensive" (Arendt, 1973, p. viii) method to analyze racist cultural production and antiracist response. It is also attuned to a cyborgian becoming as a monstrous border creature. Diffraction looks for patterns of difference and difference making. It becomes a lens for how I map and inventory mechanisms and relations of racist cultural production in Parliament Hill.

Both Haraway's and Barad's use diffraction describe a method of 'seeing' that follows interference, breaks, and moments of resistance, as a means to relationally understand the larger social unfolding of processes of meaning-making in space-time. Diffraction operationalizes the cyborg's "slightly perverse shift in perspective" as Haraway (1991) describes (p. 154). This is because diffraction as Barad (2007) argues "attends to the patterns of difference" (p. 29). This mean diffraction reveals "not where differences appear," but "where the *effects* of differences appear" (Haraway, 1992, p. 300, original emphasis). Diffraction as a form of shifting as response "takes advantage of the optical metaphors" common to Western philosophy and deploys them to "make a difference in material-semiotic apparatuses" to "get more promising interference patterns" (Haraway, 1997, p. 16). It is in mapping patterns that we can "make a difference in how meanings are made and lived" (Haraway, 1997, p. 14) towards these "more promising interference patterns." Diffraction therefore keeps patterns of difference and difference-making in focus against and in relation to patterns of normalcy and common-sense that are produced through reflection, sameness, and universality. Through a diffractive vision, instances of interference/resistance/difference illuminate the constitutional organizations of differences themselves. Here, this occurs in the particular spatial production of Parliament Hill.

I inform this position on diffraction further with the analyses of everyday racialized dominance from previous work (Grant & Stanley, 2014; see also Grant, 2018; Lowe, 2010). These analyses

document and describe the interference patterns in the discursive productions of whiteness through a focus on moments of resistance as a *wallpaper*. As Foucault describes, "'resistance is the main word, the key word' in relations of power" (as cited in Doran, 2017, p. 55). Resistances reveal relations at work because power is not a thing but a relation, visible only as it is "exercised" (Foucault, 1978, p. 94). Thus, these analyses relied on relationally understanding and describing moments of resistance that stick out, bubble up, or 'flag' themselves (following Billig, 1995), as they pull at, sprout up, from the normalcy of patterns in and as everyday racialized relations. This leads to better understanding of, and response to, power in the production of racisms. Moments of resistance, as Stanley (2011) shows for instance, can be the act of surviving racist violence, finding other means of living in terms of avoidance, and/or active resistances in the form of social and cultural productions that draw overt attention to racist violence (see also Bonnet, 2000; James, 2007). These moments of resistance to racist violence (as the a/effect of unequal power being exercised) are in some instances overt and highly visible. In others instances violence "hardly recognizable at all, hidden beneath ideology, mundanity and the suspension of critical thought, where we have to look closely through the lens of theory to appreciate how a particular set of social relations is imbued with violence" (Springer & Le Billon, 2016, p. 1). It is this process that in collaboration with Stanley (Grant & Stanley, 2014), that we conceptualize as a wallpaper of everyday racialized dominance in cultural production. To recognize violence particularly in the everyday and in its banality, as a wallpaper covering the mechanisms of production, "demands attention" "from the multiple lines of flight and differentiation that are accumulated through culture, politics, economics, and social practice" (Springer & Le Billon, 2016, p. 1). Attention to such minute and overt violence and resistance, particularly within a complex space like Parliament Hill, occurs through a cyborgian diffractive seeing of processes of dominance and effects. Diffraction sees *through* or *in spite* of rhythmic naturalization. Diffraction therefore pushes this work on the wallpaper further, seeing not only patterns of dominance, but also patterns of resistance, and both at once, as they interact and *how they interact*, opening antiracist potentials for interrupting in the mechanisms and processes of production and in turn patterning differently.

A diffractive vision is much like seeing the wallpaper of everyday racialized dominance as a 'magic eye' poster. The whole image as a wallpaper shows the structures (hidden image with the magic eye) and the patterns at once, yet the hidden image is difficult to discern in the whole. With that slight shift in perspective in diffraction, the picture behind and within the patterns reveals itself: the outlines of a different pattern poke through. In this way, through diffracted vision, the rippling effects of disruptions and resistances begin to come to focus and produce a "patterned vision" (Haraway, 1992, p. 295) of those 'hidden' interruptions in/as the patterning and how they are produced through this bending of perspective. Indeed, Haraway developed diffraction as a tool for mapping the instances and patterns of these effects of difference as interference, not of "replication, reflection, or reproduction" (Haraway, 1992, p. 300; see also Barad, 2007). Diffraction is a method seeing the blurring moments, or intra-actions that "slip" as Hall (1997) would say (p. 5). Diffraction shifts methodological foci from engaging the politics of representation to the politics of articulation and relation, where relations are directly engaged in their constitutive connections and cuts, by seeing from both sides of difference in its constitutional and embodied production (Haraway, 1991, 1992).

In other words, with a diffraction method, a deep engagement with Parliament Hill is not to show how it is represented (what its representation *is*), or who represents it, as this makes inquiry and analysis about "the represented" which is "disengaged from surrounding and constituting discursive and non-discursive nexuses and relocated in the authorial domain of the representative" (Haraway, 1992, p. 312). A relational perspective from diffraction in my engagement with Parliament Hill looks at how and where instances or elements mark, position, and/or produce relations through my situated intra-actions. It provides a means of seeing/thinking through the organizational production(s) of the representation of Parliament Hill as one of the elements of antiracist response-ability, not simply a description of its representation. As Haraway (2016) argues, the organization of inclusions and exclusions/absences or "threatened absences" "must be brought into ongoing response-ability, not in abstract but in homely storied cultivated practice" (p. 132). Thus, diffraction offers a means of cultivating a practice of response through mapping of where and how dominance is relationally exercised upon and through the everyday,

in order to shift relations as an embodied practice of response: a response-ability. Diffraction appears in the analysis chapters as a description of *process of production* rather than its production – not its finished representation, as in an ethnographic deep description for example (see for e.g., Denzin, 1989; Creswell, 2002). Rather, diffraction follows the processes and organizational pattern of its becoming representation (research as the pedagogical *development* of an analysis/way of analyzing) that a cyborgian anti-racism can invoke.

Engaging relationality in the productions of patterns of difference and their effects is according to Goldberg (2014), a "more compelling mode of critical analysis regarding race and racism" (p. 251). He argues it provides a means of "linking of racial conception and racist expression constitutively to the colonial condition" (p. 253). Goldberg genealogically links this type of analysis to the likes of W.E.B. Du Bois (1903/1994), Ruth Benedict (1943), Franz Fanon (2008/1952; 2004/1963), Hannah Arendt (1973), Edward Said (1978/1994), and Stuart Hall (1980b; 1996) who have worked to document and describe the entangled politics of racisms in a variety of contexts. In this way, diffraction methodologically also aligns well with anti-racism as both are about developing the praxis of response, rooted in revealing, and complexly understanding difference and difference making as systemic relations and production (Dei, 2006; Donald & Rattansi, 1992). Kumashiro (2002) offers a further example in describing what he calls "citational practices" (p. 88) in the production of racisms in the everyday: the way repeated technologies of historical and discursive social relational organization form the relations of bodies to/with race in important ways. For Kumashiro, a shift in citational practices of relation is part of ending their historical repetitions (see also Stanley, 2011). This is not unlike Butler's (2014) argument for an engagement with performativity to end the restrictive repetitions of/in gender performance. Butler argues that is the very reciprocal relations of gender as a discursive category that catch or entrap bodily performance within 'gender' itself. Thus, diffraction aligns with established approaches to anti-oppressive research as well as the processes of cyborgs becoming a significant method in my layered cyborgian antiracist methodology.

Layer Two: Plugging In Contextual Mapping

I came to think, see, and write with the process of diffraction in relation to my empirical case through the conceptualization of *contextual mapping*. Contextual mapping is grounded in a Cultural Studies approach to context. Cultural Studies, particularly in following the British genealogy in which Stuart Hall is largely situated, does not work to situate a phenomenon in context, but rather engage in "mapping the very identity that brings the context into focus" (Slack, 1996, p. 126; see also Elden, 2001; Grossberg, 1992). Methodologically, Grossberg (2010) explains that contextuality becomes the means of "struggling to map" context: relating the "complex and fragile set of articulations" and the "various labors [sic] to maintain its ever-changing shape and density" (p. 42) as a conjunctural and territorial critical inquiry. The emphasis here is on the active production of *a* context over the description of an established context.

Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) distinction between mapping and tracing articulates the active production over description I engage as the method of contextual mapping. A map from their perspective, is like a rhizome,

> open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to any kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group, or social formation … A map has multiple entryways, as opposed to a tracing, which always comes back "to the same." (p. 12)

Mapping as opposed to the use of established maps (Deleuze and Guattari's notion of tracing above) carries different methodological consequences: it engages a process of 'making a map' rather than 'using a map' in this case, where mapping is a process of rhizomatic becoming, and tracing is a reification of structures of stabilization and control. Noel Gough (2004) directly links Haraway's cyborg as an entity who becomes through mapping. Gough suggests the cyborg offers a means to "question, provoke and challenge" that is critically responsive to the processes of tracing as dominance in knowledge production (p. 253).

Mapping from this stance is "a creative practice" that "precipitates its most productive effects

through a finding that is also a funding" (Corner, 1999, p. 213). This conceptualization acknowledges, as Crampton (2016) suggests, that "maps are both a product and an intervention in a distributed series of political knowledges" (p. 224). As Corner (1999) further describes:

> its agency lies in neither reproduction nor imposition but rather in uncovering realities previously unseen or unimagined, even across seemingly exhausted grounds. Thus mapping unfolds potential; it re-makes territory over and over again, each time with new and diverse consequences… [M]apping is never neutral, passive or without consequences; on the contrary, mapping is perhaps the most formative and creative act of any design process, first disclosing and then staging the conditions for the emergence of new realities. (p. 213)

It is in its development that mapping in relation to contextuality reveals the "relationships that have been made in the operations of power, in the interests of certain positions of power" (Grossberg, 2010, p. 21). Mapping through this contextually works at "producing a patterned vision of how to move and what to fear in the topography of an impossible but all-too-real present, in order to find the absent but perhaps possible, other present" (Haraway, 1992, p. 295). It is a method for finding the "roughest sketch for travel" (Haraway, 1992, p. 295) through the articulations and territorializations producing context as antiracist reponse. Critically, this process must be distinguished from colonial world-building to which map-making has been connected (see for e.g., Harris, 1997; Stanley, 2009), and engages instead the way contextual embodied spatial production is an active, on-going process. Contextual mapping as I employ it in this research project works to understand the very processes of spatial production of places like Parliament Hill and how racisms are entangled in those productions in order to discover means of actively engaging in embodied processes of remaking these spatial productions in antiracist ways.

Contextual mapping links to methods of articulation and territorialization relating the "how" of contextualization and not only or simply the "what" of context. In this way, mapping involves not only deconstruction, to parse out the elements of context and their productive articulations, but also reconstruction in the sense of producing a 'means of travel' as product of what the assembled effects of the context is producing (Grossberg, 1992; Slack, 1996). Articulations are the "whats" to record in where

they are but also *how they are*, as contextualization encourages mapping not simply the 'object' itself but how the object is contextualized: the articulating connections are privileged for understanding how current realities are lived, but also how they may be articulated otherwise. In other words, how context is produced through the *conjuncture* of things in where they are. As Bowman and Gottesman (2017) argue, context is "shaped by the history of ideas (e.g., race, class, gender, ability,), ideologies (e.g., white supremacy, meritocracy, heteronormativity and ablism), structures (e.g., federal laws and policies, capitalist modes of production and wealth accumulation), and processes (e.g., racialization, patriarchy)" (p. 233).

To this end, part of my analysis involved the actual noting of where things are materially within Parliament Hill. But this also means knowing what "things" to note in the first place; those "everyday practices" and those "key features" and "contours" that conceptualize, structure, and organize Parliament Hill's present (Elden, 2001, p. 115). Here, the theoretical and empirical elements from discussions of the material, conceptual, and lived aspects and relations of racisms and nation-states, along with spatial production plug in towards mapping of the material spatiality of Parliament Hill.

Descriptively this occurred in a recursive collection and analysis throughout the research process. It meant the assembling together of entanglements and then the parsing out of their articulating and territorializating knots; a writing up and a rewriting as the material and lived inflected upon the theoretical and back again. I draw on Ellis and Bochner's (2000) reflexive researcher narrative to situate this process. The authors describe "authors use their own experiences in the culture reflexively to bend back on self and look more deeply at self-other interactions" in this method (p. 740). The critical self-questioning and introspection that comes with this form is rooted in autoethnography. Although I follow the methods of critical self-inquiry and narrative that this method encourages, my study is not strictly autoethnographic. I do not center on my experience as in the method of autoethnography. Rather, I take the deep entangled ways a researcher's situated narrative experience can help explain and understand larger processes and relationalities from this method (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Beer (2013) characterizes this as a conceptual *folding back*, the double-move of intra-action where all elements within a dense connection are changed

in their connections themselves. Therefore, even though Parliament Hill as study 'object' was chosen in advance and my own research subjective position is beyond my ability to control, the "complex and fragile set of articulations" (Grossberg, 2010, p. 42), that are/were used to describe and bind these elements – Parliament Hill and myself in this particular time and space – are an entangled part of the project.

Mapping in Context: Site Visit and Inventory

As Lefebvre (1991) argues, understanding the complex assemblage of spatial production requires both a "thoroughgoing exposition" of concepts and their relations in the realm of theoretical abstractions with an engagement with "the practico-sensory realm" (p. 15). In other words, mapping the production of space of what makes Parliament Hill requires the co-constitutive plugging in of conceptual elements with those that are perceived with the senses, and lived through the process of their collection as research. Once again this draws attention to the need to acknowledge and situate researcher positionality in and with spatial production.

My engagement for this research project began with a physical site visit to Parliament Hill June 21, 2016. This date is significant as it is also the celebratory day of Canada's National Aboriginal Day. I admit that I did not plan to visit Parliament Hill on this day specifically. It was only in the course of mapping analysis that the day's significance became apparent. I discuss the significance of this day and its implications in my mapping within my analysis chapters. I restricted engagement to one instance of physical encounter with Parliament Hill to bind the continual spatial production analyses to a more manageable moment, and focus on the specificities of that particular engagement in their details. A single visit also avoids having to attend to the time-space changes between physical encounters. This embodied engagement with the site acted as a material cut, or territorial bounding, for the relational analysis of the other spatial elements (the conceptual and the social/lived) of Parliament Hill for the rest of the study.

To focus the diffractive lens and contextualization of this physical engagement, I developed a field guide that acted as a theoretical plug for documenting elements of Parliament Hill. This helped

frame an initial inventory (a method I draw from Billig, 1995) towards potential patterns of spatial production (see Figure 3; for full field guide, see Appendix A). The field guide focussed on aspects of spatiality highlighted within literatures on the production of patterns and mechanisms of dominance in the everyday to gather a complex sense of place within/as these patterns (Spencer, 2010; see also Relph, 1976).

Figure 3

Exerpt of Critical Inventory from Field Guide

Aspects for critical inventory:

The *people* within the site themselves (what they look like, how they are dressed, how many, where they stand, walk, interact with the site, etc.)

The *flow* of people within the site's grounds (how they navigate the site, what aspects are of significance through time spent in certain locations, what people take pictures of/document themselves as significant, their reading of information plaques, etc.)

The details and orientation of the *buildings* within the site (the architecture, placement and physical orientation of the buildings in relation to their surroundings, the open, closed or limited access spaces and to whom, tourist or general public information regarding the buildings themselves – where and how it is available, etc.)

The details of commemorative *statues, plaques* and *signs/written marking* on the Parliament Hill site (who, in relation to what, how they are represented artistically, positioning and placement of the people in the statues themselves, written information that may accompany the statues, where they are placed in relation to other statues and plaques and the overall site, the condition of the statues and plaques - well preserved, clean, worn, etc.)

The *grounds* themselves (the organization and flow of the site - placement of gardens, railings, steps, and fences, boundary markings, the flora and fauna – their type and visual condition, the pathways – both natural and constructed, etc.)

This was a critical inventory of people, flow, buildings, details of commemoration and representation, and aspects of the grounds themselves such as the organization of paths, placements of gardens, gates, and entries. With each aspect I developed brief descriptions and situating phrases from my literature review and conceptual framing in order to keep elements such as nationalism, racializations,

visual, textual, and mediated discursive productions and organizations of relations in active positions as I walked and engaged the empirical site (see Figure 3). These elements are not only elements from my methodology – the diffractive vision highlighting the places where relations break for instance – but also from the critical literatures – what types of bodies are patterned throughout the site, or in specific places. This also engages what elements of flow are bodies given in terms of producing social spatial relations from literatures on the spatial aspects of racist cultural productions from my literature review for example.

This task I organized through two stages: Stage 1 involved documenting the organizational and relational positionalities of the "fairly stable" elements within the space: "access ways, trees and shrubs, buildings, stores, street lamps, public telephones, and so forth" (Berg, 2001, p. 170). These elements become the initial tack down points of the contours of Parliament Hill. Indeed, which elements were "stable" and where, and with what effects, was an important finding in the patterning of dominance in the everyday I discuss most prominently in the first analysis chapter (Chapter 5). This stage also involved detailed notes on interactions during the site visit, photography of elements and their relations to these "fairly stable" elements that make up Parliament Hill.

Stage 2 in the field guide focussed on the digital relations of spatial production I would be further assembling in/with the perceptive aspects of Stage 1. This involved inventorying the digital productions from the same day such as Twitter and Instagram posts, but also acknowledging the representational elements that would further inform some of the perceptive elements, such as further descriptions of the statues and plaques from governmental websites (see Figure 4). Thus, the field guide acted as a reminder of the diffractive lens in contextual mapping and the elements that may be pertinent to the production of context in the site based on the literatures and concepts I was deploying.

Further, in my embodied engagement with the site, the cyborgian diffraction also encourages documenting traces of material, conceptual, and lived segmentation and partition in the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991; P. Wolfe, 2016). Again, mapping is not simply the documentation of these elements but engaging the process of their production. Therefore, I also documented elements that met or 'cut' (following Barad, 2003, 2007, and Bennett, 2009) at one another – both overtly manufactured (like

the iron gates meeting the sidewalk of the street), and those occurring through the rhythmic patterning of social relations (such as where the cement/stone paths were met with the dirt paths made by pedestrian patterned movements that could only occur through their repetitions in this particular space over time). I also documented movements of bodies of different kinds and the inter/intra-actions between them. This was an inventory of types of relations themselves: relations between peoples (such as tourists and Parliamentary officials), relations between bodies and material structures (such as my body and commemorative statues, or the pruned bushes and the clean edged paths, the grasses as the (back)ground for other bodies); relations between material structures and disciplinary ones (like the stone and iron gates and the surveillance cameras and the openings/closures of the space to control movement); and other entangled assemblages of conceptual-lived, conceptual-material, material-lived relations as an inventory of meaning-making.

Figure 4

Exerpt of Digital Inventory from Field Guide

Inventory of digital representations:

Keywords: Parliament; Ottawa Parliament Hill; the Hill
Same day inventory: Twitter and Instagram posts hashtags and key words
Location-aware searches (Twitter, Instagram as well as using integrated augmented reality browsers AcrossAir and NearestWiki)
On-going digital inventory:
online news sources (Ottawa Citizen, Metro news Ottawa, and the Ottawa Sun, Toronto Star, National Post and the Globe & Mail)
Tourist sites (TripAdvisor; Ottawa tourism)
More general digital representations (Google, Wikipedia; Library and Archives Canada; the Canada Public Works and Government Services Canada)

My inventory and mapping involved acknowledging my bodily cuts and entanglements (as I was the one doing the perceiving) as well. I kept my bodily movements to follow “fairly stable” disciplinary tactics of spatial management that go into and are part of spaces like Parliament Hill as a monumental space (Foucault, 1977; Lefebvre, 1991). In particular, I kept to the outside of the buildings, and walked predominantly on the stone/concrete paths, and within the spaces my body was authorized to enter/move

through. In a disciplinary and monumental space like Parliament Hill my body has limited access to some spaces – a human body required a ticket, invitation, or labour credentials for entry into construction or governmental spaces within the site that I did not have (Dance, 2014).

Getting to the Parliament Hill site, I walked to the site from Mackenzie King bus station. Walking to the site was a tactic informed by Lefebvre (1996) and de Certeau (2007) who both argue there is a constitutional tension in how the surrounding area helps mark the dominant centre in cities: Not only the city edge in relation to the country-side, but also the definitional edges of "downtown" or "centre-ville" in relation to the surrounding cityscape. Marking the cutting edges of what constitutes Parliament Hill from its constitutional outside other was also informed by a posthumanist understanding the production of ontological difference. This also draws from the literatures on racializations of space and spatial racializations that continually point to the power in how identities are contingent upon spatialized dualities in a productive tension (for e.g., Ahmed, 2012; Braidotti, 2002, 2006b; Haraway, 1992; Puwar, 2004).

Leaning on my field guide, I captured perceptive elements through photographs, QR codes links I scanned and uploaded on my smartphone, detailed field notes of the sounds, smells, textures, and visuals of my encounter. This type of visual and textual capture helped "to convey the subjective feelings, atmosphere, and dynamics of the surrounding cultural and social spaces" (Spencer, 2010, p. 69). As much as possible, I also contained digital articulations (e.g., web pages, Twitter, and Instagram data) to closely relate to the space-time of my embodied encounter, following a similar method from my previous digital case study work (e.g., Grant, 2018; Grant & Stanley, 2014). This involved making screen shots of digital pages and text in order to still their movement, as digital spaces shift and change perhaps even more quickly and more drastically that materially-based ones. Indeed, digital representations changeability is something a cyborg would rejoice over, though engaging this process I leave for future work.

These perceptive traces alone in their capture, break up and fragment the complex assembling production of Parliament Hill. Therefore, I arranged these elements back together using the digital presentation platform Prezi (see Figure. 5). This allows these now visual/textual elements to be

Figure 5

Screen Capture of Prezi Digital Mapping

networked, keeping their very assembling co-constitution in play for and in further analyses. It also encourages an emphasis on the production of space over the representation of space – these captures were not to describe the space as finished but become cues, traces, of how mechanisms of spatial production were actively functioning in producing Parliament Hill.

I began with relationally reconnecting my gathered elements into a physical spatial arrangement in order to parse out perceptive relational mechanisms of Parliament Hill's spatial production. A simple geographical map taken from Te-Sheng Huang in Stevens (2015) became the initial tack down to

reproduce the outlines of some of these ‘stabilized’ layers of spatial relations. The map traces urban technologies of spatial relations like roadways and smaller paths, building wall outlines, gates and fencing lines and breaks, as well as overt topographical distinctions of water and earth. Using this initial outline, I must also acknowledge the territorialization this view produces in mapping analysis: I am potentially reifying this ‘god’s eye’ view as a means of mapping productions of patterns of dominance. It is my own limitations of methods to deploy ‘better’ graphical representations, such as Geographic Information System mapping software (GIS). This software may allow for analysis to remain in tension with its position on/as the ground (see for e.g., Pavlovskaya, 2018). These dynamics I must leave for projects to come. They remain important elements for thinking through the affordances of certain digital technologies for antiracist response-ability that is active, embodied, and highlights the embodied on-going process needed for an antiracism digital application (Grant, 2014). Yet to keep my mapping relationally articulated in and with this geographical map, I positioned all of the photographs, notes, and hyperlinks/screenshots around the map (see Figure 5). I also layered in discursive elements on the physical relations, noting construction signs and barricades, along with the dotting of narrative plaques. There were many instances of directional signs for example, signifying spaces of entry/exit, walking, standing, looking, reading, listening. Further, I marked where I walked, spoke, listened, interacted, entered, and exited to attend to how my own body intra-acted with the physical site and my capturing of it.

I began to see assemblages of certain relational patterns and around certain aspects, using icons, colours (see Figures 6 and Figure 7), and size/zooming to give the mapping as much complexity as I could “muster” as Hall (2002b) would say (“Post war Britain” section). In other words, mapping the spatial assemblage of Parliament Hill was the emergent and cyclical process of seeing, relating, assembling, and describing as an aspect of antiracist response to the space.

Layer three: Plugging in expressive analysis

My spatial mapping also involved the collection and marking of signs and representational

elements within, and as part of, the site. I opened this inventory to not only discursive and visual representations, but also broader understanding of expressive elements of meaning making

Figure 6

Close up Exerpt From Digital Analaysis

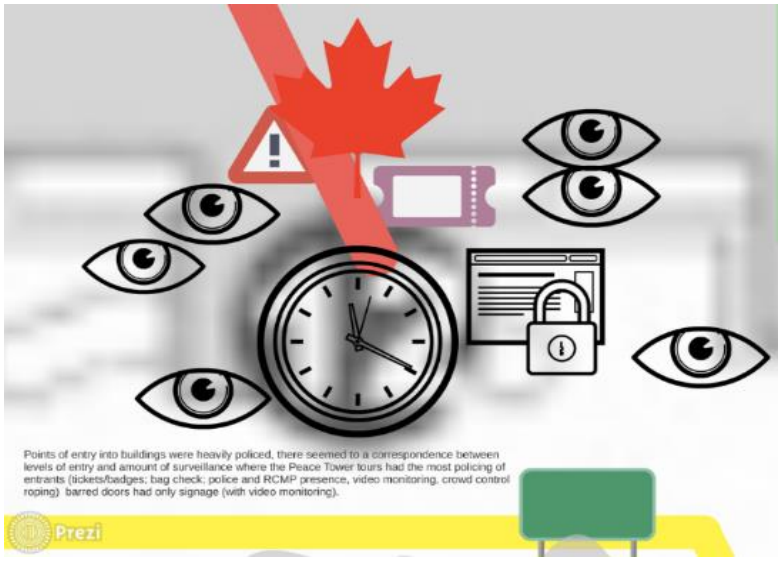
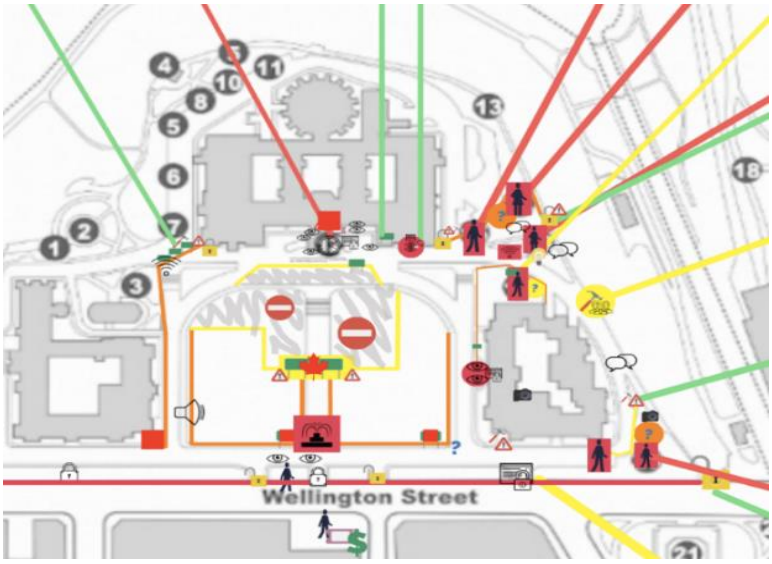


Figure 7

Exerpt of Colour-Coding Digital Analysis



following assemblage theory (Delanda, 2006; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Delanda (2006), leaning on Deleuze and Guattari (1987), suggests that human systems of meaning like language and representation

are specialized expressive entities within assemblages. Language is where expression hits a rhythmic threshold in assemblage.

To work through the expressive articulations of Parliament Hill as a spatial production, I conceptually drew on the insights of previous discursive analyses in relation to digital space (Grant, 2018; Grant & Stanley, 2014; Lowe, 2010). This work supported my documentation of the patterned configurations of conceptual spatial production and finding those rips and holes in patterns that may reveal the productive spaces of entry and resistance.

Michael Billig's (1995) work on banal nationalism is a fruitful resource for this methodological work. Billig inventoried instances that actively territorialized, reified, and reproduced, the taken-for-granted idea of the nation in the everyday of British newpapers. Producing this inventory Billig shows how discursive flags, marks, and pointing words were organizational processes in the banal continuance of nationalism and the nation state. Discursive flags (including literal flags in whole or part) rhythmically marked/pointed out/to the nation as short-hand (Billig, 1995). For example discursive representations of a maple leaf, Mountie, outlines of the landmass, or "the PM," 'flag' Canada the nation state. In their repetition, these flags make banal and common sense that nationalism is a dominant form of social organization and relation. Henry and Tator (2002) provide a poignant example of this type of analysis in relation to the Canadian press. Further, Billig (1995) shows that collective subject positions like "we" also banally pointed to and continue a particular assumed nationalized imagined community *as* the nation in particular. B. Smith (2015) and Stanley (2009, 2011) have shown these types of discursive collectivities consistently produce us-them binary relations that reify certain subject positions as naturalized or othered.

A similar methodological position is evident in Ibrahim's (2014) critical race ethnographic method of following *énoncés* (developed from Foucault, 1972): thematically describing the effects of moments of speech-acts in the production of racialized identities. Ibrahim describes following dense knotted moments of assembling meaning-making towards identity formation as rhizomatic becoming following Deleuze & Guattari (1987). In this work, Ibrahim draws attention to the notion that what is absent and present in these moments are the tensions of racialized identity formation.

Billig and Ibrahim's work show at once the methodological power of inventorying instances towards the theorization of patterns of dominance that are/continue to be naturalized (see also Stanley, 2009), but also how these naturalizing processes come to conflate and obscure the processes of their production and their effects through their banality (as argued of the wallpaper). These methods also show the way the assemblage of expressive elements is important to understanding the broader configurations of conceptual spatial production. So, the lack of requiring evidence because of naturalized banality (e.g., what is meant by "we") or direct signification (e.g., flags) also becomes evidence of dominance at work. As Ahmed (2016) argues: "the removal of evidence of something is evidence of something. And so: our evidence [of oppression, of dominance, of racism] is often of the removal of evidence" ("Evidence" section, para. 2-3). Ahmed's point is brought home in Billig's work, as he shows how the very removal of overt signifiers of nation like "Canada" and "Canadian" in signifying "The Prime Minister" for example, are part of processes of dominance in the naturalization of the nation-state and its collective subject(s): the terms don't need to be 'evident' in this case for 'us' to assume who 'we are' and which national head of state "The Prime Minister" refers to. And yet the overt marking of evidence – as in racialized *énoncés* from Ibrahim (2014) – is also evidence of something deeper at work in producing evidence to support something. Evidence becomes evidence of something else. Contextual discourses, in terms of those inventoried or announced in Billig and Ibrahim's work above, "may make visible that contexts shape discourse but they do not make visible how the ideologies underpinning discourse have been constructed and sustained" (Bowman & Gottesman, 2017, p. 236). Therefore, discourse analysis alone in relation to cultural studies' aim at contextuality is not enough to critically map contextual relations in space-time. Hodder's (2016) entanglement becomes conceptually helpful in deepening the power-laden effects of these processes, reminding of the strategic use of certain entanglements to produce meanings that may be part of spatial production.

Language and representation are entanglements of expression that enable meaning making through patterned form and substance of expression. At the same time they entrap meaning making into these patterns of expression as Barad (2003, 2007) makes clear. Puar (2012) explains, "signification [as a

system of expression] is only one element of many that give a substance both meaning and capacity" (p. 58). Further, it is important to note that Deleuze and Guattari (1987), and separately Bennett (2009), and Barad (2003, 2007) all point out that all elements are capable and do indeed express in assemblages, and thus this is not particular to human language, or to humans at all. As such I relate forms of expression like language and representation with the conceptual spatial elements of Lefebvre's (1991) theorization of spatial production. These include representations of space, like established maps, urban and architectural plans, but also elements within and part of the systems of language and signification like texts.

To continue to plug in this approach as an active element of assembled production in my contextual mapping, I follow Ahmed (2006) in seeing expressive elements such as texts as performative acts. Ahmed describes performative texts "as actions, which 'do things,' but [this] also suggests that 'texts' are not 'finished' as forms of action, as what they 'do' depends on how they are 'taken up'. To track what texts do, we need to follow them around" (p. 105). To "follow" a text or set of texts for Ahmed is to watch their circulation in public culture: "to see how they move as well as how they get stuck" (p. 105). As such, mapping the instances of conceptual spatial production of Parliament Hill involves not simply an inventory of the forms and instances themselves, but also attempts to understand 'how they move' and 'get stuck' as a sort of expressive performativity. Engaging the expressive performativity of Parliament Hill in its assemblage engages the mechanisms of its production over a description of Parliament Hill through its representative elements; it continues to emphasize the active power-laden production of space.

Ahmed (2006) uses interview data in order to engage with the social movement of texts, looking at how people "use these documents to support their actions" (p. 105). I map how texts (in more the cultural studies sense of texts as discursive cultural productions) might 'do things' to 'support actions' for other things/people/events in the production of Parliament Hill. So, I use Ahmed's method slightly differently in seeing 'movement' or 'sticking' in relational constitutions with other elements in order to understand the process of the assembling of texts as performative elements within Parliament Hill.

To do so, I pair Ahmed's methods with mediated discourses analysis (Wohlwend, 2014). This

form of discursive analysis looks to movement and stasis as relations between bodies and how discourse is 'taken up' and 'does things' with bodies. Such work has proven useful in discussions of texts in their more traditional understanding, but also for understanding meaning-making in relation to multimodal data (e.g., Dooly, 2017), cultural artifacts (e.g., Duffy, 2014) and material technological devices (e.g., Jocius, 2018; Wholwend, 2015). Therefore, the texts themselves are relational to each other in their movement or stasis as well as other elements that 'do things' including bodies and other elements of spatial production.

In turn, discursive analysis with an emphasis on its mediated form, is paired with material mapping of articulations and territorializations to understand certain spatial configured patterns and their effects. This is also to acknowledge the positionality and lived realities of human bodies, particularly my researcher body as 'diffractive eye/I,' as it is entangled within these dynamics. These elements largely appear in in the second analysis chapter, and the relations of the body came to form my final analysis chapter: mapping the very somatic relations in and with the discursive and the material in the production of the assembled whole of Parliament Hill.

Layer four: Plugging in somatic analyses

This layer plugs in the literatures on spatial-racial co-constitutions from my literature review, particularly Puwar's (2004) notions of somatic resonances and dissonances. Somatic resonances and dissonances articulate the ways in which material and discursive elements repeat organizations that come to 'resonate' or not with particular somatic positions and identities. To this end, a deep and careful inventory of somas revealed layers of living bodies (human and non-human, produced by humans, and 'natural' ones), movements (or not), and activities, as well as the traces and absences of movements and activities, as patterns of resonance and/or dissonance. In this perspective, Parliament Hill is a particular assembled somatic organization, but also made up of, and interactive with, other somatic identities and relations.

Deepening Puwar's (2004) somatic theorizations in terms of methods, I use Sullivan and Murray's (2009) conceptualization of *somatechnics*. Somatechnics was a term developed to describe the

processes in the "inextricability of soma and techné" they explain (p. 3). Following from Sullivan and Murray's insights, I use their notion of somatechnics as a key conceptualization of the methods of cyborgian embodiment. This occurs as a diffractive approach to embodied becoming. As they state, somatechnic analyses "queer order and good government, to bring to light the operations of power that shape corporealities and that are often so naturalized as to almost be invisible" (p. 4). Though I use the term diffraction and Sullivan and Murray (2009) use "queer," their definition of queer carries strong articulations with diffraction that I would argue make the terms compatible here. As Sullivan and Murray (2009) explain: Queer in their use is "a heterogeneous and multidisciplinary practice aimed at 'bringing forth' and thus denaturalizing the taken for granted, the invisiblised, the normalized" (p. 4). In this way somatechnics describes an "ethico-political critical practice" for relational positions of bodies and tools in recognition of the "doubleness" of the techniques in which bodies are formed and transformed as crafted responses to the world (Sullivan & Murray, 2009, p. 4). Therefore, somatechnics articulates a cyborgian method for engaging the relations and productions of bodies in and as spaces. It works through the specific ways bodies (human and non-human) and crafted techniques are reified and produced together (and the effects of embodiment of/as those relations) (Sullivan & Murray, 2009, p. 4). This also foregrounds a cyborgian onto-epistemology that connectedness is not unidirectional, it is co-constitutional. It is what van der Tuin (2014) relatedly calls "post-human interpellation" (p. 233). Somatechnics also highlights how bodies are produced in and through techniques of power that (re)produce racisms and other oppressions along with resistances to these processes (Sullivan & Murray, 2009). In turn, pairing somatechnics with somatic resonances and dissonances engages the mechanisms of production of bodies in space as well as the patterns of dominance that inflect on those mechanisms and bodies in their effects.

I organized these somatic aspects to engage the particularities of bodies and their productive relations in Parliament Hill in terms of human bodies, commemorative bodies, and representational bodies (like statues and Parliamentary officials, but also buildings, flora, and fauna). These elements were then marked in how material and conceptual elements were layered: where they met or diverted, and the

where and how mechanisms shaped corporealities, but also shaped epistemic and ontological cognates of these: notions like citizenship, belonging, and heroes, that are reliant on complex relations of somatic resonances and dissonances in their becomings and effects.

Layer five: Plugging in rhizonanalysis

The visual map I produced from and through the empirical engagement with Parliament Hill is not enough on its own to relate "how to move" as cyborgian antiracist response-ability (Haraway, 1992, p. 295). Mapping is a "tool" for "encompassing ideas" (Spencer, 2010, p. 72), but in order to act as a means of response, the ideas it encompasses must be relationally plugged back into a descriptive mode – they must be narrated (Berg, 2001). "We need better stories" Haraway (2016) refrains, and so the narration of my analysis enfolded within a cyborgian response-ability too: stories matter and what stories tell stories matter.

These processes required what my thesis supervisor, Timothy Stanley described as "finding [my] argumentative architecture" (Personal communication, 2017), in order to narrate the contours of response mapping revealed. I required a means of writing-thinking-practicing that remained in the 'middle' of the assembling plugs of analysis (Springgay & Truman, 2018), allowing me to "get lost as a way of moving" (Condon, 2012, p. 47). In getting lost, I engage "a new politics of reading" that kept the "critical intimacy" (Cary, 2004, p. 70; see also Spivak, 1993) of antiracist cyborgian elements that I plug into Parliament Hill in focus, along with how they folded back (Beer, 2013) with these elements.

Writing the analysis was an assemblage of thinking with as Lather (2006) suggests. It involved what Haraway (2016) describes as a "side-winding, snaky shape of becoming-with" the cyborgian diffractive contextual mapping of Parliament Hill (p. 119). This meant developing the "argumentative architecture" of my analysis that also took on the implications of a cyborgian antiracism: a way of carefully assembling together of the threads of empirical data, conceptual and theoretical tools, to 'narrate' and organize that data in a way that revealed further possible routes of antiracist response. I came to ground this process as *rhizoanalysis* (Ibrahim, 2014; O'Riley, 2003). O'Riley (2003), describes

her writing in this form of analysis as “plateaux writing” where conceptualizations “stutter” and “vibrate” in the middle rather than linearly plot out an argument (p. 18). Deleuze and Guattari (1987), whom O’Riley (2003) quotes as well, explain such writing as rhizome. Hence analysis writing in this way is a rhizomatic analysis or rhizoanalysis. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) explain opening their “book as a rhizome” thus:

> Each morning we would wake up, and each of us would ask himself what plateau he was going to tackle, writing five lines here, ten lines there. We had hallucinatory experiences, we watched lines leave one plateau and proceed to another like columns of tiny ants. We made circles or convergences. (p. 22)

My own analyses proceeded to show such “hallucinations:” assemblages of analysis in little paragraphs seemed to sprout up all over pages, paragraphs or sections, connected in analysis but not in narrative. In other words, writing my analysis did not occur linearly. It acknowledged the theoretical plugs that form the methodology. Namely, using the theories and methods of diffraction, contextualization and mapping, representation and culture, and somatics.

The diffractive lens maps moments of interference and difference making, which are deeply relational to the complex patterns in which they are situated. This means only in writing through the contextual surroundings that situate the mechanisms of interference could larger *patterns* of interference be understood. Thus, the analysis requires a method of writing that “circled.” This type of writing also followed the assemblage becoming and figuration of cyborgs, tactically piecing together material and technical components to form argument and significance. Further, theoretical and empirical analytical writing had to happen in the middle. These aspects describe the contours of rhizoanalysis and plateau writing as outlined above. As such, my analysis chapters have been designated as “plateaux” to reflect and operationalize these aspects of the analysis.

The insights from this analysis deepened my understanding of mapping as a cyborgian process of

becoming research in the middle and as entangled.[2] I had to let my empirical ants march. They formed three "plateaux" that became the three major analytical chapters that follow. The first plateau formed from mapping the relations of constitutional gates (Cohen, 1995), or cuts (Barad, 2003), that organize and produce the texture of dominance on Parliament Hill (Chapter 5). The material bounded space of Parliament Hill revealed the deep entanglement of human systems of expression that became the second plateau of my analyses (Chapter 6). And further, the material and the expressive were always in tension with the bodies that uttered, carried, represented or articulated these relations in particular ways, making the somatic elements of Parliament Hill the final plateau (Chapter 7). This is to say these are the threads I strategically picked up and attempted to map, not that these are the only processes in the spatial production of Parliament Hill.

In wrestling with the cyborg as the potential figuration for antiracism and as methodological figuration, I conclude by highlighting the particular interference patterns each plateau reveals to think back through the effects of my assemblage from a cyborgian diffractive perspective. This conclusion also engage the potential places of movement the analytical mapping revealed in each chapter specifically. I pull these aspects together to relate the paths of response and movement these methods and this cyborgian methodology have invoked in this study. In turn I engage my overall research question on the potentials of the cyborg to reconfigure antiracism for our entangled presents.

Critical Acknowledgements: Working the Limits

Operationalizing theoretical insights in a particularized context – Parliament Hill – necessarily implies a certain level of reductionism and containment "to deal with the complexity and chaos of brute observations" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 105). Yet, Lefebvre reminds "all reductive procedures are also traps" (p. 106). As such there is tension in containing complexity in and for the processes of research. Yet more

[2] I recall Deleuze and Guattari (1987) link directly the notion of the rhizome and mapping saying: "Unlike the graphic arts, drawing, or photography, unlike tracings, the rhizome pertains to a map that must be produced, constructed, a map that is always detachable, connectible, reversible, modifiable, and has multiple entryways and exists and its own lines of flight. It is tracing that must be put on the map, not the opposite" (p. 21).

deeply, Jackson and Mazzei (2013) argue: “a recognition of the limits of our received practices does not mean that we reject such practices, instead, we work the limits (and limitations) of such practices” (p. 263). As such, in part this analysis is “trapped” and/or “working the limits” in its methodology and methods, in my very vision as researcher (which includes my complex positionalities like gender, racialization, class, citizenship, age, ability), and the very instrumental task of doctoral thesis writing (Honan & Bright, 2016).

In “working the limits” of this doctoral thesis writing and analysis, I trapped my analysis in ways that seem to reproduce the very same relations I critique: they cut, bind off, weave in certain forms and not others, express certain elements as significant over others – the critical bearing of these relations is response-ability in methodology (Springgay & Truman, 2018). My use of Haraway’s cyborg, Deleuze and Guattari’s assemblage theory, and Lefebvre’s production of spatial triad are “reductive procedures” that “trap” complexities. They ask critical questions of the intra-actions I am engaging, but only ask them from their/my perspectives; their entanglements effect rhizomatic assemblage writing. I also territorialized the empirical engagements within certain layers of the assembling production of Parliament Hill as an exemplar and kept to a singular instance as empirical site visit. I cut some of the digital overlays as threads of data (collection, production, and analysis) to focus more deeply on the other three final plateaux within my analysis chapters.

I also had/have to acknowledge and “wrestle with” (Hall, 1992a, p. 280) the spatial production of Parliament Hill as my chosen exemplar and my always already conceptual ‘tracing’ of it. Before and during my analysis, established elements like having grown up in Canada, as “Canadian,” and Parliament Hill as the ‘heart of the country,’ inflect on my assembling analysis of what Parliament Hill *is* and how it is produced. I have for instance a general conceptualization of its geographical territory because of its physical proximity to where I live. I also have conducted previous inquiry into the physicality of Parliament Hill’s Centre Block building and ‘pop history’ narratives representations (Rogers & Grant, 2017), as well as surrounding spatial histories (McLean, Rogers, Grant, Law & Hunter, 2014). As such, I was not engaging something new, but something always already sedimented for me in knowledge and

material structures in particular ways. The sedimentations of Parliament Hill in literatures I describe in the opening to the analytical plateaux and directly following this chapter.

My own sedimented relations with Parliament Hill increasingly became of import as I engaged in mapping this assembled monumental space as embodied researcher (Ibrahim, 2014). It required navigating and un/knotting these sedimentations as I attempted to diffract my own patternings and common-sense. This also meant this research writing was diffracting my own positions and perspectives, and not those of others' perspectives and empirical engagements with Parliament Hill. Yet I acknowledge my positionality needs to be(come) unsettled as Kerr (2014) suggests. I am mindful of the *palace of mirrors* of somatic resonances Parliament Hill as a colonial monumental nationalized space may be reflecting (Puwar, 2004). This is a significant trap in my analysis. My somatic engagement comes out in the third analysis chapter (Chapter 7) as well as in the Conclusion (Chapter 8). The entanglements of lived bodies and the technologies of spatial relations became powerful moments of tension where dominance and resistance met. These meetings revealed instances for working the relations of difference that antiracism may take up as response or requires responsibility to such response.

More materially, in encouraging visual relations as a means of mapping difference and difference patterns, politics of seeing and the technologies deployed to do so, become potential traps as well. Much of my data collection involved the visual capture of Parliament Hill through photographs. Thus not only my embodied eye/I are significant to what and where I may see diffraction patterns, but how I see them through the field or frame a camera as a technology of enframing/ visualization itself. As Spencer (2010) cautions, "while the mechanics of vision have a biological and physiological basis, the way in which we 'see' the world is culturally ascribed, learnt, a process of recognizing and separating pre-determined categories and meanings from the visual array before us" (p. 71). A cyborgian diffractive methodology makes the tools deployed to 'see' patterns that diffraction can illuminate matter – including the very body doing the seeing, and the social, material, and conceptual technologies already layered into this seeing. Yet in this acknowledgement they are critical cuts within the development of this work.

It is for this reason that plugging in openly acknowledges the contingency and partiality of what

any plug may reveal or produce. In my use of a cyborgian posthumanist figuration, I endeavoured to keep such critical acknowledgement active and visible within the analysis and final production as it appears here. I therefore have called this section “critical acknowledgements” in the sense that I do not see the methodological approaches and methods used as “limiting,” as in the traditional title of “Limitations” in methodologies, but rather must be acknowledged in their assembling capacities and entanglements (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013; see also Hodder, 2016). It is with my situated and partial perspective that I have storied the mapping processes I produced along three plateaux that form the three major analysis chapters. These three plateaux form stories of a tapestry of dominance across and through spatial layers and reveal the complexities of productions of dominance as a texture of life: as it occurs, is produced, and maintained in Parliament Hill. Through such productions, these plateaux reveal important, indeed vital spaces of resistance, a complex yet navigable topology of response. It is this topology and its implications that I return to and take up within the conclusion.

I now turn to a preamble to my analysis chapters, the three plateaux. This preamble is to contextualize the empirical exemplar of Ottawa’s Parliament Hill. It is part of relating the sedimented elements for the analysis of the spatial production of Parliament Hill that follow. The preamble describes more deeply the contours of Parliament Hill as a monumental space and discusses relevant literatures on Parliament Hill connected to my analytical chapters.

ANALYSIS PREAMBLE

Ottawa's Parliament Hill: The Physical Site

Located downtown in Canada's nation's capital of Ottawa, Ontario, "Parliament Hill" is the federal parliamentary precinct housing much of the space for activities of the federal government. It sits on a rise of limestone cliffs that form a semi-circle embankment around the large and expansive grounds overlooking the slow-moving Ottawa river. The precinct is made of three major buildings or 'Blocks' – East Block, Center Block, and West Block. The expansive lawns also have many monuments and statues, historical plaques, and pathways for public touring of the exteriors of the buildings and the grounds. Tours of the site and some aspects of the interior of the parliamentary buildings are open to the public, but you require a ticket in advance.[3] There is also regulated public use of the open interior grassed areas for celebrations, demonstrations, and other public activities. "Wednesdays yoga on the Hill" for instance was a popular local activity prior to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Parliament Hill: The Monument to Nation Building

Much of the works discussing Parliament Hill and parliamentary spaces take their monumentality as common-sense and an inevitable part of national colonial progressive history and commemoration of national belonging (see for e.g., Moore, 2007; Payne, 2014). These works often make unproblematic how Parliament Hill and Canadian identity more broadly are entangled in a colonial project of dominance (see for e.g., Rogers & Grant, 2017; Stanley, 2016; Tobani, 2011).

Discussions of monuments and monumentality more broadly become important in these discussions. Monumentality highlights connections between visual representations and symbolic histories and ideologies in their material and visual forms for and in developing spatial and national identities, narratives, and effects (Lefebvre, 1991; Nora & Kristzman, 1996a, 1996b, 1998). Monuments are significant bodies to somatically articulate the institutional and governmental historical narrative yet also

[3] These were the contexts of Parliament Hill during my site visit. Protocols and public admittance may have changed since this time, particularly in light of the COVID-19 pandemic.

material manifestations of this narrative in place (Mitchell, 2003; Nora, 1996; J. Young, 1993). To this end, more popular engagements continually point to the significance of the monuments, plaques, and Gothic architectures of Parliament Hill (and the surrounding areas) to the historical narrative of Canada for its citizens. Moore (2007) describes Parliament Hill as "a constant," "inextricably linked" to "our" understandings of self as national citizens (p. 32). In a multi-part series for the *Ottawa Citizen,* Sibley (2010) describes the monumental statues that litter the grounds of Parliament Hill and Ottawa more largely. Sibley calls these monuments the "souls of the city," "reflecting who we are and where we came from" (p. 2). In turn, the production of the national 'we' is also an element in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. It signals the embodied and ontological layers that entangle with its conceptual relations that require further engagement in mapping the space.

Both C. Young (1995) and Bourrie (1996) offer detailed historical narratives of the architectural discussions that point to the intentional production of Parliament Hill as a monumental space. Their discussions are particularly focussed on the historical decisions around the use a particular architectural style. Indeed, the chosen style – Gothic style architecture – is a key element for defining the space's historical significance (Parks Canada, n.d.; Mace, 2015). Further, Browne (2016) and Mace (2015) both link this style to the articulation of a 'national style' of architecture throughout Canada and its governmental buildings. In focussing on the particular style as definitional to the space's meaning, these works show how physical and symbolic representations are commemorated and exalted historically and in the present; they are monuments to this history and national governmental development. Through their Gothic style, the buildings are also representations and physical productions of the purposeful importations of Europeanness as a particular nationalized representation for the space (Bourrie, 1996; Mace, 2015). Therefore, in mapping Parliament Hill, I am mindful of the entanglement of aesthetic and visual symbolic representations that are part of defining and producing spatial or place-based political culture and national identity. I am also mindful that the space was intentionally and strategically chosen and produced as a place of national identity and governance (Bourrie, 1996).

In particular, historical narratives relate the importance of the placement of the parliamentary

complex in Ottawa and on the 'Hill.' The rationality of government and the nation-state was documented to be embedded and reflected in the site's development. The location for instance was chosen in terms of strategic and geographical prominence, but also defensiveness and transportation access (Wilson, 2009). This means that Ottawa as a capital city, in which Parliament Hill resides, holds a particularly powerful position as well, articulating the 'central square' of the state as Foucault (1984) has suggested. Or has been described by many as the "symbolic heart of our nation" (Government of Canada, 2018, para. 1; see also Gordon, 2001; Leary, 1970). Production of Parliament Hill and its articulation in and with the capital city also continues the realities of a capital city as a naturalized and reserved space in which to nest a space of governance for nation-states.

Literatures on Parliament Hill and Monumental Spatial Production

Montague (2017) argues that monuments "function on two distinct levels: the affective or embodied and the intellectual or informational" though these are not necessarily directly connected (p. 227). For Montague, these processes reveal "the physical object of the monument creates a spatial knowledge or awareness" and "that spatial knowledge, which started out as affective or experiential, leads to a more concretized historic knowledge" (p. 227). Both the monument and any further media (digital or more textual like a plaque) make more significant the attachment of historical narratives to bodies in place. This means the spatial relations of bodies, histories, and affect cannot necessarily be disentangled. They become more meaningful, or more clearly articulated in their interconnections and entanglements as an assemblage. At the same time, the patterns of dominance continually entangled certain meanings in these relations over others, making certain messages of historical narratives and the place in which they are situated more 'clear' (Montague, 2017). Together they create a sense of value in placeness for historical narratives and meaning making. These aspects are reified through locative medias – including the monument itself (Farman, 2014).

Montague's argument also articulates with recent critical engagements with the effects of continuing colonial and oppressive monuments within public spaces. There has been a renewed

engagement with the way monumentality inflects on a sense of belonging in the present. This is not only occurring in Canada (e.g., Anderson, 2018) and in the United States (Demetriou & Wingo, 2018; Marsh & Saul, 2018, Jul. 16; Upton, 2017). It is also happening globally, particularly for previously colonized and postcolonial states (for e.g., Larsen, 2012; Levinson, 2018; Whelan, 2002). In Canada, debates on the removal of the John A. Macdonald statue that sat at the steps of City Hall in Victoria, British Columbia has garnered much media attention (see for e.g., CFAX1070, 2018; Farber, et al., 2018; Thomas & McElroy, 2018; Woo, 2018). The statue was removed at the request and insistence of Indigenous Peoples. They had to walk by the statue to enter the City Hall building; the meeting place for reconciliation work with the city. John A. Macdonald was not only a key figure in the development of the Indian residential schooling system (Miloy, 1991), but in the construction of the racist state system that excludes Indigenous Peoples (Stanley, 2011, 2016). The removal of the monument and commemorative figure from the articulated and connected space for reconciliation shows the deep ways monumentality articulates and a/effects somatic relations and the productions of social spaces. It also points to the way deterritorialization of monumental elements can carry effects for spatial production. The removal of the John A. Macdonald monument in Victoria for instance rearticulated spatial relations for Indigenous Peoples (Stanley, 2020) . These attentions to the particularly colonial monuments point to the on-going effects of monumentality in spatial production not only of national histories but for on-going racisms and antiracist response. In turn, the somatic and representational become pertinent elements in this analysis to understand and map the assembled production of Parliament Hill and its potential effects as racist cultural representation.

Parliament Hill is produced as a “consensual” production of an assembled identity (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 220). This is an assemblage identity of Canada the nation, its nation-building narrative, and its governance in space and time (Gordon & Osborne, 2004; Osborne & Osborne, 2004). This production ‘works’ by organizing State apparatuses and their mechanisms as it deploys them towards assembling this identity. Assemblage occurs through its spatial production in terms of the materiality of the space (how material elements are patterned to produce a territory of the nation-state), what it is meant to conceptually

articulate (the federal governance of a nation and its commemorative space of nation-building), and how bodies are meant to live its production of the nation and its governance in this place. As Lawrence (2001) explains: “Canada’s legislative buildings are not only the place of business of governments, they are also monuments to the social and economic progress of the jurisdictions they represent” (p. 13). As a site of national governance, monument, and place of labour, the site is also overtly entangled with the mechanisms of state formation. Recalling literature in Chapter 2, state formation has been directly linked to a *racist* state formation (e.g., Goldberg, 2002; Stanley, 2016). This means Parliament Hill is a prominent site for understanding the articulations of racisms in the production of place. More deeply, it makes Parliament Hill a site for engaging the entanglements of mechanisms of spatial production and state apparatuses in the reproduction of racisms in the everyday.

Contextualizing Ottawa’s Parliament Hill

Monumental statues of leaders in the development of Canadian governance are also a critical part of the larger space of Parliament Hill (Guernsey, 1986; see also Stevens, 2015; Stevens & Franck, 2016). They create somatic patterns for belonging, citizenship, and representations of the people who are foundational to Canada in particular ways (Puwar, 2004; Tobani, 2011). Osborne and Osborne (2004) as well as Gordon and Osborne (2004) make this explicit arguing the statues of Parliament Hill as well as those within the Ottawa downtown (Gordon & Osborne, 2004) create a “pantheon” of national colonial heroes and “landscape of power” (Osborne & Osborne, 2004, p. 35). The strategic positioning and representation of these colonial heroes is part of producing a “master national narrative” of Canada (Anderson, 2017, pp. 5-6). This is a narrative that celebrates and even makes spectacular its colonial conquest in Canada's ‘birth’ and the peoples who secured it (Anderson, 2017; see also Rogers & Grant, 2017). It has consistently been critiqued in how its production excludes and denies the historical tensions of colonialism, the seizure of lands and rights from Indigenous Peoples, and the contributions of people of colour and women from the development of Canada (Anderson, 2017; Rogers & Grant, 2017; Stanley, 2000; see also Gebbes, 2012). These critiques are part of critical work that engages how commemorative

public spaces, including the statues within such spaces, are powerful 'sites of pedagogy' (Anderson, 2017), for historical narratives of nation-building (e.g., Donald, 2009; Gordon & Osborne, 2004; Nora & Kritzman, 1996a, 1996b, 1998). Montague (2017) has argued for instance that "the kind of memory work that monuments are capable of generating has been greatly contested, particularly because the relationship between monuments and publics comprises complex interactions between place, materiality, and affect" (p. 226). Montague's (2017) critical insights further J. Young's (1993) more traditional discussion of monuments as national symbols. Montague highlights the way they are read in the present and not simply what they are intended to present from an authoritative position. This is also about how monuments rework spaces in material, associative, and affective ways.

Scholarly literatures on Ottawa's Parliament Hill have focussed predominantly on it as a historical, commemorative site of Canadian nation-building and governance. Book-length historical narratives link the physical production of the precinct building complex with uniting English and French colonial settlements into a singular nation under one governmental structure (Bourrie, 1996; C. Young, 1995). The designations of the Parliamentary buildings and the grounds as National Historic Sites also articulates this connective historical narrative (Parks Canada, n.d.; Federal Heritage Buildings Review Office, 1987). These elements speak to the emphasis on the relations between the perceptive production of Parliament Hill as a place and its conceptual production as a 'symbolic element' of a national community. In these narrative connections, Parliament Hill is a *place of memory* (Nora, 1996; Nora & Kristzman, 1996a, 1996b, 1998). A place of memory Carrier (1996) explains, it "fulfills a material, functional and symbolic role in society" (p. 431, note 1). Nora (1996) continues this means it "has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community" (p. xvii).

Complex material and symbolic links of a national place and its governance as has been documented by scholars in the United Kingdom (Puwar, 2004, 2014), South Africa (Waylen, 2014), and Canada (Gordon & Osborne, 2004). As Puwar (2014) notes of Parliament in the United Kingdom, the buildings are both monumental representations of nation in the physical and conceptual, but also spaces of embodied labour of producing and maintaining this place and the nation-state it memorializes. Therefore,

these histories encourage seeing Parliament Hill as an assemblage with complex conceptual relations of material productions of settler-colonial governance, the capital city, and the nation-state.

The 'public' lawns for instance are open for citizen protest and celebration, including the tensions of contact of protest meeting celebration (Geddes, 2012; Hammond-Callaghan & Hayday, 2008). The complexities of how such productions assemble Parliament Hill as a public national space, however, are not directly engaged. The buildings themselves are also sites of spatial tension: spaces where governmental labour (and human bodies doing this labour) meet with democratic responses to this labour (e.g., Puwar, 2004, 2014). This means as Dance (2014) posits, while Parliament Hill is "often a choreographed place, it is also a space for negotiated compromise and accommodation" (p. 171).

The aesthetic choices of architecture in the development of Parliament Hill and its buildings' art also prominent in literatures (Bourrie, 1996; Steinhauer, 2016; C. Young, 1995; see also Home, 2013). Bourrie (1996) and C. Young (1995) spend a considerable amount of time discussing the architectural competition to develop the buildings and politics of the decisions for the visual representation of the Parliamentary complex. Furthermore, work on visual aesthetics of Parliaments (globally) by Rai and Johnson (2014), Vale (2008), and Goodsell (1988) emphasize the importance of representations in patterns of architecture and spatial production to understanding the context and identity of Parliaments beyond simply for descriptive purposes or historical significance (see also Bleiker, 2009). This makes the representational "achi-textures" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 118) of Parliament Hill, a particular area of engagement in the spatial contextual analysis to follow. More specifically in the way physical and symbolic elements come together to produce spatial practice and inflect on the space as an assembled whole (Foucault, 1977, 1980; Lefebvre, 1991; Stanek, 2012).

The literatures discussed here point to the complexities of mechanisms for producing Parliament Hill along with the knowledges and historical contexts that inflect on its production as a monument of the nation-state. Yet the ways these tensions and mechanisms assemble to produce a spatial whole of Parliament Hill have not been directly discussed. Literatures on Parliament Hill remains largely fragmented along disciplinary engagements of history, social geography, architecture, and political

science. More deeply, the ways tensions and mechanisms in the assembled production of Parliament Hill may be reworking or folding back on authoritative historical narratives, somatic patterns, and material productions of a 'public' national space have not been engaged. These dynamics are important for understanding the complexities of the production of space along with the potential ways such production can enfold antiracist praxis. As Foucault (1980) argues, "nothing in society will be changed if the mechanisms of power that function outside, below and alongside the State apparatuses, on a much more minute and everyday level, are not also changed" (p. 59-60, as cited in Elden, 2001, p. 106). Therefore a "minute and everyday" analysis of how power functions in Parliament Hill – as a particular and complex (re)production of state apparatuses – with cyborgian insights can begin to shed light on how to change/interrupt/reconfigure these mechanisms in their organizational productions. They can reveal what is 'mattering' where and how in this particular spatial production. To do so requires in part following the "articulations of memory itself" which Nora (1996) sees as only approachable through "its divisions, its real or imagined community, and its symbolic fixations," and shedding light on the construction of representations and the formation of historical objects over time (p. xviii). To trace *all* of these articulations and divisions would be too tall an order for this project. I work through particular tendrils of these entangled articulations in the three analytical plateaux chapters that follow, mapping some of the territorializing mechanisms that 'make' Parliament Hill as an assembled whole in the context of my site visit.

These discussions become pertinent as the Parliamentary complex has been undergoing major restoration and preservation work of the three main buildings since 2002 (Government of Canada, 2019b). Indeed, at the time of my site visit, Centre Block and West Block were closed to the public behind construction barricades. These types of projects relate powerful moments of intr-action where past – present – future collide in terms of ideologies, spatial processes of production and relation, as well as provide evidence of the intra-active politics in spatial production of monumental spaces.

Flinders, et al., (2018) show in their discussion of the restoration projects of the Parliament of Westminster in Britain how institutional projects of rehabilitation are fraught with tension. Not only do

they become moments of opportunity for shifts in political policies, ideologies, and symbols, but that these opportunities are also met with "hidden politics" (p. 149) that attempt to still, stop, or evade the potential changes brought out from restoration projects. This is because Flinders et al. (2018) explain, changes are understood to threaten political traditions and positions of political parties in their disruptive rebuilding/restorations on physical and ideological levels. These projects involve what Dubé (2002) calls a "change management framework" (p. x), where old materials, symbols, practices and technologies meet current materials, political ideologies of commemoration: the practice of preservation and the articulation between new and old requires active 'management' to ensure the same assembled spatial identity is being produced. This management is evident in a cluster of work on the ways new technologies of digital imagery and mapping are being used for restoration and preservation of the Parliamentary buildings. They also point to broader trends in restoration practices that work at getting details of original buildings to their former 'glory' (J. Young, 1993), through the use of detailed visualizations and digital techniques (see for e.g., Fai & Rafeiro, 2014; Graham, et al., 2018; Thiell, 1997).

These literatures on the historical and political production of national and monumental spaces and processes show the symbolic articulation of Parliament buildings and spaces as governance, nation-building and monumentality. What is less related is the ways the visual aesthetic and historical relations of these monumental and governmental places are assembling with one another in complex ways and with other elements that make a Parliamentary space, like the grounds and surrounding areas. This includes the way the space is a tension-laden assemblage of public, governmental, labour, commemorative, touristic, and national spatial interaction.

These studies further show an articulation between digital technologies and the productions of spaces in terms of how space may be visualized, rendered, and reterritorialized in the face of environmental decay and representational slippages in/with technological interventions. Such insights become important for the acknowledging entanglements of digital technologies in the production of space, as they highlight the politics of digital technological visualization to reterritorialize space.

At the same time, these restoration projects have also draw critical attention to the grounds of

Parliament Hill and the land as an archaeological site of pre-contact Indigenous presence: Bone and pottery fragments have been found in the sand originally used for the mortal of the buildings (Boswell, 2018; Stokes, 2019). The articulation of Indigenous Peoples and their colonial erasure literally building the seat of settler-colonial governance remains an important tension to acknowledge. As does the way restoration as a form of reterritorialization opens spaces of engagement with colonial effects and histories.

These tensions make this spatial assemblage also a site of policing. They articulate territorializing elements in the interactions of citizens, the material space, and the parliamentarians and officials that are responsible for maintain the space (Dance, 2014; Fernandez, 2008). Indeed, such "compromise and accommodation" is also on the level of what a national 'public space' may look like, feel like, or mean, including how histories of such spatial conceptions and practices are inflecting on these elements in the present (for e.g., Crampton & Elden, 2016; Habernas, 1991; Parkinson, 2012). I take these tensions and acknowledgements into the mapping of Parliament Hill in their relationality to the territorialization of the space, its representational networks, and somatic processes in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER 5

Plateau I Active Fortification

In this chapter I engage the mechanisms and effects of Parliament Hill's material territorial production; how Parliament Hill becomes a place through perceptive, conceptual, and lived relational organization. Using a reflexive researcher narrative (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) of my site visit to Parliament Hill, I map the processes and mechanisms of production in several exemplar moments. These examples show how Parliament Hill's spatial production does not simply reify the settler-colonial fort following from Dwayne Donald's (2009) work, but more deeply actively produces a place of settler-colonial fortification through its territorial distinctions and organized relations. This organization works like an architecture – with form and content, through vision and material production. More specifically, this architecture of fortification works through a dialectical territorial tension and involves active policing of production and reproduction. It also involves a spatial practice that disciplines and enfolds bodies and matter to articulate its production.

Defining the 'Edges' of Parliament Hill: From Fort to Fortification

In *The Production of Space* Henri Lefebvre (1991) explains that producing a distinctive space is purposeful: monumental spaces like Parliament Hill are animated by a protective and enclosed spatial arrangement that works to ensure their overtly assembled identity. Lefebvre (1991) also notes that dialectical opposition of inside and outside through "thresholds, doors and frames" along with other dialectic relations like fullness/emptiness and exalted/obscene are key mechanisms of monumental spatial production that ensure this overtly marked space and its identity (p. 224).

The spatial arrangement of enclosure and overt borders and entries articulates what Donald (2009) conceptualizes as the *pedagogy of the fort*; it is common-sense to wall off, gate, and contain for protection as a means of defining a place, but also to make overt what is and is not part of the space being produced. And this common sense is purposefully dialecal towards the continuation of colonialism. In

this chapter I use Donald's theorization to argue Parliament Hill is not a representation of a fort as a distinctive space, Parliament Hill is an active space of settler-colonial *fortification*. The distinction in this statement is that Parliament Hill not only 'is' a fort and continues this pedagogy as Donald describes. More deeply it is that Parliament Hill continually and actively (re)produces and 'fortifies' settler-colonialism as its identity. It is this identity that forms its architectural organization. This is architecture in the broadest sense, encompassing all of the aspects of the space, including the lawns, paths, gates, and fences, as well as the buildings. Yet as an active process, the production of this architectural organization is on-going. This acknowledges Lefebvre's (1991) argument for engaging the production of space over its understanding as finished place. In this argument Lefebvre notes that mechanisms of spatial production are material, conceptual (representational), and entangle with the spatial practices of bodies. Bodies "animate" distinctions and relations that produce spaces (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 224). Therefore bodies are active elements in the architectural production of Parliament Hill. The complex entanglements of bodies and mechanisms of spatial production in their assemblage *activity* is what I add from Lefebve's work to Donald's conceptualization of the fort. This moves my discussion of Parliament Hill's spatial production to engaging it not as 'fort' but moving to engaging its active fortification. As such, in this chapter I use my researcher narrative of my engagements with the Parliament Hill site to theorize the on-going and entangled activity of producing Parliament Hill as a place of settler-colonial fortification.

Through the Gate: A Reflexive Site Visit

The day I visited Parliament Hill was a hot summer afternoon at the end of June 2016. Armed with my notebook, camera, and sunscreen, I blended well with the bodies of tourists who came to experience Canada's site for parliamentary governance and commemoration. Walking west up the sidewalk on Wellington Street towards the site, the contoured cement and stone railing of the bridge over the Rideau Canal changes to more ornately embellished stone and wrought iron. The visual difference in the stone as I walk up Wellington Street is overt. Two tall pillars hold open a large entrance gate, itself ornately decorated in different coloured stone and carved filigree. The markings of exposure stain this

stone black in parts and soften the edges.

The visual distinctions on the stone at Wellington Street mark that the stone wall is bordering a distinctive space from the street, but also from the rest of the city. The entrance gate also makes the spatial practice of entry *into* the space significant. I couldn't help but notice my passage from the street as I walked through one of the gates off of Wellington Street – East Gate. At the time of my visit, East Gate was one of three entrances along the stone and wrought iron fencing for foot traffic into Parliament Hill from Wellington Street.

As I passed the threshold of East Gate, I noticed how other options for human entry to the space were purposefully imposing: a stone and wrought iron fence at least two-metres-tall separates the grounds from the street and a steep embankment reaching down to the river is also bordered with fencing. Fencing, gates, and topography act as boundary mechanisms defining and distinguishing Parliament Hill as an enclosed space within the city. These boundary mechanisms also enforce the spatial practice of using the gated opening to move 'into' the space.

Dialectical visual mechanisms of territorialization like overtly marked thresholds are therefore part of the production of Parliament Hill as a distinctive space. More deeply, my own walking through the gate was a moment of noticing the entanglement of my organic mobile body with the mechanisms of spatial distinction. In other words, I came to notice my entanglement in 'animating' the production of Parliament Hill as a space at this moment. My body participates in the production of these mechanisms of distinction by *using* the thresholds: I was not only participant in a territorial and disciplinary process of walking through the gate in relation to other options for entry, but also reifying these processes with my very being.

As I walked further up the east most path, I noted the overt orientation of the fencing, along with the embankment wrapping around the other three sides of Parliament Hill's grounds. They visually and materially territorialized a geographical space in the shape of a half circle, making the space completely enclosable to terrestrial traffic. Indeed, the fencing at Wellington Street, known as the "Wellington Wall," is a means of separating "the lawns of Parliament Hill from the city street" (Bosc & O'Brien, 2009,

"Location and Disposition" section). Further, the placement of the three main buildings – East Block, Centre Block, and West Block – create a secondary inner half circle that opens towards Wellington Street, walling in the space as much with the tall gates and fencing, and the embankment, as with the buildings themselves. The buildings are also oriented so their front facades and main entrances face inward, opening to an inner space. This makes this inner space the focus rather than what these buildings are subtly turning against – what is outside the space. In this way the monumental spatial production encourages a tension of inside and outside through these perceivable and relational organizations of fencing, buildings, and their orientations. This intra-active production is not only perceivable at the Parliament Hill site but is also one of the named characteristics of Parliament Hill's official historical commemorative significance. As described in the heritage character statement by the Federal Heritage Building Review Board Office (1987) on Parliament Hill: "The meaning and heritage character of the complex depends on, and is animated by, the tension between its formal, almost austere, centre, and its rugged, apparently wild, periphery" (p. 1). This statement emphasizes the intra-action of 'outside' to 'inside' that marks out the identity of Parliament Hill: the dialectical tension of exclusion of growth of the 'wild' animates the 'austere' formality of the inside. Therefore, the very material orientation of the buildings, the presence of the tall enclosable fencing, and the tension of inclusion and exclusion spatially reproduce a fort. This is made more overt as these spatial arrangements are purposefully part of the security of the space, with the open lawns for visibility, and the 'layered' entrances within the buildings themselves (Parliament of Canada, 1999).

Not only is the material arrangement purposefully re-producing a fort, but this monumental spatial arrangement is also articulating and recalling historical narratives that the site was previously a military encampment known as "Barrack Hill, or Fortification Hill" (C. Young, 1995, pp. 19-20). In this narrative the site was chosen by English colonial powers partially *for* its 'protective' attributes in terms of topography and colonial military history. As the heritage statement from its formal recognition as a "National Historical Site of Canada" describes: the "three decades of occupation by a military garrison and the Royal Engineers" along with the "commanding location" and "fine uninterrupted views of the

region" were all 'selling points' for choosing this space for establishing the federal government buildings (Parks Canada, n.d., "Heritage Value" section). The historical narrative of the geographical location as a colonial fort recalls and assembles with the physical production of the space as I encountered it during my site visit. The space *was* a fort in the very literal sense and continues to replicate the perceptible spatial mechanisms of walling off and enclosure to continue this spatial production in the present.

Furthermore, even as the space is produced as seemingly open – with open gates to the street that I could walk through, open lawns and large terraces – the spatial organization reveals a controlled space. The gates at the entrances can be closed after all; the openness is for protective visibility (Dance, 2014). Inner spaces are the focus in relational tension to what is excluded. Parliament Hill is consequently *conditionally* open, open to a point, where moments of entry are controlled, maintained, and policed. These processes became increasingly perceptible as I continued through the grounds.

Fortification in action: Encountering territorial tensions of dominance

The more minute processes and mechanisms of fortification became increasingly evident as I walk farther up the east path of Parliament Hill. On the other side of the gated threshold, the space 'opened' to slowly sloping lawns. A statue of Sir Wilfred Laurier appears higher up the grounds on a wide low pedestal. An accompanying pedestaled plaque stands to the left on the edge of the stone path that leads upwards deeper into the bounded space. The commanding shadow of the East building (East Block) looms behind it. The opening of the space from the threshold accentuates the presence of elements like the building, statue, and plaque in the tension of the openness around them. I recall the open lawns for visibility is a marked aspect of protection in Parliament Hill. Yet, I note here too that these elements – the plaque on the edge of the path, the path leading upward, the statue and large building up the path – also articulate a particular flow to my body's movements through the space. They flag the social practice of engaging the site through a collecting of commemorative representations. They also show the way perceptive, conceptual, and embodied aspects assemble in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. I engage the representational aspects in the next Plateau (Chapter 6). The relational entanglements of the

statue with my mobile body I engage in Plateau 3 (Chapter 7).

In my site visit I continued walking further north up the east path along the fenced edge of Parliament Hill. The fence meets the dense lush brush that cascades down to the Rideau locks on my right (Figure 8). To my left appears a wood ramp leading to a mobile temporary construction trailer just out of

Figure 8

Photograph of East Path with Trimmed Tree at the Fence Line

view in Figure 8. Up the path there is also evidence of construction barricading. These elements are reminders of the large-scale restoration projects occurring on Parliament Hill at the time of my visit. Within the brush to the right in Figure 8, a large tree branch has reached over the tall wrought iron and stone fence from the embankment and into the path. Visible on the branch that overhangs the path are the scars of past trimmings of smaller ancillary branches. Also visible in Figure 8 is the brush trimmed below and level with the fence line. This trimming overtly maintains the sharp line of the fence, visually producing a solid barrier between the interior lawns and the tangle of brush.

There are several aspects in this recognition of the tree and the fence line that reveal the

mechanisms of monumental spatial production and the active fortification of Parliament Hill's spatial identity. First, there are the mechanisms that territorialize spaces through the production of a boundary, marking the distinction of spaces. The fence here is a mechanism for producing a boundary. The fence's difference is marked *to be* distinctive to ensure the production of Parliament Hill *as* distinctive occurs. But this powerfully requires bodies to relationally mark this distinction. The mechanism of perceptive distinction is part of the production of the space of Parliament Hill as *a* space. This is also something I recognized as I walked through East gate as described above – the thresholds mark the distinctions of spaces by making the movement between spaces overt. It is the *intra-action* of the aspects, the fence to the tree, the gate to the fence, the opening of the gate to my body, that produce the boundary and its distinctions. This shows the spatial production of Parliament Hill as a distinctive monumental space requires the perceptive dialectical form of entanglement in its territorialization: the tree and the stone of the fence are relationally organized to produce the edges or borders of Parliament Hill.

Yet this relational production of the border is uneven and has an organizational structure that naturalizes dominance in its territorial definition. The flora and other 'natural' elements like the stone become objects *of* territorialization in human systems of spatial production. Therefore, producing Parliament Hill as a distinctive place requires mechanisms to produce a relation but also requires elements to embody these relations; to "animate" the territorial processes as described in the heritage character statement for Parliament Hill above. It is this system that displaces the tree, brush, and stone from their own territorial production and re-places these elements with human produced systems. P. Wolfe (2016) cites these processes of displacement and replacement as part of imported colonial structures of dominance. As such, the mechanisms of perceptive definition entangle with mechanisms of displacement and replacement in producing Parliament Hill's spatial identity. Engaging the processes of these mechanisms shows the entanglements and naturalization of dominance, particularly settler-colonial dominance in Parliament Hill.

At Parliament Hill, stone has been brought to this place for the purposes of colonial establishment of the borders and buildings of Canadian colonial governance. The stone territorialized as fence comes

prominently from a now abandoned sandstone quarry in Nepean (a former suburb, now amalgamated into the city of Ottawa), where the remnants of these cuts are still visible on the sandstone slabs in the overgrowth (King, 2017; Lawrence, 2001). The cut stone is broken and hammered to produce the blocks and filigree of the fence line, becoming displaced from its 'natural' context and replaced as a mechanism of territorialization of Parliament Hill.

The cuts to the flora on the outside of the border also animate the border's production through the mechanisms of displacement and re-placement. The territorial processes of the tree and brush are 'cut,' and therefore dis-placed the moment they attempt to pass the border. In this displacement, the border is re-placed. The scars of trimmings mark the violence in these moments of intra-action. They also show there is a *consistency* of territorializing violence of these mechanisms in the production of Parliament Hill. The branch and brush were routinely cut and excluded from the space, marked, and marking Parliament Hill's inside in the process. Such productive systems of distinction through the violent territorial practices of pruning and fencing (as practices of displacement and replacement) as well as the conceptual relation of "apparently wild periphery," to the "formal, almost austere" interior (harkening back to the Federal Heritage Review Board Office's 1987 Heritage Character sStatement for the complex), show that systems of onto-epistemology are purposefully imported and organize the mechanisms of territorial production of Parliament Hill. They also show that imported onto-epistemic systems organize and inform the production and maintenance of its monumental identity.

The mechanisms of territorialization of Parliament Hill thus far show how its production as a distinctive space entangles elements as objects of territorialization, marking one space from another; how this marking occurs through a relational organization that is structured as a dialect of inclusion and exclusion; and how this dialectic is actively and consistently reproduced through violence. In effect, this means this territorial tension structured in dominance remains despite any shifts in the 'where' of the border of distinction. This is because it is the interactive and uneven power in the *relational organization* of the distinctions entangled in colonial onto-epistemology that territorializes the space of Parliament Hill.

The spatial production of Parliament Hill enacts and naturalizes imported colonial mechanisms of

dominance because there are no means of acting or being that does not enfold elements into its system. The tree on the 'outside' is as much a territorial element of producing Parliament Hill as the stone that makes its borders, or my own body that walks within its boundaries. Monumentality is in part about the totalization of all elements towards its singular identity (Lefebvre, 1991). This is much of the same process Arendt (1973) delineates as producing a texture of life that is linked to a particular ideology, as all elements are entangled into and territorialized to articulate this system, in turn naturalizing the system itself.

The consistency and totalizing organization of these mechanisms and the systems of onto-epistemology they articulate show the processes of Parliament Hill's spatial production also displaces and replaces at this deep and diffuse level of onto-epistemology as well. Indigenous onto-epistemic systems (human and natural) are displaced and replaced with imported colonial systems. It is these systems that organize: produce territorial boundaries through dialectics of violent inclusion and exclusion, and entangle bodies into continuing this production. In turn the production of Parliament Hill not only entangles colonization in its becoming through and with these imported mechanism and practices of spatial production, but more deeply reifies its processes in its continued production.

The displacement of Indigenous onto-epistemic systems is organized as the productive mechanism that relates the overtly distinctive space of Parliament Hill from the city. These processes allowed Parliament Hill to be designed and developed through and with European systems and mechanisms specifically. Historically, the designs and development of the buildings and grounds, went through careful consultation to ensure they articulated to British parliamentary architecture and ideologies, and were distinct from other colonial governing spaces like the White House in the United States (Bourrie, 1996; C. Young, 1995). They were to articulate a 'Canadian' form that showed overt connections to the colonial 'mother land' (Browne, 2016; Mace, 2015). In turn, the commemorative and everyday presence and production of Parliament Hill in and with these systems naturalizes and makes banal the effects of these mechanisms and processes. They show how matter is made to matter in producing and/or disrupting this whole, as Barad (2003) suggests. They also show how matter is

disciplined to continue the production and naturalization of Parliament Hill and its monumentality.

The production of a totalizing monumental spatial identity based in an imported settler-colonial systems of dialectical relationality and mechanisms of displacement and replacement is furthered through an *internal consistency* of entanglements and relations of elements within the bounded space of Parliament Hill. Returning to Figure 8, the assemblages of elements on each respective 'side' of the fence reinforce the distinctive spaces the fence relates. On one 'side' a human-produced, flat, open, and linear organization of architectural elements: the stone inlaid path, the straight uprights of fence and railings, the expansive uniformity of cut and softly slopping planted grass lawns. On the other 'side' of the fence, a tangle of dense flora of various shades and structures, seemingly random in its perceptive organization. The assemblage of elements on each 'side' territorializes the distinction of an unordered or controlled 'side' and manufactured and organized 'side.' Each 'side' is perceptively marked by the fence but given meaning through the assemblage of elements the respective side marks.

The wild outside and the organized inside act as "coordinating symbols" for territorializing the monumental space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 224). These coordinations continue a patterning of the distinctive space for enclosing 'civility' in relation to a 'wild periphery', but also of 'natural' elements propping up 'human' social spatial production in a distinctive hierarchical organization. This relation has been shown to be deeply engrained in European onto-epistemology (see for example Nimmo, 2008; Haraway, 2016; Williams, 1980). The effects of this specific mechanism of organization that cuts 'nature' and humanity articulates with the deplorable treatment of Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous Peoples have been historically territorialized as part of 'nature' and outside the 'civility' of a colonial British form of governmental democracy (Francis, 1999; Richardson, 1994). It is, as Saminaden et al. (2010) argue, a "cultural residue" (p. 91). This residue continues to inflect on representations and the embodied lives of Indigenous People.

This coordinated organization is morphed into exaltation in monumental space (Lefebvre, 1991), and as such the violence in this tension (historical and continued) is made innocent. The fence line is a space of perceptible territorial organization, where difference is marked to make a difference in this case.

In other words, the distinction of spaces to mark out the identity of Parliament Hill occurs through mechanisms of patterning relational inclusion and exclusion organized along a distinctive space itself – the border. In turn the border becomes a space of engagement – a space of response-ability.

Territorial Matter: Cementing a Monumental Space

Monumental co-ordinations and their consistency are evident in the way flora is territorialized on the 'inside' of Parliament Hill. The trees within the gated space, almost exclusively maple trees, are in this place to conceptually re-iterate a particular spatial identity. The maple leaf is a taken-for-granted 'flag' for the Canadian nation. It appears quite literally on the center on the official flag for the nation-state and its representation abound in Canadian iconography. The maple trees I encountered that were growing within the gated space of Parliament Hill were cut so their branches started higher than the average height of a human body and stood at proscribed distances from one another. Picnic tables and benches often appeared underneath them. The space of the maple leaves' shade and their proximal relation to the benches and picnic tables create spaces for human bodies. The trees themselves are therefore part of the assemblage of making a space for humans. The maple trees' leaves, as maple leaves, are more about their conceptual articulations to the maple leaves throughout Parliament Hill, rather than their abilities to grow as living thriving entities themselves. The maple leaf is a signifying pattern in this space (something I take up more in the next chapter). It would not be too much of a stretch to say 'other' trees are not authorized to grow in Parliament Hill, or growing in the 'wrong' spots or 'wrong' ways will mean they will be cut or killed. The cut tree at the fence line becomes the violent reminder to which I bear witness.

I had walked from East gate, around the back of East Block and across the wide circular drive that runs in front of Center Block. From there, I turned back towards Wellington Street along the roadway that runs parallel to West Block, tracing a "C" shape within the grounds. I stopped just past the closed ornate main central gates, and turned and photographically captured, as many others around me had done,

the expansive lawns and the prominent central tower – the Peace Tower – of Parliament Hill's precinct (see Figure 9).

Figure 9

Photograph of Centre Block Peace Tower and Canada Day Staging

As I walked around the grounds, I noted how stone embodies and produces the contained space of the fencing and the territorial border of the space. Many of the elements within the grounds were also made of stone like the paths and terraces, the buildings as well as many of the monuments within the space. Mapping these spatial relations shows how the monumental production of Parliament Hill is organized to produce animated relational tensions that naturalize the permanence of the settler-colonial Canadian state and its parliamentary governance.

Spatial Processes of Cementation: Temporal Layering and Spatial Tensions

The stone as object of territorialization points to the importance of recognizing how matter is entangled in the production of Parliament Hill's assembled identity and its naturalized continuance. It also reveals how this entanglement is a purposeful relational organization of temporal tensions that naturalize certain elements as Parliament Hill's identity. Looking back at Figure 9, I tease these processes out below.

In the foreground of the image (Figure 9), there is a free-standing poster, a human figure stands beside it, along with a smaller free-standing wooden sign relating the location and times to get tickets to tour the Peace Tower. Clumps of pylons are visible throughout, and a cacophony of signs hang onto the crowd control fencing that snake in front of the stage and up the sides of the central walkway in the center of the image. Construction trailers are visible in the background on the left side of the image, and two other human figures both frozen mid-stride, appear on the far right. A low wide fountain with a flame blazing in its center sits just right of the center of the image, and a booth is barely visible just to the left of the stage. Last, I must not leave out the backdrop of the stone building behind the stage (Centre Block), its singular central tower piercing the blue sky, the official Canadian flag, red blocks separated by a white central block with a red maple leaf in the middle, waving at the top. The flag is reified by the large image of the same flag (rippling as if waving in the wind and all) that banners the stage and appears as the backdrop on the poster.

Monumental space not only produces and maintains dialectic spatial relations to assemble its identity, Lefebvre (1991) explain part of its "beauty" is its very abilities to "seem eternal" and "escape time": "as appearance and reality, this transcendence embeds itself in the monument as its irreducible foundation" (p. 221). In turn, the production of monumental space requires matter that can embody both the "appearance" and "reality" of endurance, such as stone.

The buildings, paved walkways, terraces, and roads, along with the fountain evident in Figure 9, are all made of materials to remain established in its place through time – cement, stone slabs, bricks and mortar, and asphalt. These elements, like the sandstone Parliament buildings, articulate that their space

appears eternal through their stone construction. Yet more deeply, as the Parliament buildings embody the governance of the Canadian state, they articulate that this governance "may take place" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 224) 'eternally' as well. Further, the stone and asphalt walkways and roadways trace paths from the gated entrances to the entrances of the main buildings, around the perimeter of the grounds, and around the many statues and plaques within the area articulating that movement of certain tracings are also meant to endure. The paths reify that movement *around* the grounds is part of this more 'eternal' spatial layering, but movement in organized ways and in certain places: roads and walkways. Within Figure 9 above, the stone inlaid path leads up to the centre of the Peace Tower, drawing the eye and the body towards the building. In turn, the paths produce a spatial practice that organizes bodies' movement *through* the space of Parliament Hill and are largely disciplined to move towards the elements that are made and marked as enduring in the space. This organization reifies the importance of these elements as Parliament Hill's assembled identity as they remain in place. The movement of bodies is in relation to their enduring placeness. My photographic capturing of these relations, like many other bodies I witnessed during my site visit, also furthers this enduring placement as I produce a static representation of these relations in a photograph that animates the tension of my living body to the enduring representation of Centre Block and the elements in the image. It also reifies the representational endurance of Parliament Hill's particular spatial assemblage and entangles my body in the re-production of these relations: I take with me an enduring representational spatial production of Parliament Hill. In this way my body further 'animates' the monumental endurance of Parliament Hill, entangling my becoming in the processes.

This relational organization is furthered by the many bronze and stone human-like statues that stand in various locations throughout the grounds, and in their very materials (metal and stone) create powerful nodal connections as 'eternal' aspects of Parliament Hill. The stone and cement pedestals upon which they are placed, the many stone and metal plaques that are placed near them, and the paved walkways that surround them, further reinforce this foundational articulation. These are bodies that are purposefully produced to endure in this space in comparison to the bodies in blur, moving bodies like my own, that are transient, or visitors, to the space. It is the petrified human bodies that articulate to a more

enduring bounded space of Parliament Hill and hold in tension the mobility of living human bodies. The perceptive distinction binds a static, eternalized body to the space of Parliament Hill in these statues. The static 'life' is privileged over the 'lives' of active, mobile bodies. I engage these tensions and their effects more fully in Plateau 3 (Chapter 7). Here, these relational layers show how everyday patterns are worked into territorial and organizational practices that mark a particular bounded past to present space that networks with the physical/perceptual elements that also bind the space.

The stone, cement, metal, and asphalt are mechanisms of spatial 'cementation:' fused to the earth/with the earth in a way that naturalizes not only the space they make is meant to remain, but also the space in its relations to other spaces is meant to remain as well. These elements become spatially and materially productive markers that act as the proverbial 'bedrock' or foundation of Parliament Hill as a monumental spatial production; they mark out a 'base' spatial organization, or what Lefebvre (1991) would refer to as the "strong points" and "nexuses" in the webbing of spatial production (p. 222). It is these strong points upon which the more mobile and temporary elements are constitutionally related in the production of the spatial whole. Parliament Hill in this way assembles a monumental identity through a relational fixity in time-space (such as the stone walkways, statues, and buildings) and mobility in time-space (such as the movement of human bodies) that is overtly organized to naturalize the placeness of certain elements (their eternal belonging) and the temporality of others.

At the same time, this spatial-temporal organization is not a complete or absolute dialectic. Rather this organization shows the importance of ritual and repetition in maintaining the tensions of mobility and fixity of Parliament Hill's spatial production. Returning to Figure 9, the crowd fencing as well as the stage evident were made of a purposefully enduring element (metal). Yet along with the poster and the stage, their localities are not sedimented in space through time, even as they are constructed as artifacts or objects of territorialization that endure. These elements are expressly made to be put up and taken down. They are meant for producing and occupying a space for a shorter duration, and 'visiting' the space in some respects. As opposed to remaining in a particular location into an unknown future as the plaques, statues and buildings relate. The stage and crowd fencing are made to be movable, light enough for a

human body to move and change their location, whereas the stone building of Centre Block behind them is not. Once again this naturalizes the placed-ness or cementation of the building in its relational tension to the movability of the crowd fencing.

Further, the stage, fencing, and the poster are entangled with the conceptual articulation of the cyclical ceremony of commemorating the birth(day) of the nation state (Canada Day). It is in this entanglement they 'visit' Parliament Hill and intra-act with the assembled whole. This intra-action reifies the tensions of Parliament Hill's monumentality. The poster is marked with the temporal signifier "la fête du Canada Day" and "Spectacle du Midi" creating overt articulations to specific and established temporal spaces – day, fête, spectacle, midi (Canadian Heritage, n.d). The temporal space of inclusion and exclusion of these elements is therefore organized through the exterior and imposed segmentation of cyclical calendric time in relation to the unnamed duration of inclusion of Centre Block, for instance. In speaking about the cyclical moments of grand spectacle like Canada Day, Mitchell (2003) explains the "spectacle" "is frequently recoded through time, but always contains the interplay of the 'fixed:' monument, stage, building, flags or lights, and the 'mobile:' commemoration, ritual, marched, pageant, meeting, event" (p. 444). Mitchell points to buildings and the stage as equally 'fixed' here, though I suggest that these fixities are not the same time-space. Rather they relate more subtle time-space relations that follow a distinctive intra-actional layering of fixity and temporality. Though they maintain the organizational 'interplay' that continues to naturalize the most 'eternal' elements to Parliament Hill's identity.

The poster, also a mobile element, for the 'Canada Day' "Spectacle du midi sur la colline du Parlement" evident in Figure 9, and enlarged within Figure 10, shows nine images of individual or groups of human bodies I *assume* these bodies are part of the 'spectacle' in celebration of Canada Day, as it is not explicitly signified on the poster itself (observational field notes, June 21, 2016). Assembled with(in) the poster, these bodies are part of a transient layer. This is a different orientation than my own body as tourist because the materialization of them is only on the poster – itself a transient element within the space of Parliament Hill – and packaged as part of this singular day and time of celebration (signified a

Figure 10

Photograph close up of Canada Day Poster on Parliament Hill

"spectacle du midi" in particular). This packaging enforces their contained and temporary articulation with(in) Parliament Hill, and as bodies entangled in ritual spectacle of Canada Day specifically, whereas my own has no such overt fixity. They are therefore not meant to endure, as either these represented bodies on the poster or the material bodies as part of the "spectacle." They are organized as visiting bodies. Their bodies are representing the labour of ceremony that celebrates and naturalizes the nation and Parliament Hill as a place for such celebratory ritual. Yet, as these ceremonial rituals are, as Mitchell (2003) claims "recoded through time" (p. 444), their cyclical return is far from guaranteed, unlike the 'eternal' presence of the Parliamentary buildings as representative of Canadian federal governance. In turn in both instances, Parliament Hill as a national place and the banality of the nation-state of Canada as represented in this place are encouraged. The particular elements for naturalizing this spatial production differ, but also work together. These processes show both eternal fixed elements as well as more temporal and ritualized elements naturalize Parliament Hill's monumentality, but through different functions.

Some elements are “strong points” (recalling Lefebvre’s, 1991 formulation, p. 222) in maintaining monumental imperishability like the stone buildings, and others (such as the Canada Day stage and poster) are movable temporary performative rituals that animate the more eternal elements and cyclically reify the connections of settler-colonial Canada in Parliament Hill. Organic bodies are entangled within these processes and folding back on the bodies in these processes themselves. Such processes were overtly evident as I witnessed a grouping of three people on the open lawns in front of Centre Block and the Canada Day stage. The three people had around them a collection of artifacts along with a poster which read “Métis Day” (observational field notes, June 21, 2016). The inclusion of this poster closely articulated with these three people pulls at the Canada Day poster and the printed images of bodies linked to this ceremonial ritual of celebrating the nation-state. The poster brought in by these three people creates a space of celebration of a different nation-building narrative, one that pulls at and at once stands beside that entangled in Canada Day. It also shows living bodies as actively engaging in disruptive processes of settler-colonial fortification by creating space inside the fortified space of Parliament Hill to produce deterritorializing spaces rather than being entangled in reproducing the settler-colonial state as with the bodies in the poster. I engage the somatechnical entanglements of bodies in Parliament Hill more deeply in Chapter 7.

It is not only the dialectical relations of elements that animates the monumentality of Parliament Hill but also a signified patterning of their belonging in and as the assembled spatial production as well. As mentioned in the description of the image in Figure 9, the Canadian flag appears in whole and part on the stage in the center of the image and the poster the left, along with on the top of the Peace Tower. The poster and stage are also signified with the word “Canada” at least twice on both (observational field notes, June 21, 2016), assembling a powerful spatial production of Canadian territory in and as part of Parliament Hill, and these elements of ceremonial ritual as well. The flag on the Peace Tower creates a signified pattern between the stone building, the stage, and the poster, very literally flagging these elements in their link to the Canadian nation state (Billig, 1995) as well as each other. This marking shows how monumental spaces are also webbed through with purposeful expressive coding to articulate

an assembled whole space, such as is evident in the maple trees discussed above (see also Chapter 6). These elements are brought together precisely because they are all coded, or 'flagged,' with a signifier of the nation, and therefore represent or belong as part of representing the nation as well (Billig, 1995). All these processes organize things as eternal or mobile, along with the patterning of the Canadian flag to assemble them as a rhythmic articulation, reify and naturalize the space of Parliament Hill and its place as Canada and its governance.

In turn what "may take place" here as spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 224), and as a monument of and to Canadian settler-colonial governance is also the rhythmic naturalization of the Canadian nation state, and the ritual celebration of its birth; the rhythmic celebration on and in the grounds of Parliament Hill naturalizes permanence of the nation-state and its governance. This also naturalizes the processes of rhythmic reification through the cyclical calendar and the articulation of rituals of exaltation of the nation – like Canada Day celebrations – occur as part of this place. The temporal layers are therefore a purposeful organization that naturalizes Canadian governance and 'reality' articulated through its eternal elements and through rhythmic ceremonial rituals of celebrating its 'reality.'

Much like the dialectical "animation" of the "wild periphery" to the "austere center," the dialectical tensions of fixity and mobility, endurance and temporality also animate and reify foundational elements of the space and their power as "strong points" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 224) in its monumental identity. This relational organization is evident looking at the tension of the flag tethered to the central top of Centre Block. The flag shows its movement, waving in the currents of the wind from the West, yet it is connected and fixed to the Parliamentary building. These elements animate a tension between the immobile bulk of the building and the flighty soft waving of the flag. At the same time, the flag enfolds the signifier of the Canadian nation state in these tensions. It shows the mobility of the *imagined community* (see Anderson, 2006) of the nation state tethered to the immobility and eternal presence of its parliamentary governance and a geographical place. The assemblage of the flag atop the Center Block Peace Tower – the naming of which I work through in the next plateau – marks a tension that

territorializes Parliament Hill. This tension makes recognizable the purposeful organization of relationally mobile, transient, or changing elements to enduring, immobile elements in Parliament Hill's spatial production. As such, the mapping in this plateau has thus far revealed that Parliament Hill is produced through two mechanisms of tension: first the dialectical tension in the border, and second a relational temporal tension. The temporal tension cements the strong points for inclusion in assembling Parliament Hill's spatial identity. The diffractive view focuses on the effect of these tensions in their making: diffraction engages not simply where differences appear but in the effects of differences in their production. It is in the active production of tension as mechanisms of territorialization of Parliament Hill – that Parliament Hill no longer *is* but becomes. The next section maps the mechanisms of power that entangle in this becoming to continue Parliament Hill as a naturalized place for settler-colonial governance and monument to the Canadian settler-colonial state.

Encircling the Settler-Colonial Fort: Rehabilitation and Regeneration on Parliament Hill

As I walked through the threshold of east gate into Parliament Hill, I noted the stone fencing and gate looked old: stained and worn at the edges, dulled by the sun and exposure. Yet the stone of the fence also showed places that had been replaced – the stone was sharper at the edges and relatively unstained by the soot of car exhaust and other pollutants. My mobile living body, the stone fence in its marked endurance, and its patchwork of replaced newer stone create a tension-laden assemblage. As described above, my mobile body passing the threshold marks the threshold itself, yet more deeply, it also marks the immobility and endurance of the threshold. It is my body that moves, not the threshold or fence. The newer replaced pieces of stone on the fence and gate also mark the tension of slippage and re-placement required to maintain this mobile/immobile tension.

Figure 11 shows the perceptible distinctions of portions of the stone front fence that have been restored and replaced with newer stone. The stone fences have been (re)constructed to remain in space and through time in the same ways – to the point that portions that have eroded are rebuilt visually and physically in their place. This re-makes the border of stone fencing in turn. In the perceptible evidence of

Figure 11

Photographs showing worn and replaced stone on Parliament Hill.

the active reproduction of the stone fencing the deception of an eternal space of monumentality is revealed. It also reveals the importance of the territorial border to the monumental production of Parliament Hill – why remake it otherwise? The reproduction of the fence signals that the territorialization of Parliament Hill also reifies the colonial processes of displacement and replacement actively at work in its spatial production. My mobile body is continually displaced from belonging in Parliament Hill, and the stone fence as border defining the edge of the space it continually re-placed to ensure its continuance. Once again, these processes exemplify the spatial production of Donald's (2009) settler-colonial fort – continually marking out what is excluded and solidifying or cementing what is included and where the dialectic of difference is marked.

In turn mapping the processes of spatial production through diffraction shows Parliament Hill is an *active* production – It is the *production* of space over its understanding as already produced or naturally 'there' that Lefebvre (1991) stresses in mapping and relating spatial analysis. This production is

an on-going becoming of the colonial fort of Canadian parliamentary governance where its very placeness is produced by re-placing the border and strong points of its identity. In the next plateau (Chapter 6), it is the conceptual entanglements in these strong points that further articulate the settler-colonial placeness of Parliament Hill. Here, mapping the processes of re-placement in Parliament Hill's territorialization shows how these mechanisms and processes are not only to ensure the continuance of the colonial fort of Parliament Hill but also naturalize the processes of its continuance.

Recognizing the re-placement of the territorial border draws attention to the twin process of dis-placement in colonialism. Specifically, displacement of indigenous meanings and processes of becoming to re-place colonial meanings and processes. On Parliament Hill, the meanings and becoming of flora and fauna indigenous to this location such as the tree growing over the fence line are displaced, but also of the Anishinaabe Algonquins' who have ancestral claims to and with this location. The representative flags of this displacement I map in Plateau II (Chapter 6). Mapping the territorialization of Parliament Hill in this plateau reveals Indigenous meanings are displaced and replaced with imported European colonial meanings and practices in part through the continued activity of maintaining the fort; a fortification through re-placing its boundaries and strong points.

As I continued walking throughout the grounds, the active production of these processes began to bubble up more distinctly. As evidenced in the background of Figure 8, the stone path was blocked and was cut through by construction barricading, and in Figure 9, the evidence of active construction also appears through the barricading of the stage area, the orange pylons, and the scaffolding evident in the back portions of Centre Block. Further, as discussed in the Preamble, during my site visit there were major construction projects taking place on the back portions of Centre Block and all West Block, restricting my access to these areas. I did not engage these areas during data collection at the site or in mapping analysis.

These construction barricades marked the active process of a larger multi-decade "rehabilitation" project for the entire Parliament Hill Precinct (see Government of Canada, 2019b). The construction barricading, along with the sounds of various mechanical construction tools buzzing that reverberated

throughout the bounded space at random moments, signal the active (re)construction of Parliament Hill as a monumental space. Along with the more overt perceptible elements of construction, there were also poignantly more 'everyday' processes of production that are important to map and 'think with' (Lather, 2006) in the ways they become productive *for* the monumental assemblage of Parliament Hill. These processes show the systemic and totalizing processes of on-going production of Parliament Hill and the entanglement of human bodies and labour to continue these processes. Mapping these processes also shows how part of the labour Parliament Hill's spatial production is the erasure of evidence of this production.

Before meeting the construction barricade on the east path, I walked past several people in construction uniforms, sitting and re-grouting portions of the path I walked upon. As I passed them again upon making a second 'circle' of the grounds, they were vacuuming the dust and debris from their work, ensuring the portion of path upon which they had worked was reterritorialized with the path as a whole. If I had not witnessed their active work, the path would have seemed as it had always been complete and untouched, and the human labour linked to the continuance of the territorial path slipped from 'evidence' in this instance. Their labour, not unlike the projected labour of the bodies in the Canada Day poster, or the labour of unseen hands pruning the tree branch and bushes at the fence line, shows the spatial practice of "what may take place" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 224) here is the embodied reproduction of the place of Parliament Hill and its monumentality. Yet, the embodied labour to continue the monumental production of Parliament Hill is silenced, erased, or contained as evident by these construction workers removing evidence of their labour from the space. The removal of evidence is evidence of something else as Ahmed (2016) warns. Marking the labour of removing evidence, becomes evidence that Parliament Hill is being *made to seem not actively constructed*. It is further evidence that colonialism is not something 'in the past' but rather "continues as processes of cultural production through which power legitimizes itself by silencing the memory of its own unilateral construction, at the same time that it seeks to fix and re-fix meaning" (Stanley, 2009, p. 144).

Other evidence of the continued production of monumentality was not so easy to deny or remove.

The large-scale rehabilitation project bubbles up the veneer of an eternal monumental place in Parliament Hill. Yet in mapping the processes of production through diffractive attention to relational difference making, the politics of power in managing the processes of reproduction further reveal the deeply colonial processes of Parliament Hill.

Along the construction barricade in front of West Bloc were five large poster boards describing the "restorative" and "rehabilitation projects" that were occurring on the other side of the barricade (observational field notes, June 21, 2016). The posters showed detailed with architectural concept drawings, and photographs and provided descriptive text on the Rehabilitation Project. Having the posters perceptively hanging and being affixed to the construction barricade articulates a connective space between the construction and the rest of the Parliament Hill grounds. The wording on the posters faced inward towards these grounds and not the construction space showing that the boards were purposeful mechanisms of conceptual reterritorialization in the face of the perceptive deterritorialization. In other words, though the barricade physically cuts West Block and other portions from the perceptive space I could engage in Parliament Hill, the boards attached to the barricade perceptively (re)connect the rehabilitation project and West Block to the assembled whole of Parliament Hill through the visual and material connection.

The posters also articulate this connection through the discourse they relate. Each board was topped with the title "Preserving Our Parliamentary Heritage / Préservons Notre Patrimoine Parlementaire," but related a different subheading on each, starting with "The West Block Project," and then "A history of innovation," "Changing Times," "Steady as a rock," "Restoring our heritage" and "Face to the Future" (observational field notes, June 21, 2016). Even without reading further on these boards, these titles, much like the action of restoring the stone they link to, relate a careful territorialization of the "rehabilitation" on the inaccessible side of the fence to the accessible public space of Parliament Hill. These boards also link and fix Parliament Hill to a larger *imagined community* (following Anderson's, 2006, conceptualization) of the Canadian nation state and its what critical historican Stephanie Anderson (2017) calls its "master national historical narratives" (pp. 5-6). This is

evident in discursive deictics that banally flag the nation like the unqualified "our" and the assumed communal "heritage" and "face to the future" these projects are to embody (Billig, 1995; B. Smith, 2015). Again, Chapter 6 engages more deeply the expressive and representational aspects in the production of Parliament Hill. This moment, however, of standing in front of a construction barricade with these three large and colourful signs detailing the "rehabilitation projects" of Parliament Hill points to the way expressive elements are particularly powerful mechanisms of the policing territorialization in moments of slippage. Where the construction barricade visually cuts West Block from Parliament Hill and puts in tension the power of the stone fence to territorialize Parliament Hill, the posters re-place West Block in and with the narrative of restoration – a temporary re-placing to ensure a the strong-points – like the West Block building – are "steady as a rock" to "face the future." Further the posters show an organization of change *as* rehabilitation of the buildings that is always already articulating "our heritage" and "future" in its production. The buildings are not being torn down or produced anew, this is not a moment for lines of flight or deterritorialization. There is an organization already entangling a linear progress that continually articulates an essentialized and exalted beginning from 'heritage' to 'future,' naturalizing the colonial processes in this 'heritage' in the process. These boards also point to rehabilitation and restoration as *the* productive projects in and of this space. They contain the active monumental production of Parliament Hill to the authorized projects of nation-building and rebuilding of the buildings specifically. Establishing these processes as state *projects* carries articulations to the conceptual territorialization of this production as a state-sanctioned responsibility and reification, much like the project of schooling as Bruce Curtis (1988) has traced, or the racialized project of the state Stanley (2011, 2016) has discussed.

Each of these restoration projects have very strongly territorialized Eurocentric understandings of heritage as a singular notion the rehabilitation project is meant to preserve. They also show state projects are far from inclusive of the complexity and diversity of the imagined community they are signified to represent. The 'our' assumes a commonality between the author and the reader, naturalizing the community and history of these projects as common to both as well. These processes make common-sense that such reproduction of Parliament Hill in maintaining a relatively stable monumental identity is a

common goal, and a national production. These processes re-place settler-colonial histories and epistemologies in and as Parliament Hill and dis-place the Anishinaabe Algonquin histories and epistemologies in and as this location. The rehabilitation projects are consequently projects of continuing settler-colonialism.

The rehabilitation projects can be argued to be a relatively isolated example of the continued processes of settler-colonialism on Parliament Hill. The projects are contained to a specific time frame after all. Yet, I also marked more subtle evidence of consistent displacement and replacement of settler-colonialism in territorializing Parliament Hill. A grassy section behind East Block was bounded by a roped fence and accompanied by a sign reading: “Please respect regeneration area / S.V.P. respectez la zone du regeneration” (see Figure 12).

Figure 12

Photograph of "Regeneration Area" Sign on Parliament Hill

The sign marks several assembling elements. For my argument here, it marks a particular space,

an ‘area,’ specifically marked through a material territorial border of roping for “regeneration.” This ‘regeneration’ of the grass lawn in this case further shows the active reconstruction of Parliament Hill, but also one that hints to an unnamed essentialized assembled identity that is in the process of being remade. This grass itself is also not grass that is indigenous to this space, but rather a specific imported variety of

grass laid as sheets of sod and reseeded. This reveals that it is not only strong points of stone in the fencing and buildings that require labour in policing to maintain their territorial positions in and as Parliament Hill. The active 'regeneration' of Parliament Hill in the stone and the grass both require the continued processes of colonial extraction and importation – a removal of natural and native elements from one place for the construction of a colonial establishment as this place.

The territorial production of a specific place for regeneration through the roping off of the grassed area is also a mechanism of territorialization that excludes living bodies like my own; visiting bodies of the public are not part, or not to be(come) part, of the regeneration process of this area and therefore also organized as distinctive and in-active elements from the reification of Parliament Hill's spatial production in this aspect as well. My mobile body continues the tension of past-future for this regeneration to make sense and other bodies are entangled in continuing the processes of continuity that pivot on my mobile visiting body. Yet in both cases human bodies are entangled in the processes of Parliament Hill's production: The authorized bodies of the construction workers, and even the bodies on the Canada poster as well paid and skilled labour entangles them in the active reconstruction of Parliament Hill.

Poignantly, it is not the particular stone or grass that matters in these processes either, but rather how these elements are organized to matter as part of the assembled identity of Parliament Hill. Matter is organized and actively curated for continuing the same meaning for grass and stone from the past into the future. This organization of spatial production points to the careful and active policing of Parliament Hill's becoming that continues an articulation to an essentialized (though elusive) identity. There is no sure way to ensure the stone looks and feels the same across time, but there is the activity of producing the organizational and onto-epistemic rationalities that define it as stone that looks and feels a certain way as 'part' of what makes Parliament Hill a monumental space. This activity is precisely those processes of dis-placement and replacement as described above. This activity produces the relational tensions that territorialize Parliament Hill. As the heritage character statement articulated – it is the tension of center to periphery, and austere to wild, that "animates" its commemorative character and therefore signals as aspect of its essentialized monumentality. It is the tension in part that is actively being constructed over

and over again. By naming this tension as the commemorative quality of Parliament Hill also makes the colonial processes of this tension a commemorative aspect of Parliament Hill. In other words, processes of colonialism are not only active in producing and maintaining Parliament Hill through officialized projects of rehabilitation, consistent projects of regeneration, but also through continual projects of commemoration. Settler-colonialism is the process of production of Parliament Hill. But the actual construction of this tension, of colonialism, including bodies disciplined and entangled to produce this tension, is naturalized and denied. In turn Parliament Hill's production as a settler-colonial space is made innocent, and in these processes, also erases the way bodies are actively participative in its relational becoming.

The *organization* of change evidenced in the rehabilitation project and the regeneration area in this instance are important as it is not change that allows the chaos of rhizomatic becoming, but rather change that is always already in relational tension with an essentialized identity. It is signified as a re-generation, a project of rehabilitation, and therefore a reification of something already understood – if not named directly. There is a privileging of return to the same (Braidotti, 2002; Haraway, 1992) over an unguaranteed becoming in monumental production. There is also a bubbling up of the activity of this process itself by witnessing the moments and organizational processes of its reification, such as the stone being restored on the fencing and paths, and the production of particular spaces of regeneration within the grounds that denied the active and living becoming of bodies to intra-act with the space. In turn, part of the 'hidden' politics of restoration of this space (Flinders et al., 2018), it's precisely that its restoration is an everyday activity of maintaining overt territorializing organization and an assembled identity of Parliament Hill and actively working to deterritorialize this active process itself.

What hides is the active production of this assembling relational organization; it is common-sense and assumed that the material preservation of Parliament Hill, and by extension the preservation 'our' heritage occur and 'we' all agree, as if it were under threat like the crumbling buildings and fence, as if all bodies always already understand who 'we' in the 'our' refers to and what that entails (see Billig, 1995; B. Smith, 2015). In doing so, these projects and their discursive packaging naturalizes the continuation of

heritage in the future and how this heritage is spatially produced as Parliament Hill. It naturalizes Parliament Hill as part of a common past and an enduring element in the future in the same way the more everyday constructions and policing of its boundaries and spatial relations do. What becomes apparent in the mapping discussions above is the organized onto-epistemology of the spatial production of Parliament Hill overtly preserves the nation-state as a governing entity. It ensures the stone foundations of its governance in the perceptive reproduction of its buildings and grounds remains intact and articulated to its original production (i.e., through the descriptive boards). This legitimizes both its original production itself and the active process of its reconstruction in the closed territorial loop of preservation and regeneration. It is a recircling of the fort or refortification to ensure its continuance.

The mapping in this chapter reveals how monumentality is a technology of dominance in ensuring the endurance of the Canadian state and its governance and the particular assembled identity of the nation and its nation-building narrative. Parliament Hill as monumental spatial production allows for the endurance of its identity as fort, as eternal, as commemorative to be unquestioned and even exalted; violence of its production is naturalized and exalted, and the activity of its production is carefully organized or erased.

These processes reveal how matter and human bodies are disciplined to participate in the reification of Parliament Hill's monumentality and the reification of the nation-state. The tree at the fence line marks the edges of wilderness and civility but also reifies these distinctions, and the stone's visible re-placement articulates the continued establishment of the place of Parliament Hill. It also shows how the active reproduction of this place is to continue the *illusion* of an established place (monumentality at work) through regeneration, policing of change through rehabilitation projects; maintenance of territorial distinction despite becomings occurring around it, and becomings within are policed through a careful organization of change as reification of heritage.

The organization of spatial production through perceptive mechanisms of territorialization that invoke overt spaces and spaces between spaces texture racialized social relations and the official space Parliament Hill. In this respect Parliament Hill becomes a physical and conceptual monument to such

organizational rationalities and in turn reveal that these are not distinctions “in the head,” including my own, but ones that are embedded “in the world” (following Lichtenberg, 1998, p. 96) with *real* effects for constitutions of elements within and in relation to these demarcations. In turn mapping Parliament Hill reveals an articulation of the same spatial and social-relational processes of racisms, and without such acknowledgement the processes themselves continue as distinctive aspects and obscures the deeper texture of everyday life. I now turn to engaging the contours of expressive rhythms articulating and assembling Parliament Hill in the next analytical plateau.

CHAPTER 6

Plateau II Dialectical Relationality

The previous chapter describes how the production of Parliament Hill occurs in part through the strategic configuration of the space as separate from other spaces. I argue this separation is an active production of the settler-colonial 'fort' out of Donald's (2009) work. This production of the fort is organized as relational dialects of inclusion and exclusion and temporal tension that naturalize settler-colonialism in and as Parliament Hill. The processes of this organization follow mechanisms of settler-colonial displacement and replacement (P. Wolfe, 2006): displacing Indigenous meanings and becomings, and re-placing settler-colonial meanings and becomings. In mapping these processes, Parliament Hill is revealed to be an active production, not simply a representation of a fort but an active production of fortification as its assembled spatial identity. This production is on-going and entangles living bodies into and with its processes of production and organization. It is these entanglements that ensure its *particular* configuration as settler-colonial place is continued and reified in moments of slippage.

In this chapter, I argue the architecture of fortification continues in the configured patterning and arranged entanglement of Eurocentric and settler-colonial forms of expression in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. By forms of expression, I mean aspects of language, representation, and discourse. These aspects are themselves spatial assemblages, involving material, conceptual, and lived relations, and therefore I use *form of expression* to denote this assembled quality. A street sign is an example of an assemblage form of expression: it is material, it also employs language which is seen and interpreted by people with lived experience of that specific language to make meaning and to know the orientational purpose of the sign. It entangles bodies, histories, and materials to become a street sign as such. Alone, the street sign is an expressive assemblage, yet in a network of street signs and other signage as a form of expression, or expressive configuration, the entanglements and patterned arrangements of the signs are important constitutive elements in spatial production.

In mapping forms of expression and their entanglements, I am guided by Lefebvre (1991) who offers that "it is helpful to think of architectures as 'archi-textures'; to treat each monument or building, viewed in its surroundings and context, in the populated area and associated networks in which it is set down, as part of a particular production of space" (p. 118). I therefore work with Lefebvre's notion of archi-texture to describe the way forms of expression are patterned and entangled territorializing the spatial production of Parliament Hill. Specifically, these configured patterns network Parliament Hill as a Canadian place with(in) its surrounding context, where expressive patterning naturalizes Parliament Hill as a distinct place. Yet this expressive patterning also articulates it to the space of Canada in its geographic and representational locale. My diffractive mapping of the expressive archi-textures of Parliament Hill shows the organized patterning of mechanisms of relational exclusion, silencing, and displacement and replacement in the spatial production of a Parliament Hill as a settler-colonial place.

I map in this chapter the patterns of expressive configurations and arrangements of two particular mechanisms of expression: visual expressive mechanisms (where elements largely appear through visual forms of expression in/as space), and acoustic or sonic expressive mechanisms (in the sense of speaking and hearing forms of expression). I engage these forms of expression and their assembling effects for the spatial production of Parliament Hill through my reflexive researcher narrative of my site visit. I begin with the network of expressive elements that I encounter as I walk to the site of Parliament Hill. Mapping of expressive networks of Parliament Hill shows elements (including bodies) are purposefully entangled in the configured expression of Parliament Hill. These patterns also reify Parliament Hill as the central monument to the production and its continued governance as a settler-colonial nation-state.

Situating Parliament Hill: A Network of European Commemoration

Lefebvre (1991) explains in spatial production to signify with a specific system of language and with particular signifiers is to "give directions" and place by naming (p. 142). In other words, naming is to weave the grids of relations in particular ways that both articulates that particular meaning system, but also re-orients the network of spatial territorializations. Naming a material perceptive spatial production

(re)defines and contains the conceptual, perceptive, as well as the lived aspects of the territorial production. Naming binds spatial production in a conceptual association of place (Lefebvre, 1991). Ma(r)king a place makes the area more concrete, less abstract; placeness is a territorializing move (Lefebvre, 1991; P. Taylor, 1999). Naming is therefore a re-placement in the whole territorializing network of spatiality that (re)orients the assemblage within the expressive coding system of language. It is an act of representational entanglement with constitutional effects (Barad, 2003; Hodder, 2016).

In this way naming is an orientational mark in spatial constitution. For my mapping of Parliament Hill, the naming of the place as "Parliament Hill" is part of its spatial production. Yet the constitutive effects of its naming assemble and are inflected by the expressive networks of place-names in and around Parliament Hill. This means part of the production of Parliament Hill necessarily involves archi-texture in the "associated networks" of expressive elements like place names of the locale in which it is "set down" (Lefbvre, 1991, 118). Engaging the expressive elements through my reflexive researcher narrative, I begin here by mapping the expressive assemblage, with a focus on place-names that are "set down" to network Parliament Hill. Place-names are one means of engaging and making visible the diffuse wallpaper of dominance in spatial production. Place-name analyses is particularly helpful in deconstructing the naturalized connections of settler-colonialism as is evident by the works of Stanley's (2009) engagement with Vancouver, British Columbia, or B. Smith's (2017) analysis of street signs in Toronto, Ontario.

Getting to the physical site of Parliament Hill for my site visit, I got off the bus at Mackenzie King station. I walked through the Rideau Shopping Centre that brought me to the corner of Rideau Street to the east, Sussex Drive to the north, Wellington Street to west, and Colonel By Drive to the south. I turned to walk west on Wellington Street from Sussex Drive, up the slope and over the bridge that allows for a view of the final locks of the Rideau Canal below before the slack water canal meets the Ottawa River. The street names and landmark names I read and learned from my time living here in Ottawa. As a network linking to Parliament Hill, these names ring with a particular historical presence in this place: the names articulate to people and knowledges from European, particularly English and French, historical

relations to this area. This organizes and materializes the network of expressive elements in/with these bodies and their histories producing a pattern of European commemoration as the spatial network in which Parliament Hill is set.

Wellington Street, for instance, is named after the British Duke of Wellington to commemorate his role in the development of the Rideau Canal – itself a British endeavour to make a direct ship passage from the inland port in Kingston for more direct trade and supply routes (Legget, 1986). Sussex Drive is linked to the English royal the Duke of Sussex. Colonel By Drive commemorates the English military engineer most known for his overseeing of the Rideau Canal construction. Mackenzie King drive and Mackenzie King station are named for William Lyon Mackenzie King, the tenth Prime Minister of Canada (he is also commemorated in a monument on Parliament Hill that I discuss in Chapter 7). Thus far in mapping the placenames networked on my walk to Parliament Hill, English men of power historically and literally 'pave the way' towards the site.

It is not only English men who are linked in the network that sets around Parliament Hill. The European history of colonial settlement is also marked in "Rideau" from "Rideau Street", the "Rideau Centre" shopping complex, and the "Rideau Canal." "Rideau" is a French term for "curtain." The naming of these places with "rideau" commemorates the French explorer Samuel de Champlains's naming in 1613 of the distinctive falls where the river enters the Ottawa River. The Rideau River was a principal route for the Rideau Canal's development where a canal as an architectural element re-places a river as a naturally occurring element. In this way, along with the street names, colonial histories and languages network Parliament Hill in its locale.

Further to this point, of the names I encountered in the expressive network in which Parliament Hill is set, "Ottawa" is a significant layer, naming the urban jurisdiction and the river that flows at the north side of Parliament Hill. "Ottawa" is an Anglicized form of the Algonquin term *odawe* meaning, "to trade" or "traders." The term *odawe* marks the Anishinaabe Algonquin peoples who controlled the trade of the river (Native Languages of the Americas, 2015; see also Canadian Museum of History, n.d.). Yet the relation to the Anishinaabe Algonquin peoples who occupied the lands, and who embody the "traders"

for whom the area is named, are only faint at best in the shift of the expressive signifier to "Ottawa." The European tint on the name that has become common usage makes evident the colonial processes of displacement and re-placement at work. It is not the Algonquin term that is continued to describe the area in which Parliament Hill is set, but rather the colonized form of the term. This very literally shows the displacement and replacement of Indigenous expressive meaning systems for settler-colonial meaning systems. Further, the current name "Ottawa river" to the Algonquin is known as the Kichesippi (Stock, 2017), which is physically unmarked in and around Parliament Hill.

European histories, peoples, and systems of naming and marking like the street names, the canal, the bridge, the road, are also naturalized here and in the commemorative present. In the process, the presence of the Anishinaabe Algonquin and other Indigenous Peoples with links to this locale are dis-placed from the present and re-placed a long ago and distant heritage or silenced altogether. The present expressive network produces a pattern of commemorative expressions beginning with colonialism – all the expressive meanings not linked to this history are erased. What was and is this rise of land upon which we now find Parliament Hill to the Anishinaabe Algonquin I cannot help but wonder. I came to know through the course of this project that the Penoshway family of the Anishaabe Alogonquins have ancestral claims to the land where Parliament Hill is placed (Forrest, 2017; Saganash, 2019). My lack of knowing how the Anishinaabe Algonquins express this area and who may lay claim to the land of Parliament Hill, along with my own previous claim to call this area my settled home, are an assembled expression of my settler-colonial onto-epistemology. It is one that inflects on my mapping of the spatial production of Parliament Hill in all aspects of my analysis. Engaging more deeply with my embodied positionality is something I take up in the next chapter.

The Anishinaabe Algonquins have had long associations with the area now known as the Ottawa river watershed. In particular, the area just upriver from where Parliament Hill is placed holds a set of islands and a now dammed set of falls that hold deep significance: the *Akikpautik* (Circle of All Nations, n.d.; Morrison, 2005, p. 12). This area is also known as *Akikodjiwan,* meaning, according to Chuoq (1886), the "place where the water falls into stone basin whose rounded form resembles a boiler" (p. 31;

as cited in Morrison, 2005, p. 10; see also Gehl, 2018). *Akikpautik* or *Akikodjiwan* describes the once swirling falls that ran through the islands on the Ottawa river.

One of the Indigenous champions of the falls and surrounding islands' significance was Elder William Commanda of the Algonquin. Elder Commanda advocated, as Bisson (2015) documents, that "almost every Indigenous tribe in North America has had some historical knowledge […] and came there to gather for ceremony, sharing and exchange of good ideas" (para. 21). The islands at the falls were also the main portage route and place of passage to the more northern regions of now Ontario and Quebec, meaning Indigenous Peoples travelling through the region came through this area and held ceremony at the boiler falls for safe passage and to acknowledge the Algonquins who control the area. This also meant this route was introduced to early colonial explorers and traders.

Much like the reterritorialization of *Odawe* to Ottawa, *Akikodjiwan* is deterritorialized from the material area and now commonly known by the name French colonial explorer Samuel de Champlain gave the area. The falls themselves take on the French interpretation of the Algonquin name: "Sault de la Chaudière" or Chaudière Falls. C*haudière* meaning "boiler" taking on the Algonquin expression of the falls. The islands – Victoria Island, named after the British Queen Victoria, and Chaudière Island – continue the networking of colonial expressions to articulate the area, and the erasure of Anishinaabe Algonquin expressive systems. Yet the erasure of Algonquin expressive systems is not simply in the re-placement and displacement of place names. Like the processes of material territorialization, the processes of expressive networking around Parliament Hill are an active and organized endeavour.

Pilon and Boswell (2015) document for instance that there has been a consistent silencing by European and Canadian archaeologists to acknowledge the historic and archaeological importance of the Chaudière Falls and its islands. This silencing occurs through mislabelling or lack of reporting, despite recurrent archaeological findings of a "continent-scale" hub of communications and trade for Indigenous Peoples pre-contact with Europeans (p. 258). Silencing and displacement of these histories and the systems of expression they link to are the mechanisms that ensure and continue the pattern of settler-colonial expression that surrounds Parliament Hill.

What mapping the network of expression shows is how this organization as a pattern elides the way the very erasure of the Anishinaabe Algonquins and broader Indigenous histories and presence linked to the material area is a continual relational condition of the spatial production. The European meaning systems and histories signified and marked around Parliament Hill network and pattern together in order to produce and naturalize Parliament Hill as itself a European signifier of European heritage and conceptual relations. It also reinforces the networked archi-texture of the commemorative projects of historical narratives that they articulate: colonial exploration, industrial development in the form of the canal, sovereign governance in the British royal place-naming. These archi-textures, for they are material-expressive assemblages, also reveal that the production of patterns of dominance requires the relational silencing of histories and material productions to prop them up. This is the archi-textural structuring of patterns of dominance at work: organized relational othering that silences in order to make banal a dominant patterned spatial production.

Indeed, the very material-expressive silencing and containing of the falls themselves – now a hydroelectric dam providing power to portions of the city – quite literally expresses how Indigenous realities become re-placed resources for the production of the colonial nation-state (P. Wolfe, 2006; see also Lefebvre, 1991). The re-placement and silence animate the social activity and living of parliamentary governance and industry down river. There is also another re-placement in the stark absence of the roar of *Akikpautik* in the buzz of urban sounds that carry along these roadways named after British royals. This in turn is also a moment ensuring the patterning of settler-colonial industry, civilization, and the production of the colonial nation-state are not put in tension or made visible in their activity but naturalized and networked.

As such the network in which Parliament Hill is “set down” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 118), naturalizes a settler-colonial, particularly English and French colonial, commemorative place. In mapping this network, the mechanisms of its production became more visible. These were mechanisms of silencing and erasure of expressive systems of meaning that do not continue the settler-colonial expressive pattern. These mechanisms show an entanglement of systems of expression in the networking of the archi-textures

of Parliament Hill. The expressive systems of the Anishinaabe Algonquin for instance entangle with French and English expressive systems in Ottawa and Rideau. Yet the constitutive effects of this entanglement in the continued silence and erasure of Algonquinness from the area are naturalized and made innocent. The violence of the entanglement and the mechanisms it employs are also largely obscured in the present. It is only in diffractively engaging the slippages and moments of difference making like the markers of expressive entanglement in Ottawa and Rideau that begin to encourage a more complex relationality in and with the area and with the site itself. As such, in the next section I begin by mapping the expressive entanglements in Parliament Hill as a place name and follow by engaging the expressive relations in terms of the written and oral expressive elements I encountered during my site visit. These discussions further describe the importance of the patterned archi-textural network of Parliament Hill in understanding its own spatial identity and how mechanisms of settler-colonialism entrenched and continued to territorialize the governance and commemorative history of Canada.

What's in a Name: Expressing a Place of Federal Governance and Colonialism

Despite the importance of place-names for expressing the archi-texture that surrounds Parliament Hill, there was only one material sign that named the site within the grounds. The sign was placed at the Peace Tower entrance to Centre Block and read "Welcome to Canada's Parliament / Bienvenue au Parlement du Canada" (observational field notes, June 21, 2016). This placement of the sign meant visiting bodies who were unfamiliar with the place would have had to walk from one of the open street gates at Wellington Street all the way through the front grounds to see this sign. At the same time, the expressive network provides important markers for the identity of the place even without its naming.

Looking more deeply at the expressive elements of the sign – because I can read them – shows several important aspects in Parliament Hill's expressive production. Indeed, the sign marks an assumption that visiting bodies can read and understand English or French. I shall return to the use of these languages further below, but here it is important to note that it is only these languages that signified the signage with this place and my situated knowledge of both languages marks my settler-colonial

identity.

Marking “Canada’s Parliament” on the sign shows possessive qualifiers of parliament in relation to the state. This articulates the nation-state as the subjective whole that objectifies the land and the spatial practice of parliament. This also reifies the banality and realities of nation states as governmental and collective organizations. As much as nation states occupying space for governance and a capital city space in which to nest such a space of governance. In short “Canada” as expressive marker for a nation assembles within the rationalities of nations as real: “the world of nations will be reproduced as *the* world” as Billig (1995) describes (p. 93, original emphasis). In turn, other worlds are displaced to ensure this world of nations is placed and the expressive element re-placed in the material space through the sign.

The sign also shows a proper noun designation in its capitalization of “Parliament.” These marks and authorizes the signifier as a specific and established identity, not *a* parliament, but *the* Parliament. This is further reified and secured through expressive cementation. This expressive cementation is not only the material sign staked in the ground, but also occurs through expressive forms of authority and dominance. Authoritative expressive structures in the form of federal acts have been put in place to ensure “Canada’s Parliament” unique signified identity. As noted in the *Parliament of Canada Act* (1985) it is considered an offense*:*

> to describe or designate a property, place, site or location in the National Capitol Region described in the schedule to the *National Capital Act* other than the area of ground in the City of Ottawa bounded by Wellington Street, the Rideau Canal, the Ottawa River and Kent Street as ‘Parliament Hill.’ (section 80.1.a)

Therefore, Canada’s Parliament is authoritatively named and expressively cemented as “Parliament Hill.” By articulating and enforcing the statute in the *Act* above, and having governing structures that continue to legitimate authority of officialised government on this land and in this place, there is authority and legitimacy in policing ‘Parliament Hill’ to *ensure* no other competition or confusion over which locale, and which government occurs. Note too, that within the *Parliament of Canada*

Act mentioned above, it is the signifiers of the streets and the Rideau Canal that conceptually and perceptively define the space of Parliament Hill, literally bordering the space with European signifiers. This bordering is the conceptual equivalent to fortification.

The assemblage of these elements, the sign in its materiality, the use of the two European official languages to communicate the naming of the place, as well as the signification of the place as "Canada's Parliament" are acts of on-going state formation. This assemblage shows another instance of colonial processes of displacement and replacement at work in the production of Parliament Hill. All other forms of expressive authority and naming have been displaced. Through expressive entanglements like legislative acts and the material sign, the reality of Parliament Hill is re-placed over and over. Each expressive element reifies the reality of the nation state, its governance, and its 'placeness' in and as this site.

"Parliament Hill" as an authoritative, cemented expressive element, directly marks a material and geographical locale: "the Hill." The conceptual space of Parliament is linked directly to a material territory Hill that is itself bound – a hill, not a patch of earth, an acre, a watershed (all of these are also geographic markers which contain and conceptually limit material space to these conceptual and perceptive relations). In this way, calling it "Parliament Hill" relates the intimacy of conceptual and material in spatial territorial expression. At the same time, its bedfellow – "Parliament," further territorializes the "Hill," of "Parliament Hill." "Parliament" *qualifies* the hill: it designates which hill and the use or social spatial practice of that hill. This qualifier of use is packaged within human made systems of social relations – parliamentary government – entangling a European, particularly British form of governance in and on this hill (C. Young, 1995). It is not a hill for trees to grow and thrive – unless of course they are the chosen few maple trees that dot the lawns in particular places (I shall return to them below). This is a hill that has been designated and produced for the productive labour of federal governance in a form that has been purposefully imported into this material spatial production. This shows the relation between the naming of the space and the historical plan for the space from the naming. Mapping the mechanisms of production and relation further shows the entanglements of layers of history

and ideology that come with place-naming and that intra-act in its spatial production. In turn the settler-colonial fortification of Parliament Hill is not simply perceptively material but also discursive, organized through expressive entanglements that control and police its organization and assembling network. In the next section through my reflexive researcher narrative, I map the expressive textures within the territory of Parliament Hill to reveal the continuation of the network of European commemoration as a dominant expressive patterning. Yet more deeply the expressive assemblage of Parliament Hill from and in this network is a wallpaper of a naturalized Eurocentric and settler-colonial expressive spatial production occurring through strategic entanglements of visual and aural forms of expression.

Archi-textures in Parliament Hill: Centering Parliament Through Expressive Patterning

In walking the grounds, the juxtaposition of the imposing tall, heavy buildings and the low open lawns along with the expanse of the sky produced a prominent architectural arrangement. Though I did not have access to the full grounds during my visit because of the active construction project occurring at the time, the overall placements of the three buildings nonetheless creates a particular production of space. Centre Block stands in the axial centre of the bounded grounds, appropriately both other Blocks are positioned on its east and west sides. This central positionality is enforced as Centre Block is also placed on the top of a sloping hill, where the Peace Tower, in the building's front and center, acts as Parliament Hill's visual apex, the highest and most prominent visual point of the Hill. In turn, Centre Block visually, geographically, and linguistically relates to the centre of Parliament Hill. It is a distinctive configuration that privileges the Peace Tower as a central focal point. The location of the Canada Day stage also centered in front of Centre Block during my site visit, replicating this scene as the Peace Tower projects into the air behind it, casting its shadow and looming presence, becoming the living backdrop to the ritual celebration of the Canadian nation-state (see Figure 9).

The centrality and singularity of Parliament Hill as spatial monument to the nation-state is made further evident by its visual command of the urban area that surrounds it. As Chianello (2017) describes in an article regarding construction and the push back on plans for a 55-storey condo building for nearby

LeBreton Flats, “the sight of Centre Block, with the Canadian flag fluttering at the tip of the Peace Tower is the iconic symbol of democracy in Canada” (Chianello, 2017, “‘The image that sells Ottawa’” section). Urban developer Robert Allsopp in the same articles relates “That’s the image that sells Ottawa, … [so]…we have to be careful how we develop around it” (as cited in Chianello, 2017, “‘The image that sells Ottawa’” section; see also National Capital Commission, 2007). This is to ensure no other buildings obscure its visual, its expressive, and lived dominance in the network in which it is set. Therefore, the surrounding archi-texture ensures Parliament Hill’s expressive placement is centralized, where the texture follows *from* Parliament Hill as focal point. Parliament Hill is a dominant expressive of Ottawa (the capital) and of Canada and its federal governance. Indeed, the expressive emphasis of Parliament Hill as a monument and symbol is not only networked in the material arrangements and the archi-texture they encourage, but also articulated through commemorative statements that remark these arrangements. The Heritage Character Statement on the Parliament Buildings from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (2007) appropriately describes:

> The Parliament Buildings play an important symbolic role as the physical embodiment of the Canadian government. This symbolism is most visually manifest in the exterior image of the Centre Block and its Peace Tower, yet the whole grouping is clearly identified with the nation’s capital, particularly because it is not an architectural image developed elsewhere in the country. (“Hertiage Value” section).

In turn, expressive forms entangle to produce not simply a monument to Canadian governance but a monument to Canada in Parliament Hill. Parliament Hill is surrounded by supportive expressions of colonialism and linked as an expression of the settler-colonial nation state, naturalizing this expressive texture through patterning.

The expressive configurations in the spatial production of Parliament Hill show the way the relational repression of other spatial histories and organizations animates the living production of Parliament Hill in the present. These arrangements also encourage its centrality as expressive signifier and spatial production of Canada and its governance. The next section looks more closely at the

representational patterns that produce Parliament Hill as monument to a particular settler-colonial and European nation-state.

Expressive Patterns: Symbols of a Nation

Creating archi-textures requires the rhythmic patterning of form and content of expression. Symbols are particularly powerful nodes in these patterns, tying together spatial configuration in powerful ways (Lefebvre, 1991). Symbolic patterning abounded on Parliament Hill. One such symbolic pattern was the maple leaf. Each piece of signage I encountered within Parliament Hill contained an image of the maple leaf, and often the whole Canadian flag. A ‘no skateboarding’ sign hung on the east most fence was stamped with a flag at the top; a “decoding art” sign near the “Women are Persons!” monument was topped with a cut-out of a maple leaf; the wheelchair access sign to the Peace Tower was also topped with a Canadian flag the maple leaf in its centre, along with other directional signage within the grounds, and

Figure 13

Photographic Examples of Signage with Maple Leaf

construction signs (observational field notes, June 21, 2016, see also Figure 13). Maple leaves also appear on the Parliamentary Protection Services emblem worn by the officers who guarded the entrances to the Peace Tower and East Gate. It also appears within the Canadian coat of arms, held by a rearing unicorn at the base of the Peace Tower's *porte-cochère.*

Other elements within the grounds were also marked with the maple leaf. The lampposts all had an embossed ring of maple leaves around their base; plaques were most often stamped with the maple leaf in some form (often within the Canadian flag or another emblem); the ornate carvings on the *porte-cochère* of the Peace Tower showed a predominance of maple leaves, as well as the Canada Day stage and poster mentioned in the previous chapter. Further, the only trees that I encountered within the grounds were maple trees. The maple leaves produced an expressive patterning of territorializing elements within the overall assemblage of Parliament Hill. The maple leaf of course is the banal signifier for the Canadian nation as the flag is predominantly made up of the symbol.

Yet the maple leaf as it appears in this place is a knotted entanglement of spatial production. It is always already part of another symbolic assemblage, using its patterning as a symbolic motif to enact further symbolic and expressive relations in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. The instances of the maple leaf along with the red bands on either side produce an assemblage where these elements *become* the Canadian flag in particular, a signifier for the Canadian nation state in all its complexities. In the banality of the flag as this territorialized identity, the maple leaf becomes synonymous with the nation, banally reproducing a flag for the Canadian nation in turn (Billig, 1995). In this way, the expressive instances of the maple leaf, with or without the rest of the flag, continue to signify the Canadian nation in and as this place. The maple leaf literally produces an archi-texture of the Canadian nation. This expressive pattern is therefore also a mechanism of Parliament Hill's spatial production, and more deeply a mechanism of fortifying this spatial production. Yet the maple leaf is an expressive symbol that also links to and with other forms of expression of Parliament Hill. It is these links that produce the network of expressive patterns that I describe as an example of Lefebvre's (1991) archi-texture. On much of the signage on which the maple leaf and full expression of the Canadian flag appears for instance, the

signifier “Government of Canada” almost always accompanied the flag (observational field notes, June 21, 2016, see also Figure 13). This creates a spatial relation where the expressive symbols work together to organize a relationship of Canadianness with governmental power. These signs are not simply disciplinary in the sense of being orientational in the spatial practice of Parliament Hill, but they also express the authority of federal governance to enact such disciplinary forms of expression. The pattern of this entanglement organizes the archi-texture of the spatial production of Parliament Hill.

Expressive Patterns of a Settler-Colonial Place: Roses and Fleurs de lis

The pattern of entangling expressive elements to territorialize the archi-texture of Parliament Hill’s spatial identity also shows an organization articulating commemorative settler-colonialism. As I walked the site, I noticed many instances where the maple leaf appeared, there were many instances where symbolic expressive elements entangled together in dense symbolically-laden assemblages. The maple leaves within the emblem of the Parliamentary protective services as well as on the carvings of the Peace Tower for instance, create assemblages of symbols in the production of the expressive archi-textures of Parliament Hill, not only producing the Canadian nation-state, but also in their entanglements, articulating an expressive territorialization that reifies its settle-colonial heritage.

The iconography on the Parliamentary buildings was particularly overwhelming in this regard. Each nook, edge, and curve seemed to be decorated with a flower, an animal, a grotesque, a ghoul, or abstract filigree. There were several different colours of stone used as well, combinations of reds, tans, greys, and light browns bringing out different aspects of the architectural construction: highlighting archways, recessed, or jutting ornate carvings. Yet these elements, despite their busyness, showed patterns of expression that territorialize the commemorative aspects of Parliament Hill’s identity. The maple leaf discussed above was prominent, but I also noticed the patterned symbolism of the English rose and the French lily (the fleur de lis).

On the carvings of the stone fencing of Wellington Street for instance, the rose and fleur de lis were reoccurring symbols. They sat on almost all the corners of the Wellington Wall’s edges,

within the twists and turns of the wrought iron, and decorated the tops of the piers. These elements were also carved in even more detail into the ornate elements of the main central gate to Parliament Hill at Wellington Street, known as "Queen's gate." Within the front arch of the *porte-cochère* of the Peace Tower, the rose and the lily, along with several other flora, created the intricate backdrop to the ten coat of arms that bannered its arch. The iconography within these coats of arms themselves reveal strong and consistent articulations to colonial, particularly British and French, heritages, the details of which I do not have space to elaborate here (see Royal Heraldry Society of Canada, 2019). Much like the details on the gate and Wellington wall, the carvings of the rose, lily, and maple leaf decorated many of the edges, peaks, and inlays of the Parliamentary buildings. These expressive patterns are to symbolize and perceptively and conceptually articulate particular heritages and ancestral legacies in Parliament Hill. Osborne and Osborne (2004) quote Sir Wilfred Campbell who described the Parliament Buildings as "epics in stone," "emblematic of our common ideal, our common artistic sense, our common ancestry, and our common Christianity" (para. 14). These emblems of commonality, as Osborne and Osborne discuss, are linked to Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Irish, and French sense, ancestry, and faiths; the rose is the *English* rose, the lily the *French* lily; shamrocks for Irishness, and thistles for Scottish. Further, the archway at Centre Block shows a standing lion that holds the Royals Arms of the United Kingdom and the Royal Union flag, and on the other base, a unicorn rears on its hind legs holding the Arms of Canada and the flag of Royal France (Parliament of Canada, n.d.). These carved symbols cement and establish an overlay where these expressions, and the ideologies they articulate, are the literal foundations of the Peace Tower. They also stand at the entrance to Parliament, and by extension, the foundations of 'peaceful' nation-building and governance. Further, these carved elements are touted as "highlighting Canada's identity," but also comparable to "the most beautiful portals in Europe," continuing the connection of Canadian identity to European forms of expressive spatial production (Parliament of Canada, 'Main Entrance', n.d.).

In part, this articulation to European aesthetic is because the expressive 'style' of the architecture of the Parliamentary Buildings, defined as Victorian Gothic Revival, purposefully originates from

Europe, and in particular articulates to British architectural styles and tastes (Gowans, 2015). Historically, the designs and development of the buildings and grounds, went through careful consultation between British, French, and settler-colonial officials to ensure they articulated to British parliamentary architecture and ideologies. They were also purposefully distinct from other colonial governing spaces like the White House in the United States (Bourrie, 1996; C. Young, 1995). The Parliamentary buildings were to articulate a 'Canadian' form that showed overt connections to the colonial 'mother land' (Browne, 2016; Mace, 2015).

Indeed, architectural historian Bailey (1948) states the Peace Tower "is in many ways reminiscent of the Clock Tower at Westminster" (p. 49). And according to Gowans (2015), this style was chosen because it "was thought to best represent parliamentary democracy" ("History" section). The Victorian Gothic revival style of the buildings follows the approach of John Ruskin. Ruskin argued the highly ornate decorativeness of Gothic style allowed stone workers more freedom of expression, "increasingly inhibited by the Industrial Age and its modern materials" (Gowans, 2015, "Design" section). Yet, this 'freedom of expression' is always already coded through the spatial production of monumentality and its organized identity. As Lefebvre (1991) explains:

> As for architecture, the builders of palaces worked with and on signifiers (those of power). They kept within the boundaries of a certain monumentality and made no attempt to cross them. They worked, moreover, not upon texts but upon (spatial) textures. (p. 146)

In turn, though this style was supposed to open more expressive freedom for stone workers in the particular element they could express – a ghoul, or a flower, or a gargoyle for example – the *texture* of the expression was already set, meaning the parameters of the entities these craft people produced had to produce the texture of Canada's monument to its colonial nation-building and governance. Put differently, the 'contents' of what they could produce was more open in this style, but the container for production remained rigidly established as a colonial monumental spatial production. This means the expression of parliamentary democracy in Canada was an expression of the common heritage of the colonial nations that produced it and the expressive patterns were always already monuments to this colonial achievement.

The very ‘style’ of the parliament buildings therefore expresses a broader patterning of British and French colonial symbols as national symbols, naturalizing the expressive elements that assemble Parliament Hill monuments to the settler-colonial production of the nation-state. As Osborne and Osborne (2004) describe: “When taken together, the assemblage of buildings constituted an architectural statement of mythologized origins and of a dreamed-of future” (para. 14). This is the power of spatial configurations at work, where representations of space and represented space assemble and network as powerful spatial productions naturalizing the settler-colonial place of Parliament Hill and monumentalizing this configuration as the underpinning of society as a particularly European, colonial articulation. Importantly, I recall the processes of displacement and erasure of Algonquin presence and history that created the space for Parliament Hill to be designed and developed through and with European systems and mechanisms specifically.

Expressive Pattering of a Settler-Colonial Place: Narratives of Nation Building

I now turn to the more narrative articulations of the expressive elements in Parliament Hill that show a continued patterning of Parliament Hill as a monumental production of Canada. The narrative expressions in the form of the many plaques within the grounds continue the patterning of the European origins of the nation-state as Parliament Hill’s expressive configured assemblage. The narrative works particularly naturalize and make banal the British and French purposefully produced ‘future’ of the colonial nation-state the ‘mythologized origins’ the Parliament buildings express.

The first plaque I encountered was shortly after passing through East Gate. This is not a surprising marking of the space, as plaques were ubiquitous expressive forms in Parliament Hill. This in itself speaks to the expressive commemorative emphasis of Parliament Hill. The plaque stood at the left of the stone path that followed the east edge of the grounds. It described the deeds of Sir Wilfred Laurier, whose monument looks to the city beyond on a knoll, as I gaze up at it from the plaque. On the plaque, there is a laser-etched image of Laurier. Laurier’s etched signature appears after the descriptive text at the bottom of the plaque, as if he approved and authorized the expressive display. The form of this plaque

was patterned in several other plaques meant to accompany statued figures within the grounds. Positioning of the plaques made the connections between the narratives and the commemorated figures overt, and I shall come back to the somatechnical relations of the bodies of these statues and my own in Chapter 7. Here, I highlight the expressive pattern in these narratives that continues to ensure the naturalized patterning of settler-colonial nation-building of Canada, and the monument to this building in the spatial production of Parliament Hill.

The plaque that articulated to the statue of Laurier describes that he "advanced settlement of Canada's West, building railways and creating the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan." Discursively, "advanced settlement," articulates that Canada's West (already signified as a territorialized property of the nation-state) was unsettled before Laurier's labour of settlement. The notion of 'advancement' also carries a complex double meaning that reinforces the settler-colonial narrative: advancement in the sense of progress and linear understandings of history, but also in the sense of a continual occupational movement. The railway becomes a key expressive signifier and territorial production to mark the labour of settlement and links to Francis' (1999) argument of the founding myth of the railway as the 'backbone' of Canada. Francis (1999) explains that it is the commonly held view that "without the railway there would be no Canada, certainly not as it exists today […] for many people, it has become over the years a great 'Canadian' achievement and a symbol of the bonds which unite us as a people" (p. 15). The railway is also a European material expression of industrial settlement and here articulated as part of the process of settlement's "advancement" in/to the west. Finally, by "creating Alberta and Saskatchewan" Laurier territorializes material territory with European colonial conceptual relations of territorial governance (provinces), and naming becomes a territorial re-placement that reinforces this relation.

The plaque that accompanies the Sir John A. Macdonald statue sits just to the east of Centre Block and behind East Block and is almost entirely descriptive of 'building' a nation state. Macdonald's contributions were, as the plaque describes, to the "formative years of the country" (observational field notes, June, 21, 2016). It continues that Macdonald "led Canada's first government, and guided the country's growth from a small union of four provinces to a nation stretching from sea to sea," where his

"greatest achievement" was Confederation in 1867 (plaque text, observational field notes, June 21, 2016). The growth of the nation is conceptually packaged in this text as moving from a "small union of four provinces" to a nation "stretching from sea to sea" (plaque text, observational field notes, June 21, 2016). The spatial conceptualization of progress through physical growth has been made overt and articulates with the "advancement" signifier within the text describing Laurier above, along with the physical production of land seizure as evidence of nation-building.

Yet this advancement of settlement and the spatial production of Canada as colonial nation-state hinges on the continued reality of the nation-state and the territory that becomes Canada as this empty unoccupied space that requires order and government – like the creation of provinces and the governmental systems that come with their conceptual creation – and in this sense once again denies the presence and occupation of Indigenous Peoples in order to make sense. Settlement is therefore packaged as a European process brought to the land through the labour of progressive men of power like Laurier and Macdonald. It also re-places Indigenous Peoples modes of living on the Eurocentric, linear, and progressively hierarchical understanding of civilizational progress (see Adas, 2014). Such configurations also rationalize the denial of the Penoshway family mentioned above, as their habitation of the land of Parliament Hill was not conceptually related as 'settlement' in European onto-epistemic systems. Therefore the settlement of Barracks Hill and Parliament Hill afterwards were authorized and acknowledged forms of settlement on 'unsettled' land. Such relations continue the notions of the innocent and inherent good in growth and progress or rather growth *as* progress linked to the European modernist projects of colonialism (Francis, 1999; Goldberg, 1993). The expressive elements pattern a relation to the reality of Parliament Hill as part of the 'building' of a nation-state but also that such building has been made innocent in the face of its 'achievements,' progress, and the reality of Parliament Hill itself. Parliament Hill as an actively used precinct for parliamentary federal governance also quite literally builds the nation in and on this place.

The discursive plaque that articulates to the monument to William Lyon Mackenzie King is not conceptually linked to the expansion of material territory of Canada as Laurier and Macdonald, but

continues the pattern of producing the conceptual space of Canada as colonial *imagined community* (see Anderson, 2006), brought to this territory by men of European ancestry. The plaque describes how King "built" independence and identity for the nation-state, bringing social assistance programs, and embodying the qualities of a leader in his government (plaque text, observational field notes, June 21, 2016). The plaque also describes that King became the "first Canadian citizen" through his creation of the *Canadian Citizenship Act* in 1947. This act established Canadian identity as a distinctive national governmental identity enfolding the settler-colonial state within the world of nations (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998; Knowles, 2000). The conceptual space of citizenship is established with the bodies of authority and King's discursively expressed relation to being monumentalized here is that he officialised the territorializations of colonial citizenship as "Canadian" citizenship in particular. This denies the conceptual spatial productions of Indigenous Peoples or other forms of governance in order to territorialize a "Canadian" governance and citizen in particular, progressively established through the production of colonial material and conceptual spatial production with the silencing and repression of

Figure 14

Photograph of "The Fight For Canada" Plaque

other spatial productions and configurations.

Making my way around the grounds in a counter-clockwise fashion, the last plaque in this patterned series I encountered stood near where I began at the front of East Block. This series of plaques is distinct from the plaque that accompanied the "Women are Persons!" monument, which I discuss more fully in Chapter 7. Here, it is significant to note that the "Women are Persons!" plaque was perceptively older and different in style from other plaques I have discussed. The inclusion of the newer plaques for this series shows an active reification and assertion of the inclusion of these monuments to the nation-building narrative of Parliament Hill by producing these expressive markers to articulate their material production in/as the space. The plaque near East Block that followed the series with Laurier, Mackenzie King and Mac Donald was discursively linked to a monument that contains several figures in various dress and positions. The plaque is titled "The fight for Canada, 1812-1815" and instead of an image of a single figure shows a maple leaf with "1812" etched on top of it in what would appear to be a calligraphy style (see Figure 14), articulating the expressive pattern of Canadianness by marking the plaque with this signifier.

The plaque relates how "the War of 1812 helped shape the future of Canada." This is a shift from the parliamentary politicians' narratives as it is the overt articulation of violence that *shaped* the country, articulating a naturalization of conflict as nation-building in Canada, and as a means of spatially producing a nation. Yet the plaque continues: "To defeat the American invasion, people from various walks of life came together – men and women; military personnel and civilians; English, French and Aboriginal peoples." Here, there is a rationalization of conflict against another colonial nation, and not that of the conflicts of Indigenous Peoples who may have disagreed and fought with the colonial settlements that produced Canada expressed above. Further an imagined community "comes together" in defence of the nation-state, where they "joined forces to defend this land and ensure Canada's existence," including Indigenous Peoples, as if the war that "shaped" Canada's production was only between colonial nations specifically. In this way, the expression of nation-building that naturalizes Parliament Hill as a governmental production of the 'settlement' of the nation state is contrasted from the violence of

'invasion' of America and makes innocent the colonial settlement of Canada in its "shaping" in turn. This creates an expressive articulation of the perceptive territory, "this land," to the ideological production of a colonial nation-state, and the present reality of Parliament Hill as a spatial production; the present reality of Parliament Hill is the spatial effect of these processes and narratives.

These expressive patterns were disrupted by a visiting poster and flag that assembled in close proximity to several people, who sat on the open lawns near the intersection of the front walkway and that leading up to the Peace Tower. The only markings on the poster I could glean were "Métis Education Kit," and the flag carried the white infinity symbol on a bright blue background of the Métis nation (observational field notes, June 21, 2016). The inclusion – even temporarily – of the Métis-coded poster and flag with these living bodies creates a distinctive assemblage of meanings that pulls at the sedimented and naturalized patterns of Parliament Hill's spatial production: the nation-building narrative in the plaques and their associated monumental figures, the articulation of English and French ancestries, and the maple leaf as *the* communal symbols of Canada. The assemblage of living Métis identity and commemoration pulls at the sedimented and cemented patterned forms of expression of Canadian identity and narrative of nation-building in Parliament Hill by articulating another national identity and heritage with(in) Parliament Hill and to living bodies in the present in particular. The three people who accompanied the Métis poster and flag become living present disruptions to the deep-seated and cemented territorial patterns of historical nation-building narratives and the dreamed up future of the settler-colonial state. I shall come back to the deeper implications of the somatic disruptions this assemblage invokes in the conclusion chapter (Chapter 8), yet this moment nonetheless reveals a distinct deterritorialization and reterritorialization of the assembled expression of Parliament.

Even with the Métis flag's disruption of the expressive patterns there is evidence of the active policing of the territorial pattern of settler-colonialism in Parliament Hill. The newness of the plaques that accompany the monuments show a renewed production of the territorial expressive pattern of Parliament Hill as monument to settler-colonial nation-building. Unlike the temporality of the Métis flag, plaques as sedimented forms of production ensure re-inscribed forms of the expressive pattern remain dominant for

they endure (see Chapter 5). The living bodies I encountered during my site visit purposefully included these elements drawing attention to the temporal aspects of spatial production. Territorialization is not only about instances in the creation of the pattern, but about the *continuation* of instances over time. In turn, the active and continued production of the territorial pattern becomes evident. The spatial production of Parliament Hill occurs through the continual expressive production of the narrative of colonial nation-building articulated in the material perceptive territory of Parliament Hill.

Sonic Rhythms: Patterns of an English Sounding Place

The continued production of the pattern is particularly powerful in the the acoustic and sonic expressive productions of Parliament Hill and their articulation with the narrative and visual patterns described above. This patterning continues the naturalization of Parliament Hill as a monumental production of the settler-colonial nation-state and its governance. Like the layering of enduring, recurring, and temporary perceptively material elements in territorializing Parliament Hill, sonic elements also seem to follow in layers. As I had spent several hours wandering the bounded space of Parliament Hill, the rhythmic sounds of the city itself, continual whir of motor vehicles, the indistinct chatter of humans regardless of language, patterned and naturalized these sounds in Parliament Hill as they carried from the 'street' into and through the space. These sounds themselves became banal, part of a texture of the city, a sort of 'soundscape,' as a naturalized reality as much as the many stone, glass, and metal elements that jutted out visually to express a dense space of human sociality and labour. Raimbault and Dubois (2005) use the term soundscape to refer to the "auditory correspondent of landscape" (p. 340). Following the work of Schafer (1969), they describe soundscapes in urban areas as "complex sonic environments and as cues about socio-cultural life throughout history" (p. 340; see also Hällsten, 2014). As such, *soundscapes* relate the auditory/acoustic expressive entanglements of spatial assemblages and thus fold back and weave within the spatial assembling of Parliament Hill as a whole.

Consequently, even in the material demarcation of Parliament Hill territory through the stone fences, the sonic relations to the territories that surround the space also inflect on the production of

Parliament Hill as *a* space, but also *a* space in a larger area. This is not unlike the network of street signs that surround Parliament Hill as they at once define the space but also create a networked continuity of spaces as the larger urban area. At the same time, this organization of relations nonetheless continues to territorialize Parliament Hill as a distinctive spatial production. The sonic rhythms of marking a broader urban social space for instance were regularly reterritorializing Parliament Hill's centrality and authority through. The bells break and interrupt the rhythms of other significant sounds like the flowing river, the wind, voices, motors of various kinds and other sounds of the city through its chimes. They infiltrate the ear, forcing the body to perceive the break. The bell is a particularly powerful element of discipline as well, as Foucault notes: The bell chime as a signal "contained in its mechanical brevity both the technique of command and the morality of obedience" (Foucault, 1977, p. 166). The river, the wind, the sounds of voices or traffic are not the significations of temporal partitioning like the slow reverberating echoes of the bells locked within the tower. In this way, the articulations to the larger city through the sounds specifically here are rhythmically silenced, drowned out, or over-coded with the sounds of the Peace Tower bells from Parliament Hill. This is exemplar of reterritorializing this space as the central focus in these moments. In this way the dominance of Parliament Hill as a space in relation to the surrounding city itself is patterned to be continually assured. Further, the particular tone of the bells as a temporal-tonal partition is not a naturally occurring relation, but one brought to this space from European technologies of clock-time and linked to capitalist production (Mumford, 1934; Stiegler, 1998; Thompson, 1967). As Mumford (1934) notes, "the clock is not merely a means of keeping track of hours, but of synchronizing the actions of men [sic]" (p. 14). In turn, the clock acoustically assembles a synchronization of social space that has been imported, and reverberates here – creating long echoes with other clocks and industrial work throughout the Western world, falling under its panoptic rhythms. Further, the British tones of the carillon continue the British expressive patterns in Parliament Hill. Bailey (1948) explains, the "London-made clock and bells play the Westminster chimes" (p. 49). The carillon brings and articulates English diatonic scale, time, and the particular sounds of British parliament to expression of Canadian parliament. This makes the carillon an entangled assemblage that

actively continues the British and Western onto-epistemology in time, and the sonic expressions of English governance in Parliament Hill. When this occurs *in* Parliament Hill, I recall that this also means it territorializes Parliament Hill's assembled spatial identity; it is actively produced *as* Parliament Hill through the elements' intra-act territorialization. This includes elements that occur in the marked material space of Parliament Hill and that network around it. The British soundscape is particularly knotted with entanglements of the English language in the expressive patterning of Parliament Hill.

Patterns of an English Soundscape

The particular English tone of the soundscape came through bodies wrapped in uniforms directly articulated to Parliament Hill, like the Parliamentary police and tour guides. As discussed in the previous chapter, these bodies hold a more established presence in the bounded space of Parliament Hill, and therefore their very mechanisms of expressing Parliament Hill, or more precisely their bodies as expressions of Parliament Hill, and particular system of that expression, also become more ritualized, patterned, sedimented within Parliament Hill.

Parliamentary police spoke together at their posts in English. They also spoke to other visiting people in English. Tour guides spoke English and French. They carried these expressive systems throughout Parliament Hill as they stood or walked the grounds. The tour guides are semi-mobile embodied spaces of and for orientation: directional bodies that employed English and French languages to signify and express the space for more mobile visiting or touring bodies like my own. They also projected their voices at groups of younger people as they walked the ground or as a group sat and listened. One such clad person as I walked by them, smiled and asked, "Can I help you?" I muttered, "No, thank you" in reply.

The ability to pick up the English expressive sounds, and weave them back was banal and common-sense for both the guide and myself in this moment. Even as a guide, the person who asked was continuing the expressive patterning of Parliament Hill as an English language space, using this language to territorialize our intra-action and in turn reconstitute the reality of English in and as part of Parliament

Hill. At the same time, this moment with the guide is not separate, or completely separable, from other expressive mechanisms that inflect on my interaction with the guide: my gender, racialization, how I walked and intra-acted with(in) the space from the guide's view, are some of other territorializing elements to consider that may have inflected on the tour guide reading me as an embodied assemblage as English speaking. Had I been a person racialized as other than white, or speaking to someone else in a language other than those patterned within/as Parliament Hill, would the guide have attempted another language for communication in this moment for example?

Expressive mechanisms of embodied territorialization – the somatechnics of my becoming – were entangled with the spatial production of Parliament Hill in this moment. It is a moment to recognize my cyborgian becoming: the way the guide entangled my embodied identity with the space showing the co-constitution of my own assembled identity in/with the space, but also the guide's assembled identity in/with the space as well. The guide becomes a cyborgian body in the moments of uttering English in Parliament Hill and wearing the uniform articulating their body to the space. These moments entangle their embodied becoming through and with Parliament Hill's expressive patterns, but also reterritorializing these patterns in turn. Other expressive rhythms therefore come to enfold in this moment as much as the expressive soundscape dominated by English and French within Parliament Hill. This is not to suggest that these officialized bodies cannot speak other languages, but it is precisely that these expressive systems are actively produced as the dominant default expressive systems, and (re)produce the banal patterned soundscapes of/as Parliament Hill.

I saw this further as other human bodies also became catalysts and markers of an English expressive system rooted to, speaking about, and emitted from Parliament Hill. A person in a business suit, an authorizing badge on a lanyard around their neck and holding a clipboard, standing at the end of the snake-line fencing to enter the Peace Tower for public tours, rang out at regular intervals "Do you have tickets?" The person's body became the mechanism of articulating and emitting English within and as part of Parliament Hill. The concussive waves of the English words were speaking about Parliament Hill, weaving the conceptual elements of tickets (and its associative tendrils as a signifier of authority and

credentials), bodies and spaces of authority (the person with the badge and the clipboard; the Parliamentary police, the buildings of Parliament themselves as well as their own assemblages and networks of rooms, doors, passages), within and as Parliament Hill. In turn these voices and my own ears create a communicative assemblage that enfolds and patterns this specialized expressive system to the point of naturalness within Parliament Hill. Further, these voices become in some sense voices *of* Parliament Hill, the assemblage being expressed through and from them, territorializing the space through their very articulations. It is a strong example of Hall's (1980b) double meaning of the term as a linking but also a languaging.

I wish to acknowledge at this moment the articulation to bounded practices within this example, as well as the credentials for entry into particular enclaves of Parliament Hill. Both relate at once their importance as not anyone can enter or exit these spaces, but also that credentials themselves act as expressive-material mechanisms of territorialization. Tickets therefore becomes an expression of the successive layering of fortification on Parliament Hill: gates, buildings, doors, badges, locks, policing bodies, antechambers, rooms, etc. These are all spatial segmentations which continue the rationality of authoritarian partitions within Parliament Hill. Further, the patterning of mechanisms of boundaries in relation to human bodies specifically, as it is the person with the clipboard who re-invokes the disciplinary partitions within Parliament Hill and entry into its buildings, relates the way Parliament Hill is made for *particular* human bodies. It also shows that this patterning is policed by particular bodies through expressive patterns and territorializations. In each case bodies are assembled with territorial technologies that produce Parliament Hill and relationally these bodies as entanglements in with this production.

It was not only bodies whose labour territorialized them as more sedimented and authorized voices of Parliament Hill, but visiting bodies like my own also became voices in/of/as Parliament Hill as well. In one instance I noted, three women walked towards me as I headed back after encountering a dead-end on the path (it was blocked by construction barricading). I hear them speaking to each other in a language I did not understand, yet as they approached, one of the women turns to me to ask in English

with what my ears would hear as a naturalized English Canadian accent: “Is there a path?” I looked back from where I came and shook my head replying “no, dead end.” She looked in the direction I had come once more and turned around, her companions following. I shall take up the notion of accents as somatechnics in the production social spatial relations in the next chapter (Chapter 7).

Much like the moment with the tour guide, even as one of the women carried another language in an enclave created by the bodies in her company, the woman invoked English to speak to me. English is the language of the social space we both inhabited in that moment, the language that hung in the air. In our exchange, the woman picked up the pattern language of the space, articulating it with her voice and enfolding it back within the space so I may pick it up with my ears in turn, revealing the way language from the oral/aural mechanisms is banally patterning English as *the* language form within/as the soundscape of Parliament Hill. The woman did not attempt to speak to me in the language she spoke with her companions, the patterns of English as the dominant expressive pattern encouraged her to continue to produce this pattern as the expressive social space of Parliament Hill. The moment of our exchange also shows the dominant patterning of this pattern as a wallpaper as the woman’s identity is entangled with(in) the dominant patterned production of communicative language in/as Parliament Hill. Her assembled identity must rework and (re)territorialize itself in relation to English as one of the particular languages assembled in/with the identity of the spatial production her body inhabits and produces with (Parliament Hill in this case) to have a communicative moment through her voice at all. As Pennycook (1994) explains, voice is the “site of struggle where the subjectivity of the language-user confronts the conditions of possibility” (p. 296). Giroux and McLaren (1986) continue this sentiment by suggesting voice is “the means at our disposal – the discourse available to us – to make ourselves understood and listened to, and to define ourselves as active participants in the world” (p. 235). To be understood and listened to and in confronting the ‘conditions of possibility,’ which is to say confronting the dominance of English as the expressive system of/as Parliament Hill, each person I encountered, and my own body included, had to (re)produce this dominance and expressive system. The shift from the language of the group of women to the language of the space to communicate about the space with me, to invoke the social space of

communication, bubbles the naturalized pattern of English language in the production of Parliament Hill. The shifting of language reveals English as the dominant pattern and the entanglement of an English settler-colonial spatial production. In other words communication is relational to the social space of English language as it has been sedimented in this place. Indeed, it is the English expressive system and to a lesser degree French, that territorializes spatial production and in particular the social space of exchange *because* it has a rhythmic resonance within and as part of Parliament Hill. Such resonance is not only within the soundscapes of Parliament Hill, coupled with the traffic, the rhythms of the Peace Tower bells that toll on the hour and half hour, but also because it networks with other aspects of spatiality: it is rooted to the ground literally through bodies that emit the sound, is reflected all around as it bounces from emitter to receptor and back. Bubbling up the naturalization of English as the expressive pattern producing the social space of Parliament Hill also articulates the languages that are silenced, turned off, shifted away from, in order to continue the dominance of English colonial expression in/as Parliament Hill. Algonquin languages were common long before European colonization and were spoken for a much longer time than English and French in and around this place (Native Land Digital, n.d.). Therefore, becoming with as they walk the grounds of Parliament Hill requires visitors to participate in the colonial legacies that brought these colonial languages to this space in the first place and reterritorialize these languages as the expressive pattern in its spatial production and exclude other languages that have been and are linked to the material territory in turn.

French expressive systems, as the couple to English as the officialized languages of national spaces (see *Official Languages Act*, 1985), appeared more consistently within the visual layer of the system than the acoustic layer during my visit. Other than one instance from a tour guide, the only other moments I did encounter French as a spoken language, was on two different occasions while walking by some construction labourers as they spoke to one another. The politics of which embodied labourers assembled with(in) Parliament Hill to invoke which languages to/in the space should not be overlooked, though there is little room to fully map such politics fully here. At the same time, the fact that French was emitted sonically through more mobile and temporary bodies and English by more established and

ritualized bodies – like those of tour guides, Parliamentary police, and officials – reveals a hierarchical relation that establishes that bodies linked and articulating particular expressive systems are (re)territorialized by the rhythms and resonances of these expressive systems in/as spaces. So, the bubbles in the patterned soundscape help reveal how human bodies are themselves assembling to continually pattern *this* language in *this* spatial production, and how human bodies are themselves enfolded and assembled within this expressive layering. These moments point to differential politics of belonging because of expressive systems in their intra-actions within the assemblage of Parliament Hill.

This archi-textural production implies, as Lefebvre (1991) suggests, "a superimposition of certain relations" and "results in various kinds of space" (p. 193). It is a superimposition because it is not simply expressive elements that may reterritorialize a complex assemblage, but rather an organized network that patterns an erasure and silencing of Indigeneity and the local systems of expression. The "kind of space" in this networked production is not only Parliament Hill as a reality, but also the settler-colonial nation-state it represents as reality through the imposition of its expressive and perceptive territorial production and maintenance. This super-imposition, as with naming, requires a re-placement and erasure of other realities, what Law (2015) call *one-world metaphysics*. A "one-world metaphysics" naturalizes certain onto-epistemic systems as *the* world and down-grades other systems to matters of perspective rather than fully formed realities in their own right (Law, 2015, p. 127-128). Indeed, it is for this reason the sacredness and historical significance of *Akikpautik* is obscured to the dominant and naturalized reality of Parliament Hill. Therefore, part of the expressive spatial production of Parliament Hill rests on the repressed historical layer of importance of *Akikpautik* and the continued relational tension of the erasure of the colonized, othered historical narratives, and spatial histories of and in this space (as ground, as concept of nation, or as concept of collectivity), to territorialize and produce the colonial state (P. Wolfe, 2006; see also B. Smith, 2017; Stanley, 2009). The wallpaper is a patterned re-placement and silence of Indigenous histories that ensures European settler-colonial histories as the dominant and banal archi-texture of the spatial production of Parliament Hill.

Engaging the Production and Disruption of Expressive Patterns

My mapping of the expressive spatial productions of Parliament Hill points to the very overt way Parliament Hill is expressed through *many* expressive mechanisms. These mechanisms create networks between form and substance of expression towards a monumental spatial production of Parliament Hill as a place of settler-colonial nation-building. Tracing the expressive elements reveals the purposeful configurations of the world that have overt articulations between form, placement, and substance of expression aligned with mobility and fixity layers in a similar configuration to the layers of mobility in the previous chapter. Stone and metal signage, copper and stone monuments and plaques, as well as the Parliamentary buildings themselves were/are more established or immobile within the bounded space of Parliament Hill. Expressions of bounding themselves like the wrought iron and stone fences, stone partitions like edges to flowerbeds, moulded cement edges and paved spaces like those between the lawns and the streets, sidewalks and roadways, along with the rhythmic chime of the bells are also part of this foundational layer of expression. They show that these elements in form and substance of expression endure and in so doing perpetuate the notion of an essential grid of expressive relations where some elements are more essential to expressing the space than others. In each element in this layer, the pattern of English and French colonial heritage is overtly assembled through style, iconography, and even the archi-textures of place names that surround Parliament Hill. Temporarily placed elements like the construction signs, barricades, stage, and Canada Day poster relate part of the middle layer of mobility in relation to the establishment of Parliament Hill's assembling identity. These patterns nonetheless continue the pattern of a place of nation-building through the expressive patterning, like that of the maple leaf for instance. The Parliamentary police and tour guides that carry the cyclical relation but have a larger degree of movement and capacity of expression show another aspect of this middle layer of mobile expressive mechanisms continually emitting and circulating English as the dominant language of the social spatial production authorized through their representational expression as bodies of Parliament Hill. I see this as human bodies encased in uniforms express the representation of and as the uniform, but also speak in human language systems, using these mechanisms of expression as well. My visiting body that brings and

emits expression in relation to Parliament Hill as well as those of other visitors are expressive elements as the most relatively mobile layer like visiting human bodies not linked to Parliament Hill through authorizing visual expressive systems like uniforms. Bodies like my own and the people I encountered on the path pick up the language of the space from these more established layers and bring it to the more temporary productions of communicative social space in moments like our encounter. In turn human-made systems of expression such as language and representation are enfolding with the matrices of relations within spatial territorializations discussed in the previous chapter. They are also entangling the spatial production of Parliament Hill with expressive patterns of colonial dominance. In this process this dominance becomes banal as the texture of its spatial production. These processes further show the very networking of expressive systems with territorial ones. The expressive patterns are always linked to the material. Expressive patterns emit from the stone of the Parliament Buildings, the plaques, and the authorized bodies of workers of Parliament Hill. They are all within the bounded space and continuing to emit these patterns in the space. It also shows how expressive mechanisms entangle organic bodies in the on-going production of these patterns. Such instances show the cyborgian ways bodies are produced with, and participants in, the spatial production of settler-colonialism. Indeed the assemblage in communicative acts, like those between myself and the guide and the woman on the path, show the banality of this form of patterning for reterritorializing Parliament Hill but also producing settler-colonialism in/as our bodies as well.

The configuration of the world in the expressive territorial production of Parliament Hill shows the naturalization of European Western onto-epistemology and how it (re)creates meaning through its configuration of the world. It reveals, as Marie Battiste has often voiced, we have all been "marinating" in a Eurocentric configuration of the world as the texture of life (see for e.g., Battiste, 2000). Harari (2014) furthers her argument by suggesting such marinating occurs along, and within, the way we as humans see, hear, express and understand the world and our relations to it through European eyes, ears, and thinking. In this respect, it is difficult to see or be otherwise in such contexts (see for e.g., Stanley, 2011). The wallpaper resurfaces in this instance as a means of seeing, signifying, and mapping "specific material

(re)configurations" like perhaps those that make a 'Eurocentric world,' as these configurations and their patterns become visible through moments of rupture or resistance to them (Gant & Stanley, 2014). Yet more deeply, moments of rupture or bubbling are moments in which the cyborg reveals points of response-ability. The bubbles are moments of seeing the activity of entanglement of representation and meaning-making systems towards a particular patterning of dominance as a one-world metaphysics that pivots around settler-colonial spatial production as banal and total reality. The cyborg's border creature figuration highlights the way otherness pivots around the connection that defines same from other: excluded and silenced elements can only be understood as excluded and silenced on the relational pivot of included and voiced. The woman on the path switching languages to pick up the language of the space and ask me a question bubbles the patterned soundscape of Parliament Hill as an English language entangled space and reveals the otherness of the language she speaks with her colleagues in Parliament Hill's spatial production. Further the signification of the Métis poster and flag bubbles the patterning of the Canadian flag (in whole or in part), and the commonality of European heritage in Canada as the entangled representational patterns of Parliament Hill as a place of the settler-colonial nation-state. The Métis flag and poster point to their exclusion from the expressive spatial production and the silencing of Indigenous histories and even other settler-colonial histories not encompassed in the European iconographic pattern (see for e.g., Stanley, 2011). By patterning the included and flagged or voiced to the point of banality, the bubbles in the wallpaper, the moments that break or disrupt these patterned inclusions lays bare the configuration of the pivot – the gate of difference that spatially produces Parliament Hill and makes overt that its banality is constructed, its patterns policed, and is continually in formation. This also makes the policing and active production of these expressive patterns themselves forms of small bubbles. The newness of the plaques for instance responds to the bubbles of excluded narratives seeping into the space and dis,rupting the pattered production of Parliament Hill as largely English, though more generally European spatial production. It also points to the continual (re)production of Parliament Hill as a never-finished monumentality continually attempting to escape its own death and expressive slippages. Their overt inclusions show the policing of the historical narrative of nation-

building in the threat of the slippage of expressive patterns that purposefully work to exclude 'other' languages, histories, and expressive systems through their banal patterning. The cyborg responds by showing this is a moment of re-invoking relations of difference by shoring up perimeters. Yet it is also a moment of showing its active production at work and disrupting it. It is a weak point in the organized relations of difference, a potential space where relationality can seep in. The cyborg reminds us to understand the mechanisms that produce our reality/ies, to be "unfaithful" to their origins and find hybrid paths towards different becomings, ones that live *in* relationality, not on the territorial sides dialectical relations produce.

Understanding the mechanisms of conceptual spatial production in mapping the configurations through the wallpaper and the bubbles in this chapter speaks to what Lefebvre (1991) calls the *architectonics* of spatial production. That is, the way spatial production is relational in layers of what came before, of what persists and what comes after, and the intra-actions of expressive entities in terms of the "elements dispersed by the specialized and partial disciplines of ethnology, ethnography, human geography, anthropology, prehistory and history, sociology, and so on" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 229). It is a means of showing a possible spatial configuration of the world that is perceptive, conceptual, and lived through a multi-disciplinary understanding, and at the same time articulating the patterns of dominance through moments of rupture that produce particular spatial configurations as *the* world.

In the next chapter, I engage the somatic relations of and in Parliament Hill during my site visit. These relations map the ways systems of territorialization and expressive patterns entangle bodies and create a particularized social space for and in Parliament Hill. These somatic relations continue its monumental production as a settler-colonial place of nation-building through somatechnics of embodied resonances and dissonances.

CHAPTER 7

Plateau III Hierarchical Organization of Embodied Experience

In the previous chapter, I mapped the expressive configurations of the spatial production of Parliament Hill during my site visit. The expressive relations at work in these spatial configurations naturalize Parliament Hill as a place of settler-colonial nation-building and commemoration. When, in certain moments, the pattern of these configurations was disrupted, the pattern itself becomes evident as an active production. These disruptions showed that part of the configured spatial production of expressive patterning was the dialectical exclusion, silencing, and erasure of elements that did not reproduce or naturalize the configured pattern. In turn, Parliament Hill is produced not only through the overt fortification of a monumental place as discreet from other places (Chapter 5), but also through a carefully policed and networked expressive identity (Chapter 6).

In this chapter, I show how somatic relations reinforce and reify the spatial configurations described in the previous chapters. I ground this mapping by plugging in the theorizations of embodied entanglements of becoming using Sullivan and Murray's (2009) somatechnics. As described more fully in the Methodology chapter (Chapter 4), somatechnics relates the way corporealities are produced through entanglements of soma and technics, or crafted mechanisms of production that entangle with bodies producing their complex identities. Engaging moments in my reflexive researcher narrative of my site visit shows the production of bodies and embodied identities entangles in and with the spatial production of Parliament Hill as patterned resonances and dissonances. These are relations that produce embodied beings as belonging or as *space invaders* to or within a space (Puwar, 2004, see Chapter 2). Mapping my somatechnical relations in Parliament Hill also shows how the active production of the site entangles embodied social-spatial performances to naturalize its monumental spatial production as one of settler-colonial nation-building. In other words, mapping in this somatic and lived layer of spatial production reveals the deeply complex co-constitution of places and the embodied identities of people. For Parliament Hill this co-constitution is constructed through terms of identities of citizenship and nationally

organized belonging.

I begin this chapter with a reflexive narrative of an encounter during my site visit to show the complexities of somatechnical entanglements and the somatic relations at work in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. Next, I map how bodies, including my own, and the monumental bodies of some of the figures in the grounds, are performative living elements that reify, shift, or disrupt the monumental spatial production in Parliament Hill in co-constitutive entanglements. Mapping these processes reveals the somatechnics of resonance that produce patterns of belonging. These patterns come to create what Puwar (2004) calls a "palace of mirrors" (p. 17), where certain identities as naturalized in a space, reflecting back a particular somatic territorialization. My mapping of Parliament Hill also reveals how the moments of somatic dissonance are marked in their arrival through amplification and disorientation. These bodies as space invaders (Puwar, 2004) are policed through somatechnics of slotting into discreet and contained assemblages. Deeply entangled in all these somatechnical processes, my own embodied becoming reveals the co-constitutive production of living bodies and Parliament Hill.

Witnessing Somatechnics: Encountering Embodied Spatial Processes

I was walking back down the eastern path towards Wellington Street. Two people, who I gender as a man and a woman, are walking abreast towards me. The woman stops me with a gesture of their hand, a small sort of wave. The woman looks at me and then back up the path from the way I had come uttering, "Go? … Come?" in English. The English words sound slightly strange to me, even as they remain intelligible. The muscle-memory of another language gives the woman's pronunciation an accent to my ears that is not that of a speaker rooted in Canadian English or French. My own experiences have made my ears relatively familiar to the intonations of the sounds.

The man says something quickly to her in a language I do not understand. The man looks down the path towards the street and not at us. I feel my facial expression tells them I do not understand – because I don't. I try to piece together what they are asking of me. The woman tries again with the same words, making a gesture towards the Château Laurier that stands on the other side of the embankment

carved out by the canal. It takes me a moment to assemble a meaning from the elements of our interaction. I attempt to decipher the woman's meaning: "You want to go back?" I use my hands to motion the way to go and say: "Go down. Turn left." The woman nods, the man already starting to walk the direction I pointed. The woman also starts to walk in the direction I motioned with my hands, looking back before we both turn away and says, "Thank you."

The woman's struggles to orient herself within the space of Parliament Hill, or to communicate with other bodies ('like' mine) within this place, reveals several aspects of the somatechnic entanglements within spatial production. First, some elements of territorialization like the fences and paths (more perceptive and sedimented material elements) were not points of struggle; the couple walked on the path, following the territorialization of the walkway as a space for human movement through the grounds. They were not trying to climb the fence as the shortest distance to their potential destination – Château Laurier – and therefore also followed the territorialization of the fence as a spatial boundary. The couple was entangled in the material territorial production of Parliament Hill as a distinctive place to the point that they had become 'lost' in the place. The fortification of Parliament Hill deterritorializes their free living movement to ensure its continued fortification as a place. In other words, the couple's somatic discipline in relation to the territorialization of discreet places of entry and exit reifies the fort of Parliament Hill. Not disrupting the perceptive territorialization of Parliament Hill, and therefore navigating the fort of the space to "go" or "come" as the woman communicated, means the couple required further assembling information to move. The woman's very invocations of vocal language as a means to further orient herself reveals that these territorializations of boundaries and paths were not enough to 'decode' the social space of Parliament Hill and their own embodied navigation of the spatial production.

Second, this interaction's somatic entanglements show, as is evident in the previous chapter (Chapter 6), the use of English over another language speaks to the way that particular expressive system holds significant territorial power for Parliament Hill. This is, of course, my reading of the couple's intended destination and purpose of enacting communicative exchange. The very trouble of not knowing the effects of the social expressive space we produced within our exchange accentuates the tensions and

somatic effects this interaction relates. It shows how language is part of, but also constituted with, spatial practice and somatic relations in spatial production. In particular to my mapping here, the embodied entanglements of language and place are important to consider in their constitutive effects.

Somatechnics of Expressive Spatial Production: Differential Recognition in a Configured Space

In the moment I describe above, the shift of language and my hearing of an accent in the woman's words reveals somatechnics of expressive spatial production. In navigating the dominant expressive system of the space, the woman in the couple's utterance of "go" and "come" and the manner of her utterance produced for me an accent. By contrast, in the interaction with the three women on the East path from the previous chapter, I noted the lack of an accent when one woman switched to English in order to speak with me. An accent is a pull in the normalized fabric of intra-acting mechanisms of an expressive layer of language and the locality in which it is heard. An accent pulls on the associations of the vocalized speech of human bodies and the commonality of that speech-mode in relation to naturalized areas – like nations, regions, classes, and/or races for example (Ibrahim, 2014; Makropoulos, 2004; Mugglestone, 2007). An accent immediately points to a dissonance of the body uttering the words and their belonging to or in that area[4] (Bourdieu, 1991). It reminds that language is located in space *and* emitted from space (Lefebvre, 1991). But also, this moment shows that there are *different* language places and different languages that are assembled within spatiality and carried by bodies into and across spatial productions (see for e.g., Alim, et al., 2009).

It was this interaction with the couple that relationally revealed my own embodied assembling with the spatial expressive configuration of Parliament Hill. The woman's difficulty marked my own *lack* of difficulty to understand the language I could hear, see, and experience, in most cases in and around the

[4] It is important to note that there are instances where this disjunction is purposeful in order to negotiate the structures of belonging that create accents as difference and in turn dissonances of expressive system, bodies, and geographical space. See for example Kai James (2001) and Awad Ibrahim (2014) for analyses of how racialized 'others' deploy linguistic structures like accents to negotiate a 'third space' of becoming in relation to such sedimentations of human bodies, language, locality, and history.

bounded space of Parliament Hill. I could read the signs, I could understand the Parliamentary police and the tour guides, I could understand most the casual conversations of most of the bodies I passed by. It was also *my body* the woman looked to for answers in the language of Parliament Hill. I spoke back to her in English because it was the language she offered, the language I knew, and the language of Parliament Hill with which our bodies were positioned. In our communicative exchange we reify the dominant language of Parliament Hill without attempting to disrupt it. Yet the woman had to invoke a shift in expressive systems, in language, that I did not have to. This lays bare that my body articulated with the space already in ways the woman's own body did not. The shift in language showed the embodied ways people perform social spatial relations that reveal sedimented languages in and as spatial production. The interaction reveals that language is located in bodies, produces them, and articulates or puts them in tension as they move through other material and social spaces. Such relations speak to the entangled somatechnics of spatial production where bodies are co-constitutive with assembling elements of their embodied places.

The co-constitutive elements in my frame of interaction show a somatic resonance as Puwar (2004) calls it, between the specialized expressive systems I knew, English and French, and what was swirling, waving, and flowing around me during my site visit. Conversely, the woman's difficulties in finding and bringing words to the social assemblage of our interaction reveal a somatic dissonance in relation to the expressive system her body carries and that of Parliament Hill. It is a moment of recognition, where both my resonance and the woman's dissonance, in the entanglement and formation of spatial identity become evident. As Ibrahim (2014) posits, following Butler (1997):

> The act of being recognized becomes an act of identity formation: The address animates me into existence, constituting me within the possible circuit of recognition. Thus to be recognized is to be interpellated, hailed within the terms of language, and it is only there that my social existence becomes possible. (p. 8)

Yet this moment of becoming, and recognition of that becoming, occurs in relation to the entangled spatial productions of language in Parliament Hill and our bodies. English language as a configured pattern in Parliament Hill revealed an expressive entanglement in which bodies must become

and navigate. This navigation is easier for those bodies 'like' mine; bodies that can assemble with the pattern of language and thus somewhat unconsciously reify an expressive belonging to this place. The moment of 'recognition' I encountered and that organized my body in and with Parliament Hill was my being as an English-speaking body, and a body who has local and contextual embodied knowledge. It was a moment of being interpellated in and with patterns and embodied positions of power. This recognition is not an "agony" as it is described by racialized African Canadian people for instance in Canadian context (Ibrahim, 2014, p. 60). These moments diffracted my own embodied identity in my site visit to show the complex and differential somatechnical effects for bodies in spatial production.

My moment of recognition also relationally recognized the woman's otherness, embodied in her accent and the shift to English, and as such her somatic dissonance with(in) Parliament Hill. Importantly this moment shows my somatic resonance with the expressive system of the space. Though it also does not mean my somatic becoming does not at times carry relational dissonanes or become gated by the somatic productions of Parliament Hill in other aspects or moments. As will become evident below, somatic articulations are not either/or dialectics of resonance and dissonance but operate through degrees, folding back and reterritorializing somatic relations in each moment. They are also largely circumstantial and in turn relational to the elements assembling the space – my own body and its assembling identity included. What is significant is the way identities are territorialized in and through these patterns of somatic resonance and dissonance both for the production of Parliament Hill, as well as the production of people's identities in, and in relation to, Parliament Hill.

Mapping somatechnics shows how bodies become differentially resonant and/or dissonant with(in) a spatial production because of the sedimented materialities and expressive configurations that also assemble to produce the space. Mapping somatechnics in spatial production also shows that it is in the performative act of producing a living social space (through our attempt at communicative exchange for instance) the differential processes of producing our relative resonant and dissonant bodies becomes 'recognized' and knowable. As Puwar (2004) explains:

> social spaces are not blank and open for any body to occupy. There is a connection between bodies and space, which is built, repeated and contested over time. While all can, in theory, enter, it is certain types of bodies that are tacitly designated as being the 'natural' occupants of specific positions. (p. 8)

It is therefore both the overall effect of these somatic processes that is important to consider in spatial production. They reveal the cyborgian becomings in spatial relations, and in mapping these processes, provide mechanisms towards openings for antiracist response.

Somatechnics of Perceptive Spatial Production: Disciplining the Body as Spatial Practice

As noted above, despite the couple having difficulty communicating with the dominant expressive system of Parliament Hill, the navigation of the perceptive somatechnics of the space – the disciplinary architectures of paths, doors, gates, and fencing – did not seem a point of tension. This implies the somatechnics of perceptive discipline within spatial production on certain levels articulates more readily than the somatechnical configurations of expressive systems. This aspect of spatial production however continues to reveal the ways territorial practices enact somatechnical relations to ensure the sedimented territory of Parliament Hill.

Human bodies can move through spatialities like from walkway to lawn or even to the interior of the stone buildings, yet such mobility is relative to sedimented and disciplined mechanisms of perceptive territorialization: doors and gates can be closed, fences can be erected to limit or deny this movement. The very mobility of human bodies is therefore relational to the elements that bind the space in more fixed temporality. This relationality was also powerfully evident as I watched the slow progressing line of people looking to enter the Peace Tower. At the east side of the porte-cochère entrance to the Peace Tower, a roped barricade corralled people into a single line. Each body moved slowly forward as they were admitted, after their bodies and belongings were checked for prohibited items by Parliamentary police. At the door, a Parliamentary worker checked tickets for admittance. In this instance, the movement of these bodies is being conditioned by the perceptive barricade to form this line, by the

disciplinary processes of doors that filter bodies for admittance, and by the monumental processes that distinguish sacred controlled spaces from the chaos of more public space (Foucault, 1977; Lefebvre, 1991). These processes reveal spatial layers of fortification that carry various somatic disciplinary mechanisms. The increased spatial disciplinary practices through credentials of tickets and the slow procession of the snake-line of bodies having to 'pass' policing inspections express a relational hierarchy of association between these layered spaces that maps much like concentric circles. Each interior space is policed and requires spatial practices of discipline to filter movement into these successively layered spaces. Further, other authorized bodies are performative of policing and ensuring these disciplinary procedures are continued. The police and the Parliamentary workers enact and embody the authority of Parliament Hill, where the technology of the uniform and the perceptive technology of the roped barricade assemble to produce a filtering process for mobile visiting bodies that limit and territorialize their performance in Parliament Hill. These mobile visiting bodies could only become and assembled with the inner spaces of Parliament Hill by performing and subscribing to the disciplinary processes. These processes naturalize the buildings, Parliamentary police, and Parliamentary workers as enduring authorized bodies of Parliament Hill. They also mean bodies performatively discipline their own becomings in relation to Parliament Hill.

This became a distinctive pattern in the somatic relations of Parliament Hill. It was particularly evident through the material arrangements of the space for human bodies. The paths are reserved spaces for living bodies to move along, spaces that were open to movement *through* the space, and not spaces reserved for the placement of bodies in spatial production. In this way living bodies were articulated to movement, whereas exalted bodies and disciplinary bodies articulated to placement and foundational aspects of Parliament Hill. The Parliamentary police for instance, as mentioned in the first plateau (Chapter 5), stood fairly motionless on either side of entrances to Centre Block and East Block during my site visit. There were also very few spaces reserved for rest for living bodies. I noted two grouped picnic tables under some of the maple trees; yet, with one significant exception discussed below, there was a noted absence of other places for people to sit. Indeed, many took rest upon the railing of the sloping

terrace, at the wide base of the monuments themselves, or on the open grassed lawns. These places of rest draw attention to the patterning of spatial practice of visiting people's movement in the production of Parliament Hill. They show the relational tensions in the somatic social relationships of Parliament Hill. Spaces reserved for monumental(ized) bodies are in relation to the spaces of movement produced for living bodies organizing them both in Parliament Hill's spatial production.

All the statued figures were placed within grassed areas or along the edges of paths encouraging mobile bodies to move around the statues. The pedestals upon which they were placed also produce a distinctive reserved space for these bodies, taking up space and eternalizing this spatial production as the foundational elements of Parliament Hill's spatial production. The plaques that accompany many of the monuments were also positioned just off of the paths and in such a way that the figured monuments are framed above the plaque that narrates the commemorated figure in and with Parliament Hill. These somatic relations of movement to the sedimented stasis of the monumental figures produces a social space where mobile bodies pivot around sedimented elements like the monuments. This enforces the spatial practice of the monuments' centrality to the living body's periphery. The monument's immobility "animates" human bodies in their very mobility much like the dialectical tension that "animates" the historical significance of the space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 224) In this 'animated' tension, my body intra-acts through its movement with Parliament Hill as established place producing the monumental through this living and enduring tension. I had to walk to the site, walk within it, up to the plaques, buildings, statues, around the grounds, highlighting my mobility in relation to these elements' fixity. These elements' 'placeness' puts in tension my own body's temporality in relation to the place. This mobility reified the enduring monumental imperishability of Parliament Hill. In these relational processes, a living body entangles with the spatial practice of the space. Therefore the spatial production of Parliament Hill asserts its dominance over living bodies. In other words, it assembles them into its production to reify its naturalized monumental production and requires their subordinate labour in its production.

Exaltation and the Production of Parliament Hill as a Functional Space of National Governance and Canadian Identity

The entanglement of bodies in the monumental spatial production of Parliament Hill was particularly poignant for the bodies as objectified statues within its grounds. These statues act as embodied manifestations or expressions of endurance of (certain) human subjectivity/ies. The monuments produce somatic resonances in the spatial production of Parliament Hill, further territorializing embodied becoming in Parliament Hill but also *as* Parliament Hill's assembled monumental identity.

Though the Government of Canada website (2019a) boasts that the Parliament Hill is "home to more than 20 bronze statues and monuments" ("Explore the statues" section), with the construction projects occurring during my site visit, I had limited access to much of the grounds. I encountered only six figured monuments within the gated space of Parliament Hill. There was an overt perceptible pattern to the statues articulating their somatic relations to one another as well as assembling components of Parliament Hill. Each statue was formed with a combination of copper and granite, where the figures were copper castings on a granite base. The sculpting and casting of the monument turns embodied "pliant memory to stone … as if a monument's life in the communal mind grows as hard and as polished as its exterior form, its significance as fixed in place in the landscape" (J. Young, 1993, p. 13). Fixed monumental bodies "perform an action that is governed by conventions, contribute to the formation of social relationships, and often involve the sanction of prevailing systems of power" (Osborne & Osborne, 2004, para. 27). In turn, the somatechnics of their production in Parliament Hill involves establishing the "convention" of monumentality in the lived layer of spatial production. The once living bodies these monumental bodies express entangles with Parliament Hill's monumental spatial production territorializing their "pliant" lives into solidified expressions of Parliament Hill. As such, they are also relationally foundational to my own tourist body for they do not leave when the gates close or visiting and work hours are over. This process of entanglement is distinctive from those of living bodies like Parliamentarians actively producing the settler-colonial state, and who hold temporary office as official bodies of state production and governance. These bodies territorialize a cyclical re-production of

Parliament Hill. At the same time, both the statues and the authorized cyclical bodies are required in their labour to (re)produce the monumental assemblage of Parliament Hill.

The first figure monument I encountered was shortly after entering off of Wellington Street at East Gate. On the top of a knoll at the nearest corner of East Block sits a bronze statue. The figure to which I would ascribe a racialized white masculine identity, standing with feet slightly apart, shoulders tall, and a straight back, their right hand on their hip, the left hand holding a scroll wrapped in ribbon. The figure wears a knee-length overcoat, a buttoned vest, and a high collared shirt with trousers. The carved face shows characteristics of middle age: a receding hairline, wrinkles across the brow at the corner of the eyes, and around the mouth. The pose carries a sombre expression, as if they were waiting for silence before beginning to speak. The monument is placed atop a smooth rectangular column, its edges crisp with subtle bevelled embellishment. There is an overt orientation to the monument as not only does the figure 'face' the pathways, but on this same side, the rectangular pedestal is engraved with large capitals: "LAURIER 1841-1919." These elements link the monument to the bronze placard at the entrance of East Gate, ensuring the narrative of the plaque assembles within the figure higher up the knoll. The effects of the monument of Laurier looking out past the potential visitors as he stands on a pedestal on a knoll assemble his position of power in and with(in) the spatial production of Parliament Hill. He stands, and stands above, the living body, looks past them at something beyond and behind. His pose is authoritative, yet active, with his feet a stride and his hand on his hip.

Walking further up the east path, two other monumental figures, those of William Lyon MacKenzie King and Sir John A. Macdonald, to which I would also ascribe racialized white masculine representational identities, are also positioned in similar reflective authoritative poses and atop stone pedestals. MacKenize King stands on a shorter stone pedestal almost level to the ground. Standing at the plaque that describes Mackenzie King, the monumental figure actually faces away from the viewer, looking out between East Block and Center Block to the expansive open lawns and towards Wellington Street. Macdonald by contrast stands on a much taller granite pedestal, adorned with parchments at his feet and a sculpted bronze feminine figure sits at the base of the pedestal. The plaque narrative that

accompanies the monument for Macdonald describes the seated figure as “Lady Canada.”

With the three monuments and their central figures – Laurier, MacKenzie King, and Macdonald – it is the meditative pose that carries as a somatic pattern between them. These are men of thought, power, and authority. Each articulates a white masculine authority in and as Parliament Hill, their serious demeanour as leaders of government, and above or beyond the attentions of living bodies who gaze at them. They seem to watch over Parliament Hill and its surrounding areas, not at the living bodies who walk amongst them. Their gazes are all ones of endurance, a long stare beyond the moment. The pose and stare articulate the monumental production of Parliament Hill as an enduring spatial production – Parliament Hill’s assembled identity one of monumental power and endurance as well. In this way the figures reify this expressive pattern in Parliament Hill, but the articulation becomes mutually reinforcing. These are figures *of* Parliament Hill, but also in their patterning of European power – even simply in their representative embodied poses – are figures that assemble Parliament Hill’s identity – they become Parliament Hill.

It is not only their physicality that articulates and terrorializes Parliament Hill’s somatic identity, but also the expressive connection of the plaques. The monuments’ accompanying plaques describe their respective monumental figures as men of action and deeds directly linked to the production of the settler-colonial nation-state. This entangles their lived bodies and their monumental bodies further with the somatic patterns in Parliament Hill as a white European space (see also discussions on the narratives on the plaques in Chapter 6). This is not to say there are not women or racialized others who are called to embody the nation-state. Their somatic relations are distinctive from the overt patterning of these three monuments in Parliament Hill. The three monuments under discussion here however, reveal the patterning of gendered and racialized somatechnics in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. I shall return to the representational productions of women and racialized others further below. Next I map the deeper mechanisms of somatic relations within the patterning of these monuments and their effects for the spatial production of Parliament Hill and the somatic resonances and dissonances they invoke for living bodies in and with the space.

Somatic Patterning of White Masculine Dominance as Norm

As discussed in Chapter 6, the plaques of Laurier, Mackenzie King, and Macdonald appear as an organized pattern. Their material shape and style are perceptively similar and seem more recent than their figured relations. The narratives articulate men of firsts, trailblazers in the building of the nation. Laurier is described as the "first French-Canadian prime minister," Macdonald as the person who established the "first Canadian government," and Mackenzie King was the "first" Canadian citizen (observational field notes, June 21, 2016). These "firsts" are assembled with the action of building the nation-state specifically, making these statued figures "exalted subjects" of the nation-state (Thobani, 2011, p. 3). These expressive textual representations position these men's stories as ones of leadership for this nation-state. In turn, the embodied historical narratives articulated on these plaques cements and entangles their somatic implications in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. These implications become territorializing of the somatic relations of belonging in the space.

The somatic effects of the entanglement from the assemblage of plaques, monuments, and Parliament Hill are the production of a somatic pattern. White men are the exalted and normalized producers of Canada as a settler-colonial nation-state. As a cemented somatic pattern in Parliament Hill, it also establishes and organizes somatic positions for resonance and dissonance in the space. Each monument and plaque entanglement purposefully organizes the somatic pattern. Laurier for instance is positioned as actor in building railway though it is extremely doubtful that he bent his back with these labourers to do so. It was colonialism and the bodies colonialism moves, erases, and affects that were required to create the space of Laurier's grand achievements in the project of nation-building. It was not Laurier himself, whether these bodies were Chinese, Irish, and/or Indigenous Peoples (Stanley, 2012b; see also Francis, 1999). It would be a very different somatic production for example, if these men of firsts stood dwarfed by or entangled with a monument that created a space of the relational ghosts around their actions – the First Nations people that were forced off of their lands for the creation of provinces (Daschuk, 2013), the labourers that built the railway (Francis, 1999; Stanley, 2012b), or the many peoples excluded from citizenship policies and rights they developed for the nation state (Sunahara, 1981;

Thobani, 2011).

With the narratives for Mackenzie King and Macdonald, there is a similar patterning of the exalted achievement of these racialized white men of power as the sedimented embodied somatic expressions of Parliament Hill. Macdonald's plaque is almost entirely descriptive of his particular active contribution to building a nation state as well as his particular pivotal roles in such action. He "led Canada's first government" (as if other governing structures did not exist here beforehand), "guided the country's growth" and enacted Canadian Confederation. Macdonald is often referred to as the "father" of Canada because of his figure-heading of officialised colonial processes of Confederation that authorized the land it claimed in the reality of Western colonial nation-states. Stanley (2016) notes, however, this was not only a coming together of colonial states into a nation-state, but also helped pave the way for the enactment of racist doctrine into the very fibre of "Canada" and its governmental structure. It was the legislation that produced this entanglement of racist policy that Macdonald himself claimed as his "greatest triumph" (as cited in Stanley, 2016, p. 7). Macdonald helped produce a somatic norm for Canadian citizenship that later allowed King to articulate the embodiment of the nation quite literally by becoming the first Canadian citizen. King being the first "Canadian citizen" also marks the somatic territorializations of who embodies the nation, producing a powerful somatic resonance between Mackenzie King (and his somatic relations and entanglements) and national belonging. Macdonald, Laurier, and MacKenzie King embody narratives and historical actions that normalize and monumentalize an overt dissonance of other bodies like those of Chinese and Indigenous Peoples as citizens. Yet, these bodies remain relational 'others' entangled in the deeds these monuments express and exalt with rights on and in the land (see for e.g., Daschuk, 2013; Stanley, 2011, 2016).

Puwar (2004) notes that it is the "coupling of particular bodies with specific spaces," especially within commemorative projects and spaces of national representation like houses of Parliament, that carries deep effects "even though the issues are [often] declared to be of purely aesthetic nature" (p. 4). Puwar's (2004) analysis of British Parliament shows it is also a national and governmental place that reflects positive capacities of public men all around – in language, policies, dwellings and emotions.

Puwar describes the assemblage of these positive somatic relations as a *palace of mirrors*. A palace of mirrors territorializes somatic relationality by patterning a somatic representation as re-presentation. It is somatic mechanism of replication of the same in and for relations of dominance (Puwar, 2004, p. 17; Irigaray, 1985 p. 137). This produces a place where "the male simulacrum is repeated back to itself, a confirmation of who men are and what they are" (Puwar, 2004, p. 17). The somatic patterning of Parliament Hill is also a confirmation of the citizens, founders, and governors of a naturalized settler-colonial nation state as racialized white bodies, English and French speaking bodies, and masculine bodies. Further as a monumental space, the reflective somatic pattern of Parliament Hill is one where racialized white European men are the fathers, leaders, and productive individuals of nation-building and colonial governance.The are also meant to be immortalized as monuments in the spatial production of a place of governance, commemorated and exalted for their deeds (Thobani, 2011).

Producing a somatic pattern in Parliament Hill of European white men as the civilizing "fathers" of the Canadian nation-state and as national subjects "obliterates once again the invisible bodies of color who have never counted as able to represent humanity in Western iconography" (Haraway, 1992, p. 308). It also "obliterates" these bodies from embodied representations of the nation-building narrative (Anderson, 2017; Stanley, 2011; see also Rogers & Grant, 2017). The relationality of these erasures obscures the complex embodied understanding of the past that is part of the continuance of oppressions and limits reconciliation (see Stanley, 2017; see also Grant & Rogers, 2019). It continues the sense that it is only a select few 'men of action' that are the actual actors in the making of Canada and it is these few who require remembrance and commemoration. This is instead of the millions of 'everyday' people who have lived, loved, worked, and died for this making and who have resisted and continue to resist this historical narrative and its present reality. The somatic patterns in producing European racialized white peoples as the embodied subjects of the nation-state from these monuments articulates how my own body was assembled with English as the established settler-colonial language in the space from my encounters. In other words I was recognized as a resonant subject in Parliament Hill in part *because of* the somatic patterning of these commemorated bodies as part of spatial production. My racialized white body is

reflected in and with those of the commemorated figures. At the same time, the 'men of action' in the production of the settler-colonial state does not reflect my gendered woman embodied identity, refracting my embodied resonance. Then again, this is only a refraction since the expressive encounters during my site visit reterritorialize my body with Parliament Hill through language. These dynamics reveal the complex layers and tensions of somatic territorialization in the production of Parliament Hill and the ways somatechnics show the entanglement of bodies in spatial production.

Somatechnics of Embodied 'Others': Enfolding Space Invaders into Settler-Colonial Spatial Production

Bodies in somatic dissonance with a space are marked in their arrival (Puwar, 2004). This marking reifies the territorialization of somatic patterns through different aspects of policing. In other words, mapping instances of somatic disruption reveal the territorial somatechnics that continue to reify the somatic norm of racialized white bodies and the settler-colonial nation-state as the normalized 'body' in and of Parliament Hill.

During my site visit, directly at the intersection of the east path and that runs in front of Centre Block, there is a slab of stone level to the ground with a grouping of five feminine figures made out of bronze. The grouping is a monument called "Women are Persons!" commemorating the reversal of the Canadian Supreme Court vote that ruled women were not qualified "Persons" in Canada. The monument portrays the historical moment the five women who spearheaded the appeal – Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Henrietta Muir Edwards, Lousie Crummy McKinney, and Irene Parlby – celebrate their efforts to get the British Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to overturn the ruling by the Canadian Supreme Court and grant Canadian women "persons" status in the *British North America Act*, now the *Constitution Act, 1867*. This ruling is marked as removing one of the last barriers to legal full participation of women in the country (Dodd, 2009; Famous 5 Foundation, 2016).

The figures are arranged in a circle and all in somewhat active poses, creating a frozen scene of

commemorating their moment of victory during one of their "Pink tea[5]" meetings (Famous 5 Foundation, 2016, "Pink Teas" section). One standing figure holds an open newspaper inscribed with the lines "Journal / October 18, 1929" "Women are Persons!" "Les femmes sont des personnes!" Another figure stands beside the figure with the newspaper, one hand pointing to headlines, the other on their hip. Two are seated on chairs, one holding up a cup of tea, the other clasping her hands together up at the side of her face, both as if in cheers. A round table also cast in bronze sits between them, teacups and saucers upon it. The final figure also stands beside an empty chair, her hand also outstretched pointing at the woman holding the paper. There are stone rectangular slabs that sit one between the two figures with the newspaper, another beside the other standing figure resting against the empty chair. The figures all wear dresses or skirts that hit just above the ankle, hair under hats or pulled up, styles reminiscent of the historical moment in a Westernized context this scene creates.

The inclusion of this monument in Parliament Hill is a significant arrival as it was the first sculpture of Canadian women to be placed within Parliament Hill. Previously, "the only people honoured by statues here were dead prime ministers, monarchs and fathers of confederation" (Forster, 2004, para. 1). Therefore, the inclusion of this monument and its production of five "Canadian women" is a distinctive somatic arrival and break from the somatic patterning of monuments like Macdonald, Laurier, and MacKenzie King. Puwar (2004) explains that the arrivals of traditionally and dominantly positioned 'others,' such as women and racialized minorities, to spaces where they have been "historically and conceptually excluded" is "intriguing because it is a moment of change. It disturbs the status quo, while at the same time bearing the weight of the sedimented past" which "necessitates negotiation and invites complicity" (p. 1). Bodily or embodied arrivals pull at the somatic norm: that pattern of somatechnical becoming that assembles and articulates a bodily identity in that space (Puwar, 2004). Puwar posits this occurs through "two fundamental dynamics – disorientation and amplification" which are "intrinsic to the

[5] 'Pink tea' meetings were strategy meetings of suffragette women activists that were disguised as innocent tea time gatherings to avoid being broken up by critical opponents (Famous 5 Foundation, 2016).

ways in which 'new' bodies are encountered" (p. 33). Embodied arrivals and others that do not (quite) articulate the somatic norm Puwar therefore refers to as *space invaders*.

Part of the somatechnical mechanisms of disorientation and amplification in assembling bodily arrivals into the somatic relations of spatial production occurs through what Puwar (2004) calls "ethnic slots"(p. 146), where bodies who enter spaces from which they have been previously and traditionally excluded are ethnically marked and "straight-jacketed" into essentialized, often racial or gendered, representations (pp. 146-147). These ethnic slots also mean bodies are always already understood as spatial productions, and as "particularized as representatives of specific interests. [As such they are] seen in confined terms that lock the body with a set of ideas" (Puwar, 2004, p. 11). There are several perceptive and social spatial productions that 'slot' the commemorated bodies in the "Women are Persons!" monument as arrivals of feminine bodies and 'everyday citizen' bodies.

Other than the newly established 1812 monument, which I shall discuss below, the "Women are Persons!" monument is the only monument that shows a group of people rather than a singular figure or a pair (as in the monument for Macdonald and Lady Canada[6]). As such, bodies in this monument are packaged as a group. This is somatically distinctive from commemorations of Laurier, Mackenzie King, and Macdonald as the singular men of action that also inflect on the assembled whole of Parliament Hill. As Canadian historian Diane Dodd (2009) explains: "In Canada, as in America and Australian contexts, there is an apparent reluctance to accord hero status to individual females and a tendency to memorialize women collectively as pioneers, nurses, workers, or wives" (p. 30). In turn, it's the grouping of feminine figures that doubly marks the monument in the space: it amplifies the monument's otherness to the somatic pattern of the space, containing its inclusion to this representative 'slot' of Canada's 'moment' of women's historical achievement of equality (Dodd, 2009).

The arrangement of the monument and its figures also marks its somatic dissonance within

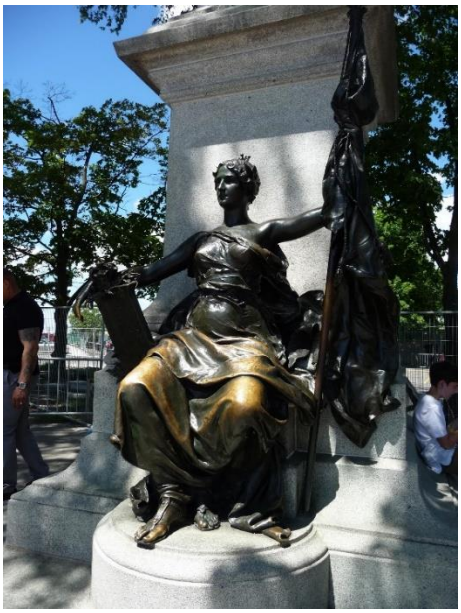
[6] The monument of Robert Baldwin and Sir Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine is also a pairing monument within Parliament Hill, but one not discussed in this analysis as this monument was inaccessible during my site visit because it was behind construction barricade.

Parliament Hill. The monumental space is not fortified and protected like those of Macdonald, Laurier, and King. Instead, there is an overt contamination of spaces: public space and commemorative space, living space and historical space. The pedestal base is directly attached to the edge of the path, in contrast to Laurier, and King who are off of the pathway separated by lawns, or standing atop the tall pedestal as is for Macdonald. Further, the monument has purposeful 'empty' space between the feminine figures for living bodies to walk. There is also the purposeful inclusion of material spaces for living bodies to sit and intra-act with the monument. The empty chair for example invites living bodies to articulate with the monument rather than passively observe it. The stone slabs around the monument were also easily accessible seating for people. This interactivity with living bodies and entangling of monumental and living bodies has the effect of amplifying the somatic distinction from the exalted subjects of those commemorated bodies on higher pedestals; the ones that the living body must gaze up at or ones that are separated from the paths for living bodies to move through the space. This is of course the pattern set by the monuments of Laurier, Macdonald, and Mackenzie King. The monumental feminine figures of "Women are Persons!" are also assembled with a table, chair, and a tea set, producing an articulation to the feminine somatic 'slot' of a familial gathering in a private place. This further articulates their somatic relations with more 'private' representations and amplifies the monument's space invader relation to and in Parliament Hill. The familial space is literally imported and contained upon the stone base. Their poses are also active, frozen in a specific historical moment of having tea and celebrating the victory of the Persons Case. In other words their embodiment is contained to produce only this moment in the nation-building narrative. This is instead of the pattern of the immortalized figures of the nation that carry looks far off into the distance. In turn, the assemblage of the "Women are Persons!" monument is contained and contextualized overtly with a familial place, with living bodies, and to a specific historical moment within Parliament Hill. As such, the monument shows elements of amplification and disorientation that mark its distinction in the somatic productions of Parliament Hill. At the same time, the processes, particularly the disorientation of the monument from monumental exalted position, folds back on the interactive entanglements it encourages. This is particularly so in the somatic relations with living bodies and the

monument. During my site visit, this monument was the most actively engaged of the six I could access. People sat in the empty chair or on the stone slabs, held the outstretched hands of the frozen bronze

Figure 15

Photograph of Lady Canada Figure at Base Macdonald Monument



figures and posed beside or behind them. The familial space amplifies a distinction from the public space of national governance with the inclusion of the empty chair and the stone slabs for living bodies to sit, and encourages living bodies to "participate in the making" of the commemorative moment (Steven & Frank, 2016, p. 227). There were many who took personal photographs of their interactions with(in) the monument's produced scene. Indeed, as I observed and walked around the monument, my camera in hand, a person looked at me and asked if I would like them to take my picture with(in) the monument. This shows a further layer of somatic interactivity and production of a living social space that includes living bodies and commemorative bodies in relationality over hierarchy. Poignantly it is the material space which organizes and marks this organization most overtly. Lady Canada, at the base of Macdonald's monument, shows the bronze on her hands, arms, and open lap shine brightly from the continual brushing of living bodies against her copper surface (see Figure 15).

This is also evident on the hands, arms, and laps of the figures in the "Women are Persons!"

monument. At the same time, the copper finishes of Laurier, Macdonald, and Mackenzie King were darkened from dirt and environmental exposure. I also witnessed other visiting bodies show little attention beyond reading the plaques and intrigued stares up at the bronze somber faces of Laurier, MacKenzie King, and Macdonald. As I walked by Macdonald a second time for instance, a group of school-aged children sat along a ledge of the large stone pedestal's base eating their lunch and conversing – they paid little attention to the 'father of Confederation' save in the ways his pedestal provided refuge for tired feet and a place to sit and eat. These distinctions highlight the somatechnical effects of social spatial productions relations with essentialized monumental bodies for living bodies in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. The somatic productions of monumental bodies come to relationally produce the conditions for mobile bodies' somatic becoming in and with Parliament Hill.

Such somatechnical effects become more poignant as the entanglements of living bodies are organized to reify the nation-building narrative and the somatic norm of Parliament Hill. For the "Women are Persons!" monument, despite the interactivity with mobile bodies the monument encourages, this interactive entanglement is the participation in this moment of nation-building specifically. Further, with Lady Canada, to sit on her lap is also to assemble and naturalize the somatic production of the settler-colonial nation state. Taking photographs with these monumental figures is to enfold these narratives and assemblages within the social space of the body of the tourist and reify the colonial nation-state – to capture and produce another moment of nation-building. Therefore, despite the social spatial production of the "Women are Persons!" monument as a space invader on Parliament Hill (through the amplification of its material and expressive distinctions and its disorientation from the somatic patterns established with the Laurier, Macdonald, and King monuments), the monument also carries important continuities that reify strong points in the monumental production of Parliament Hill. These strong points are the continuation of the expression of Parliament Hill as a monumental space of settler-colonial nation building, and the strong point of somatic relations actively reifying this identity. As such these processes further the territorialization of the nation-state in Parliament Hill and the commemoration of the settler-colonial nation-building narrative of racialized white bodies as the somatic norm.

In the case of the "Women are Persons!" monument, its accompanying plaque territorializes the monument with the expressive patterns of Parliament Hill's of commemorative nation-building. This is particularly so in its entanglement of the figures in this expression because it patterns with those of the other masculine monuments discussed above. To the west of the stone base for the "Women are Persons!" monument sits a three panelled plaque of stone with copper with the title "Women are Persons!." The plaque narrates the historical moment the monument is meant to express: the "landmark victory in the struggle of Canadian women for equality" of the "persons case of 1929" as the plaque reads. Even as space invaders in the gendered somatic patterns of Parliament Hill, the feminine figures within the "Women are Persons!" monument reify the narrative of Canadian settler-colonial nation-building and the somatic pattern of European settler-colonial bodies as the 'makers' of Canada.

Propping up the narratives of settler-colonial achievement in Parliament Hill obscures and silences how this narrative and its "victory" for Canadian gendered equality is conditional to "Canadian women." This "victory" for women's equality is veiled in inequalities. Much like the historical narratives that accompany the monuments of Laurier, MacKenzie King, and Macdonald, the "Women are Persons!" plaque narrative is carefully curated to ensure the expressive pattern of somatic and expressive relations of Parliament Hill continues to articulate its assembled identity; a place of European settler-colonial commemoration and parliamentary governance. What the "Women are Persons!" plaque narrative does not say is that the women who became 'persons' as an effect of this decision were not *all* women in Canada as a territorial production, but rather those women already linked to subjecthood under the British Crown: British and French settler-colonial subjects. First Nations, Inuit, Métis, Chinese, and Japanese women, for instance, were not given the right to vote as British and Canadian women had been. They remained the silent 'non-persons' not included in the categories of 'Canadian women.' It was not until the 1960s that *all* citizens were given the right to vote in Canada. This strategic organization of the narrative of enfranchisement in Canada shows the exaltation of this victory for women's equality is assembled within the narrative of British settler-colonial rights in particular, and not the right of all peoples, or even all those who identify as women, or who live in the nation-state. This organized curated narrative also

silences and makes innocent the ways some of the figures immortalized in the "Women are Persons!" monument were also actors in the racist production of the nation-state. Emily Murphy, one of the five women commemorated in the monument for example, was a strong advocate for racist eugenic policies and used her power from the "Persons Case" victory to forward these views in legal discourses and policies (Dodd; 2009; see also Koshan, 2008; Kulba, 2002; Moss, et al., 2013).

Somatechnics of Slotting: Representational Assemblages of Feminine Bodies

The same processes of somatic slotting that continue the patterning of somatic relations with the settler-colonial nation-building narrative are also evident in different ways for another monument. In this monument, somatic relations are contained to the embodied production of monarch. The monument was slightly hidden from the path by the few maple trees, but its commanding presence peaks through as the monument is quite high (approximately 4 meters). The height of the monument is accentuated as the feminine figure sits atop a horse mid stride. Etched in the large rough-hewn pedestal is "Elizabeth II."

The monument's inclusion is not about the woman and her deeds specifically. Indeed, I saw no plaque to express Elizabeth II's articulation to the national narrative or the building of the Canadian nation state during my site visit. Rather, her inclusion signifies the reign and might of the British empire; the figure embodies Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (reign from 1952 to present). Perceptively the monumental figure wears the adornments of monarchy: a prominent ornate crown a top her head, a long cape, and military regalia, riding on horseback (a position traditionally articulated with power and prestige in Europe (see Mitsuda, 2007)), and carries strong intertextuality with other international colonial monuments of British monarchs around the world (e.g., Larsen, 2012; N. Smith, 2001; Whelan, 2002). The statue relates Elizabeth II sitting upon "her horse, Centenial (with one "n"), the former RCMP horse that was officially presented to Her Majesty in 1977" and was commissioned as part of Canada's 125th anniversary celebrations (Government of Canada, 2019a, "Queen Elizabeth II (1926-)" section). In turn Elizabeth II also relates a entanglements of commemorative acts of British colonial power and is therefore 'slotted' into this representative position. Though I was unable to

gain access to other monuments of monarchs within Parliament Hill, as noted above by Forster (2004), the inclusion of monarchs as somatic commemorated bodies of Parliament Hill is an established pattern.

Figure 16

Photograph of Elizabeth II Monument on Parliament Hill

Elizabeth II continues many of the somatic elements that territorialize the figure's inclusion and entanglement with the somatic patterns of Parliament Hill. She gazes beyond the viewer, from her high vantage point atop her horse and stone pedestal for instance. This position reifies the somatic production of commemorative figures as gazing off into the distance, beyond a living viewer like Laurier, Macdonald, and McKenzie King. When I walked up to the monument, I was looking mostly at the stone pedestal and the horse's belly (see Figure 16). Elizabeth II's embodied stature was perceptively expressed as 'higher' than the living body, to be gazed at from afar or else to gaze up at in relation. This created a somatic dissonance in the very production of perceptive space between my living body and that of the exalted immortalized monarch. This is starkly distinct from the organized intra-activity of living bodies and commemorative bodies in the "Women are Persons!" monument. Elizabeth II therefore represents more than herself – she represents the monarchy, a traditionally male-dominated position. Her status as a gendered body is secondary to her articulation of colonial power in and for Parliament Hill. As such,

Elizabeth II's gendered somatic relation is deterritorialized and the expressive aspects of the figure's somatic expression as a European figure of power is territorialized here. This puts in tension my somatic relations as my embodied identity that navigates the somatic entanglements and patterns of Parliament Hill. Here, my gendered identity continues to somatically pull at the patterns of the somatic norm of men of power in Parliament Hill but articulates with the somatic patterning of European ancestry and settler-colonial history all the monumental figures of Parliament Hill relate. In both processes, my somatic becoming and sense of belonging in Parliament Hill and the nation state it expresses is entangled with the somatic organizations of these monumental figures. The 'slotting' the gendered feminine figures express in the spatial production of Parliament Hill therefore further exposes the complex and often tension-laden somatechnics of co-constitution of living bodies in spatial production.

The feminine figure of Lady Canada that sits at the base of Macdonald's statue shows further complexities in somatic relations and the effects of slotting figures as representative over complex living bodies in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. Macdonald perceptively towers over the feminine figure atop his phallus shaped pedestal, enforcing the gendered dominance of Macdonald and the subordination of the figure at the base.

The female figure of Lady Canada is not only included to relationally prop up Macdonald. The feminine figure, to which I would ascribe a racialized white identification, also has articulations to Britannia, the female personification of Briton. The coin depiction of Britannia below (see Figure 17, left)

Figure 17

Images of Bitish Half-Penney with Britannia (left) and French Coin with Marianne (right)

is from the British half-penny that was in circulation during the time of Canadian confederation and when Macdonald's statue was unveiled. The Britannia on the coin for example (see Figure 17, left) sits in flowing robes and sandaled feet much like Lady Canada. She holds a shield in her right hand and a trident in her left. The figure at the base of the Macdonald monument holds a flag instead of a trident and the shield is not the British shield but one with symbols connecting to the 'founding nations' – namely Britain and France.

At the same time, the figure at Macdonald's feet also has articulations to the French national figure of Marianne (Figure 17, right). Marianne had allegorical links to concepts of liberty (Warner, 2000). She is also depicted in similar long flowing robes, or what Warner (2000) calls a "diaphanous tunic" (p. 267). Britannia and Marianne both have historical articulations to Roman culture and allegorical representations, which themselves have complex histories within Britain and France respectively. The particularities of these allegorical articulations to European meaning systems and English and French colonial histories transplants these allegorical associations and their lineages into the spatial production of Parliament Hill and embodies them in a feminine figure. In this way, much like Elizabeth II, Lady Canada is slotted into a somatic relation of being more than herself. Indeed, she is not a 'self' at all, but an embodied allegorical representation for settler-colonial production. In some respects, she was birthed from the two colonial parents that she holds symbolically at her sides in the tablet and flag. She embodies the symbolic associations to English and French iconography. In particular, Puwar (2004) explains in places of Parliament,

> There are abundant concrete adulations of women serving a metaphoric function. It is men, however, who are metonymically linked to the nation. Women feature as allegorical figures that signify the virtues of the nation. It is men who literally represent and defend the nation. It is they who are the somatic norm, when it comes to actual leadership on the ground, so to speak. (p. 6)

Such allegorical associations therefore mark these feminine figures of Elizabeth II and Lady Canada apart from the active and direct deeds of the men articulated in the monuments and plaques of

Laurier, Mackenzie King, and Macdonald. These relations reveal the weight of the somatic norm of Parliament Hill. Even in their gendered 'arrivals,' these feminine figures continue to reinforce the somatic norm of masculine spatial production towards the settler-colonial nation-state in Parliament Hill.

More deeply, as Warner (2000) argues, the use of allegorical women "tells us something as well … about ways of thinking about women themselves" (p. 268). This is particualry so in their relational territorializations of belonging in Parliament Hill and in the nation-buildings narratives of the state. Puwar (2004) provides that these somatechnics show "woman is a place – a container, an envelope – through which man marks the limits of his identity" (p. 16). As such, the somatechnics of gender in spatial production entangle bodies in their understanding of places, understandings of their embodied identities in places, as well as the ways certain bodies are organized to be certain identities in societies structured in dominance that directly maps into spaces and places. These processes are not particular to gender. They powerfully continue in the ways racialized bodies are articulated and entangled with the spatial production of Parliament Hill.

"Triumph Through Diversity": 1812 Monument and Racialized Space Invaders

Not far from the monument of Laurier on the top of the knoll in front of East Block sits the newest monument of Parliament Hill. It is described as commemorating Canada's participation in the war of 1812 (Government of Canada, 2017). Unveiled in 2012, this monument shows a group of seven figures standing in active poses forming a circle facing outward. The activity is a shift in somatic relations of monument figures potentially brought on by the arrival of the "Women are Persons!" monument. Yet with the 1812 monument, the figures' poses are isolated rather than a group forming a scene. The 1812 monument also does not provide space for living bodies with(in) the monument. This also contrasts with the meditative poses of singular men of power in Laurier, Macdonald, and MacKenzie King. These perceptive and representational aspects in the 1812 monument show a shifted somatic pattern that acknowledges the community and social aspects of nation-building previously hinted at in the "Women are Persons!" monument. Even in this shifting, the somatic patterns of singular men of action hold strong

as all of the figures, save one, show masculine forms. The 1812 monument also shows a somatic relational return to the living body being separated from the monumental 'action' as the pedestal holds the statue figures tightly together with little room for living bodies. Each of the masculine forms are also intent on largely individualized tasks. The feminine figure in the grouping is the only figure engaged in an overtly connective activity of dressing an injured figure's wound. The feminine figure continues the trope of women acting as support characters in the historical narratives of nation-building (Rogers & Grant, 2017).

The plaque that accompanies the monument (see also Chapter 6) describes the figures in the 1812 monument as "reflect[ing] the diversity of those who joined forces" in the 1812 conflict: "men and women; military personnel and civilians; English, French and Aboriginal peoples." This shifts the somatic relation of figures to expressing diversity in the nation-building narrative. These processes in turn entangle these figures as categories embodying diversity over complex lived bodies.

With the "Women are Persons!" monument, their arrival shifted the representation of bodies not linked directly to governance and colonial rule. They embodied more 'everyday bodies' showing these bodies could appear as monumental figures if their deeds articulated powerful events in the production of the settler-colonial state. With the 1812 monument, this shifts and reworks commemorative somatic relations by abstracting these 'everyday bodies' to embodied categories of peoples. These are the *types* of people who "represent the key combatants that came together to defeat the American invasion" (Government of Canada, 2017, para. 2). The figures as "key combatants" are abstractly defined on the webpage that accompanies the monument:

> a Métis fighter firing a cannon; a woman bandaging the arm of a Voltigeur; a Royal Navy sailor pulling a rope; a First Nations warrior pointing to the distance; a Canadian militiaman raising his arm in triumph, and a member of a British Army unit, specifically the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, firing a musket. (Government of Canada, 2017, para. 2).

Note that in 1812 most of what is now today territorialized as the nation-state of Canada was not

part of the country. Canada was Upper and Lower Canada at this point, encompassing the regions around the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence valley. The monument therefore creates the illusion of a Canada that was always united in the past into the present. As such even Canada as an assembled entity is abstracted in the monument to fit a narrative of community in diversity.

Abstracted embodied representations are particularly poignant for bodies who do not reproduce or who pull at the somatic pattern of settler-colonial Europeans within Parliament Hill such as the Métis fighter and the First Nations warrior. These figures stand alone (or almost alone) as embodied representations of these signified categories of identity on Parliament Hill. The identities of racialized white and European descendant bodies (such as the British army and Royal Navy soldiers, the French Voltigeur soldier and the Canadian militiaman) are already given somatic resonance through the productions of other bodies in these relational parameters – such as Laurier, Mackenzie King, and Macdonald – but also by other spatial productions such as the expressive refrains of English and French colonial heritages and languages (see Chapter 6). Their identities are therefore also entangled and situated by these assembling elements as somatically belonging on and as embodied representations of Parliament Hill. The spatial productions for Indigenous Peoples by contrast have been consistently constructed out, or as relational silences for Parliament Hill. This is to the point that Indigenous MP Romeo Saganash noted in that it was the Penoshway family of the Anishinabek Algonquin peoples who were removed from the land where Parliament Hill is located, and their claim to this ancestral land continues to be denied and silenced (Saganash, 2019; see also Forrest, 2017). These assembled relations, including the active and historical silencing and erasure of Indigenous presence on the specific land of Parliament Hill, amplify the somatic otherness of the Métis and First Nations bodies as space invaders in the somatic patterning of the place. These space invaders are carefully territorialized into essentialized slots to limit their constitutional entanglement in Parliament Hill. In other words, ‘slotted’ to ensure the somatic assemblage of Parliament Hill is not disrupted by their somatic inclusion. These figures remain, contained, as space invaders, relationally securing the somatic norm in their otherness.

The First Nations warrior in the 1812 monument is somatically territorialized and slotted into the

position of guide “pointing to the distance” (Government of Canada, 2017, para. 2). This a relationally dependant somatic representation. This is not a warrior fighting for their particularized concerns in this battle, or even a warrior of a particular band, tribe, or nation that was participative in the battles of 1812. Rather, the First Nations warrior, the only monumental representation of a racialized Indigenous body within Parliament Hill I witnessed, is assembled as an aid for Europeans linked to the land, a common trope of colonial representations of Indigenous Peoples in public memory (Büken, 2002). The First Nations warrior in the 1812 monument is a container for guidance relational to active European men in the monument. In turn this arrival of the First Nations body, or an Indigenous bodily representation on Parliament Hill, is amplified in its stereotypical relations as guide. Further, in the description from the Government of Canada website on the monument, the warrior is made to represent all First Nations peoples. The figure is called “a First Nations warrior,” though Indigenous Peoples from the Ojibwa and Dakota (battle of Michilimackinac), the Ojibwa, Odawa, Pottawatomi and Shawnee (battle for Detroit), Six Nations (battles of Queenston Heights and Beaver Dams) and the Algonquin, Mohawk, Huron, and Abenaki (battle of Châteauguay) all participated in this conflict (Corbiere, 2014; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2016). The diversity of Indigenous Peoples is conflated in a singular essentialized representation. The Indigenous Peoples that were participants in the conflict, most famously the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, were not defenders of *Canada* against the United States as the plaque and embodied assemblage of the monument relate. Rather, most were fighting in defence of their Indigenous communities and territories against colonial rule (Brownlie, 2012; Corbiere, 2014, 2015). Notably, Corbiere (2014) explains that despite Tecumseh being the most famously recalled Indigenous person within the 1812 conflicts, the majority of the Indigenous fighters were Anishinaabe (Ojibwe, Odawa, Potowatomi). Further, much like Bownlie’s (2012) description of the co-optation of Tecumseh to continue to assemble Indigenous Peoples within the nation-building historical narratives of Canada, the First Nations warrior of the 1812 monument is positioned with other ‘heroes of the battle’ as a representational slot; a Canadian fighting for a common interest against a common enemy. This erases the complexities of Indigenous Peoples and histories, and Indigenous accounts of the 1812 conflict are

conflated into a narrative consensus. These processes show the somatechnics of disorientation of Indigenous bodies with Parliament Hill. Indigenous involvement in the 1812 conflict is territorialized within a curated national historical narrative that territorializes the First Nations warrior with(in) the context of the development of Canada, and as part of the war of 1812 specifically. In effect, "while they now exist on the inside, they still do not have an undisputed right to occupy the space" (Puwar, 2004, p. 1) as the embodied spatial production is already heavily territorialized to continue the somatechnics of bodies as commemorations of settler-colonial nation building.

Somatechnics of Slotting Continued: Temporal Assemblages of Racialized Bodies

The patterning of the somatic norm that reifes and naturalizes the production of Parliament Hill as a settler-colonial place of nation building is also evident in the transient, temporary bodies in Parliament Hill. The tour guides and Parliamentary police are entangled through their embodied labour to control and circulate expressions and productions of the nation state quite overtly. More subtly, the Canada Day poster that stood on the ground near the Queen's Gate also reveals this somatechnical production (see Figure 5, Chapter 5).

The poster's background is made of a large red maple leaf and images of musical artists including Metric, Indian City, Les Hay Babies, Kardinal Offishall and several others appear overtop. Several of the represented bodies I racialized as bodies of colour. A twitter handle and sponsorship logos from CPac, Canadian Heritage, and CBC Radio Canada also appear on the banner. The relational proximities of these represented bodies to the written signifiers of "Canada Day," "spectacle du midi," the maple leaf backdrop, and the signifiers of Canadian corporations assemble these bodies with the nation-state and as ceremonial bodies to reify the settler-colonial state's naturalness through ritualized celebrations. The bodies in this poster are 'allowed in' only because they can and will be 'put out' again after this temporal articulation and because they reify the naturalized production of the settler-colonial state by being entangled with the Canada Day celebrations. The bounds of their territorialization as bodies of Parliament Hill are already tied and determined. Their bodies are 'slotted' into somatic expressions of ceremonial

celebration of the nation state specifically. The somatechnical effects of these relations, as Puwar (2004) notes, show that in instances where 'progress' is being made the 'other' can enter the space but continues to be the 'outsider' within, and in this way linked to their 'outside-ness.' The inclusion of the Indigenous fighter as a commemorative body and the racialized bodies on the Canada Day poster in Parliament Hill shows how the movement of inclusion of previously excluded bodies "disrupts traditional boundaries, [yet] old boundaries can be reintroduced within the parameters of these spaces" (Puwar, 2004, p. 146). These boundaries are the spatial 'slots' that relationally limit the assembling productions of women, Indigenous Peoples, and other racialized people of colour to assembling Canadian nation-building narratives and the reification of the settler-colonial nation state in/with Parliament Hill.

The complex dynamics of somatic relations of Parliament Hill's spatial production nonetheless carry the effects of constituting "the national subject as a particular kind of human being, a member of a particular kind of community, and, hence, ontologically and existentially distinct from the strangers to this community" (Tobani, 2007, p. 5). The national subject in this case is one who embodies and performs the naturalization and reproduction of the settler-colonial nation-state.

In turn, the somatic expressive shifts in the inclusion of the 1812 monument and the Canada Day poster point to the way somatechnics of dominance ensures the patterning of Parliament Hill as a spatial production for particular bodies to feel resonant and belong. Bodies in tension appear as strategic inclusions and slotted side narratives nonetheless continuing the overall production of the Eurocentric settler-colonial dominance of Parliament Hill and a place for European settler-colonial communication. These organizations fold back on my own living body's somatic relations to Parliament Hill and somatic relations of belonging and otherness within the nation-state of Canada.

The figures in the "Women are Persons!" monument for instance produce a somatic resonance for my body as a settler-colonial Canadian woman assembling further my identity with Parliament Hill's somatic norm. This same process also continues dissonances for bodies who do not articulate with the somatic histories and racialized identities of white Euro-Canadian and settler-colonial. This is the process of entanglement – where connections can afford other connections or meanings for becoming, but also

trap and ‘railroad’ connections and meanings. My own somatic entanglements with Parliament Hill show how somatic resonance and dissonance can happen at once from these processes. My racialized white body of European ancestry articulates my belonging in and with Parliament Hill as I see the reflection of my heritage and racialized identity in these monumental masculine figures. I also encounter a dissonance in my gendered body as the masculine figures articulate they are the actors and producers of the nation to be exalted and immortalized as Parliament Hill. Feminine figures of Parliament Hill articulate other positions in the production of the nation-state: as support characters, allegories, and metaphors for the nation. Even as my racialized and ethnic historical identity articulates with Parliament Hill, my gendered body folds back on this articulation and makes it more tenuous. These dynamics reveal gender, racialization, and ethnic histories come to act as particular mechanisms in the somatechnics of belonging in spatial productions and the complexities of somatechnical processes of resonance and dissonance in the production of social spaces.

To this end my site visit also yielded examples of disruptions to these somatechnics and their effects. The three people who actively assemble elements of Métis identity, culture, and history discussed in more detail in previous chapter for instance, hint to the way the entanglement of bodies in the production of Parliament Hill and its strong patterning of embodied historical narratives settler-colonial nation-building can actively disrupt the historical narrative and expression of nation. The three feminine figures that sat together with an assembled collection of expressions of Métis-ness, including in their dress and actions, show the way the active living of bodies can purposefully entangle in the *activity* of production of spaces for positive inclusion and identity in and with national spaces. The full implications of these disruptions I leave for future work.

The next chapter brings together the insights from the three analytical plateaux to draw conclusions regarding the spatial production of Parliament Hill and the mechanisms of racist dominance that are entangled in this production. These conclusions describe the specific mechanisms of racist entanglements in the spatial production of a national space from my reflexive researcher narrative of the site visit of Parliament Hill. These conclusions answer my second research sub-question regarding how

racist cultural entanglements appear and occur on Parliament Hill. Following the conclusion to the case study portion of this thesis project is the conclusions from the study overall including the insights on the potential of a cyborg for interrupting racisms, what the analysis from the plateaux has shown for such processes for reworking antiracism as a form of responsibility, and potential directions for future work based on the insights from this research.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions Towards a Cyborgian Antiracism

I discuss the overall effects and insights of operationalizing a cyborgian theoretical conceptualization for reconfiguring antiracism and in my mapping of Parliament Hill in two concluding sections. First, what follows provides a more detailed description of the assemblage of Parliament Hill and the specific ways racisms are enacted in its spatial production from the case study. This conclusion engages and answers my second research sub-question: *How are racisms enacted in the material and cultural productions of Ottawa's Parliament Hill?* I begin with a theorization of the spatial production of Parliament Hill and then go on to describe the contours, patterns, and mechanisms of dominance that assemble and entangle racism in Parliament Hill's spatial identity from the three plateaux (Chapters 6-8). The second part of the conclusion provides a reflective discussion of the thesis process of developing a cyborgian methodology of intervention into racist cultural production and looks to answer my other research questions: *What is an antiracism practice of cyborgian response attuned to the entanglements of technologies in knowledge production?*; *How can cyborgian response-ability disrupt the mechanisms of racist cultural production?* These two parts together form the full conclusion and provide the results of my inquiries into transformative change for antiracism praxis in our technologically entangled contexts.

This research project engages the problematic of antiracism's struggle for transformative praxis that can keep step with the complex processes of racism in our world. I have engaged this problematic by describing the contours of antiracism in its productive processes and its critiques in my literature review and developing a theoretical framework that 'recalls' antiracism in light of its critiques and capabilities (remembering Hage, 2016, and Latour, 2007). I argued that antiracism recall should rework towards an embodied response-ability.

The theoretical framework I propose for reconfiguring antiracism as embodied response-ability is grounded in Donna Haraway's (1991, 1992, 1995, 1997) theorization of the posthumanist cyborg. This figuration takes on embodiment, the spatial relational aspects of cultural production, and racism's

rhizomatic processes that my literature review shows are points of tension in current antiracism praxis. In particular, Haraway's conceptualization of the cyborg highlights the entangled, power-laden politics of embodied identity with(in) cultural production through the cyborg's becoming as an assemblage of mechanic and organic fusions. First, she highlights the complex representational, material, and lived aspects of cultural production as spatial production through its positionality as figuration. Second, she calls attention to the process of entangled becoming as relational, political, tactical, and potentially disruptive of structures and processes of dominance that continue racisms through its positional monstrosity. These aspects formed the theoretical conceptualization of my recall of antiracism that I engage and 'think with' (Lather, 2006) towards a transformative antiracism as embodied response-ability.

I operationalized this theoretical conceptualization as a cyborgian antiracist methodology and engaged its potential through a case study by mapping the spatial production of Ottawa's Parliament Hill. This mapping is an examination of the potential for the cyborg as conceptualized above to recall antiracism as embodied response-ability. My cyborgian antiracist methodology occurs through layers of engagement with Parliament Hill that purposefully 'plug in' (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, 2013) theoretical aspects of antiracism and my theoretical conceptualization of the cyborg. In these layers, specific methods of diffraction, contextual mapping, expressive and somatic analyses, as well as rhizoanalyses attend to the aspects of spatial production, entanglement, and assemblage of my conceptual theorization of the cyborg. Drawing on data collected during my site visit to Parliament Hill June 21 2016, I map the contours of three descriptive 'plateau' in the spatial production of Parliament Hill. These plateaux expose the complex processes of Parliament Hill's spatial production, the ways its spatial production networks expressive elements towards its specific assembled identity, and how it entangles bodies in its processes and to what effects. In these analyses I also map the ways these processes inflect on racisms and antiracisms. Together, the analysis in these plateaux shows how specific mechanisms of dominance – active fortification, dialectical relationality, hierarchical organization – are deeply embedded and ubiquitous, actively policed and continued, and naturalized and networked in Parliament Hill and *become* Parliament Hill's assembled identity. In the production of these plateaux and in mapping the processes of

dominance that continue racisms in and on Parliament Hill using the developed cyborgian methodology, specific mechanisms of antiracist embodied response-ability also come to light.

Reading the Map of Parliament Hill: A Networked Spatial Assemblage

Plugging in spatial production, assemblage, and entanglement from the cyborg into mapping analyses of a material public space draws out specific processes and mechanisms through which racisms are enacted in that space. The mapping analysis of Parliament Hill showed specific mechanisms of dominance that continue racisms as *actively* enacted in its spatial production and entangled in its assembled identity. Each plateau revealed a prominent mechanism that continues racism through each component of the cyborg in my conceptual theorization. A diffractive orientation to contextually mapping differential effects and spatial production revealed mechanisms of fortification. Assemblage processes revealed mechanisms of dialectical relationality. Entanglement reveals mechanisms of somatic hierarchical organization. These mechanisms articulate European onto-epistemic structures that deny, silence, and hierarchically organize alternative realities (see for e.g., Law, 2015). These mechanisms are actively policed, curated, and patterned to naturalize this organization of reality (Arendt, 1973). These mechanisms also enclose relations as dialectics of either/or, inclusion/exclusion, which ensure that the positive and patterned production of racialized white, masculine, and European onto-epistemic structurations of reality are signified and exalted (see for e.g., Stanley, 2011; Thobani, 2011). These mechanisms entangle the becomings of living bodies in and with these realities and their configurations ensuring active and continual production through embodied co-constitution (see for e.g., Puwar, 2004; Sullivan & Murray, 2009). Bodies are always already entangled in and with these mechanisms of dominance. These mechanisms also network and tighten the "strong points" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 224) of Parliament Hill's assembled identity through patterning and articulation, forming an 'archi-texture' of dominance *as* Parliament Hill (see also Rogers & Grant, 2017; Osbourn & Osborn, 2004). As such, these are mechanisms of dominance that enact racisms through processes of racialized exclusion.

The first plateau (Chapter 5) showed the purposeful territorialization of perceptive material

elements that constitute Parliament Hill as a space of active fortification. This fortification is a means of ensuring the specific continuance of the spatial production of Parliament Hill from the past into the present and future. This place is naturalized through an *active* and continual territorializing process of dialectical and overt border production, despite seeming eternal and monumental. Consequently, Parliament Hill can be seen as a spatial production of a 'fort' naturalizing this form of material territorial production for nationally commemorative spaces and overtly articulating the settler-colonial expression of the 'fort' with Parliament Hill. The *processes* of this articulation and spatial production are also naturalized. Mapping Parliament Hill's material relations of spatial production reveals not only the 'fact' of Parliament Hill as an overt spatial entity that assembles its identity, but that this identity is actively and continually in production. As such, Parliament Hill not only 'is' a fort that teaches this type of spatial and ideological partitioning in its spatial organization following Donald's (2009) arguments. Parliament Hill also *becomes* the fort through its spatial production. In other words, mapping spatial production shows racist cultural productions are enacted on Parliament Hill through the mechanism of territorial fortification. Processes of fortification occur in several ways: by highlighting and enforcing foundational layers of production, such as the strong tall fences and gated entries. Further, this foundational layer is also actively and continually policed by deterritorializing elements that do not work towards its monumental production, as was evidenced in the cutting of the tree at the fence line, and the relational tension-laden entanglements of mobility of living bodies to the fixities of the buildings and statues in the space. Fortification also occurs through the remaking of foundational material elements that overtly perceptively mark the distinctive space of Parliament Hill through inclusion and exclusion like the replacement of the stone at the fence and the restoration of the Parliamentary buildings of the precinct. In this way, Parliament Hill shows a highly territorialized identity that continually fortifies particular aspects as eternal and natural in this place through organized and entangled dialectics of inclusion and exclusion. This mechanism enacts racist cultural production because it enacts and continues processes of essentializing identity, in this case the identity of Parliament Hill. And more deeply, an essential identity is not inclusive or open to the complex past, present, and future becomings of the peoples, histories,

ideologies, or spatial understandings that would be more reflective of 'Canada' as a nation state. This is a fortification of an essential identity that naturalizes and makes innocent a specific racist expression of Canada, its history, people, and governance.

The next plateau (Chapter 6) shows how conceptual and expressive elements of spatial production configure and network a specific assembled identity of commemorative European settler-colonial nation-building for Parliament Hill. This configuration and patterning of expressive and representational inclusion and exclusion are the mechanisms that enact racist cultural productions in the assembled identity of Parliament Hill. First, the expressions of settler-colonialism in the street names that surround Parliament Hill pattern to form a material-expressive configuration, what Lefebvre (1991) calls an "archi-texture" (p. 118), that networks an expressive context in the larger city in which to 'set' Parliament Hill. This networking of expressive elements naturalizes European settler-colonial commemoration in Parliament Hill and its continuities between Canada today and British imperialism.

Mapping the elements of expression in Parliament Hill shows the continuation as well as the depth and insidiousness of this European commemorative patterning. The configured expressive patterning in Parliament Hill assembles and naturalizes European settler-colonial heritage, history, and identity. This is evident through the symbols and iconography of British and French histories, heritages, and meanings that coat the buildings through carvings and throughout the grounds, the architectural style of Victoria Gothic of the buildings, the narrative in the many plaques, as well as the continued expressions of English and some French language carried by bodies throughout the grounds. These expressions assemble through the relational exclusion of alternative or conflicting spatial productions and expressions of the locale such as *Akikpautik,* the histories of the Penoshway family settlement and removal on the site, and silence and lack of visibility of Indigenous expressive systems. At the same time, the patterning of the visual and discursive expression in Parliament Hill – for instance, the many carvings of flora and fauna directly articulating European ancestry and history in and on Parliament Hill – folds back and naturalizes the European street names that surround it. The names and iconography mutually reinforcr this expressive pattern in this area, to the capital city of the nation state, and in Parliament Hill

as a national site of commemoration and governance. These relational expressive patterns and configurations show how Parliament Hill assembles an identity through mechanisms of dominance in the form of dialectical relationality of exclusion. These relational configurations also show expressive patterning of inclusions towards a singular coordinated identity sedimented and networked in and with material and discursive elements. The mechanism of dialectical inclusion and exclusion through representation and narrative is a well-established aspect in the continuation of racisms (see for e.g., Stanley 2011, 2014). Further, such processes of representational dialectics and patterning towards naturalization also occur in digital spaces which continue racisms (e.g., Grant & Stanley, 2014). This plateau mapped the same processes in material space but also shows how attention to assemblage processes reveals the places and effects of the mechanism of dialectical relationality in material spaces. In other words, this plateau demonstrated that racist cultural representations are enacted through a patterning of dialectical inclusion and exclusion that naturalizes European settler-colonialism and erases Indigeneity from the complex narrative and in the actively assembled identity of Canada and Parliament Hill.

The final plateau (Chapter 7) demonstrated how somatic entanglements are configured to continue the reality of settler-colonial nation-building in Parliament Hill and how this entanglement is co-constitutive for living bodies. Mapping somatic relations in the space reveals that monumental bodies pattern a somatic norm for and in the space that articulates European whiteness and masculinity with Parliament Hill. This occurs through their embodied representations as monuments and is reified through the carefully curated historical narrative plaques that accompany them. Together they assemble a dense network of settler-colonial European somatic relations for Parliament Hill. The somatic norm is also established through assemblages of forms of expression like language linked to bodies that further assemble certain bodies as natural occupants of Parliament Hill. ‘Others’ are relationally marked as space invaders (Puwar, 2004). Therefore, the somatic norm organizes the effects of somatic entanglements through embodied resonances and or dissonances for living bodies as they navigate the space.

The differential effects of entanglement with the somatic norm of Parliament Hill’s assembled spatial production revealed the mechanism of relational hierarchy that enacts racist cultural production in

the space. Entanglements revealed certain bodies are organized, assembled, and territorialized as more acceptable than others, certain aspects linked to bodies are more acceptable than others, and 'unacceptable' aspects are amplified or disoriented from the somatic patterns in the space. Further, those accepted bodies and embodied identities and histories are also exalted, monumentalized, and cemented in Parliament Hill, creating a dialectical and hierarchical somatic relation of belonging.

Mapping the somatic relations of my own body in my site visit showed the complexity of somatic relations in spaces and the effects of spaces in their production and assemblage for embodied becomings. My racialized white body and European ancestry powerfully articulates my body in and with the space, but my gendered feminine body pulls at the masculine relations of the somatic norm of the space. My somatic relations and those of other feminine bodies, like those in the "Women are Persons!" monument and the Queen Elizabeth II monument, show that even as bodies can pull at the somatic norm, they are at once enfolded into the pattern through other configured elements. This is also the case for racialized bodies of colour and Indigenous bodies as is evident in the Canada Day poster representations and the representation of the Métis Warrior in the 1812 monument grouping. They show the crux of entanglement: bodies are not 'free' to become in the world but are 'trapped' by always already material, expressive, and somatic relations of spatial production and assemblage. For Parliament Hill, the spatial production and assemblage of a settler-colonial commemorative or monumental space entangles bodies into this production and assembled identity. This shows racism is embodied, but also lived through the somatechnical navigations that happen in spaces like Parliament Hill. In other words, it entangles living bodies into its active productions and organizations that continue racisms and as such also relationally enacts racisms on living bodies through this entanglement.

In turn, these plateaux reveal the spatial production of Parliament Hill relates not simply errant or singular moments of dominance in spatial production, but patterns of dominance in spatial production, configurations of dominance in spatial production, and the co-constitutive becoming of dominance; every symbolic act links back to the production of settler-colonial dominance in the production of Parliament Hill. The mechanisms of dominance in their effects reveal a totalizing reality of settler-colonialism much

in the way Arendt (1973) describes totalitarianism during Nazi occupation as a "texture of life" (p. 363).

Arendt (1973) relates in her analysis of the origins of totalitarian regime within Nazism, how ideological and material details link and network so that every aspect of life was 'textured' by Nazi ideology, and articulated to it, becoming lived as totalizing, universal, and ubiquitous. Such totalization meant that Nazism itself became in Arendt's (1973) analysis part of a patterning of life, so enmeshed in the everyday that it becomes a sort of common-sense and "no longer an objective issue about which people may have opinions, but has become as real and untouchable an element in their lives as the rules of arithmetic" (p. 363).

A texture of life is not a matter of perspective, but a totalizing, purposeful, and active organization – a making of 'reals' and in turn the unmaking of other 'reals' through the patterned dominance of this reality *as reality* (Law, 2015). Such naturalization, as Law (2015) explains, makes "differences not simple matters of belief. They are also a *matter of reals* [sic]. What the world *is*, [and who decides] is also at stake" (p. 127, original emphasis).

In this way, the texture of life is not something *natural* but rather points to a purposeful, constructed, organization. Arendt's analysis follows Nazism as a powerful, swift, and overt form of dominance texturing life in the lead up to and dénouement of World War II. The everyday texture of life on Parliament Hill may not carry the ruthless overt ideological and relational organization of Naziism, nor has it occurred as quickly, but the material and cultural production of Parliament Hill has slowly and diffusely built-up patterns of nationalist and settler-colonial dominance, and increasingly dense co-constitutive embodied entanglements of dominance as a texture of life. Arendt's description nonetheless captures the way everyday elements assemble and articulate into a larger, deeper, and broader formulation as textures 'wallpapering' our everyday to the point of common-sense (Grant & Stanley, 2014).

Yet, as much as the cyborgian methodology can map the mechanisms and processes that enact racisms in Parliament Hill, it also shows how entanglement, assemblage, and spatial production afford certain means of somatic becoming, relationality, and spatial production that can be tactful and coopted to continue to pull at the somatic norm, expressive patterns, and territorial fortifications potentially

reworking or even making them ‘uninhabitable’ (Hall, 2002b, “Contesting stereotypes” section).

A Cyborgian Antiracism: Attuning to the Entanglements of Technologies in Knowledge Production and Circulation

In my theoretical framework, I develop the specific conceptualization of the cyborg that I operationalize as my methodology through the approach of *plugging in* (Jackson & Massei, 2012). This conceptualization took aspects of the cyborg’s theoretical and performative form as a figuration, its fusion of organic and mechanic elements, its relational conceptualization as monstrous, and its onto-epistemic orientation as posthuman and linked them to theoretical understandings of these processes to operationalize the cyborg in the methodology.

Poignantly this methodology and the writing through of the analytical plateau not only revealed the ubiquitous complexities of racisms in the production of material spaces and the important effects of conceptual and representational processes in the articulation of racisms. Operationalizing the cyborg in showed the deep co-constitutional effects of embodied becoming in and with racist cultural production. The mechanisms of dominance I describe and map in these plateaux consistently entangled my embodied becoming. These plateaux bring home and make intimate Bennett’s (2012) argument for the potential in a greater understanding of posthumanist relationality. I feel it is worth repeating her words as she explains that attention to relationality,

> will not solve the problem of human exploitation or oppression, but it can inspire a greater sense of the extent to which all bodies are kin in the sense of inextricably enmeshed in a dense network of relations. And in a knotted world of vibrant matter, to harm one section of the web may very well be to harm oneself. (p. 38)

Therefore, as the cyborgian antiracist methodology operationalized on Parliament Hill reveals, mechanisms of dominance produce and continue racisms in entangled ways and antiracist response to these mechanisms can come from a practice of embodied relationality in and with the world – in and with the mechanisms of production and relation that always already entangle bodies and their becomings.

Embodied relationality becomes a praxis of response articulated to and with the posthumanist cyborg and antiracism. It provides an embodied way of living in the world that at once acknowledges the mechanisms of dominance and their entanglements in this living, but also resists dominance and is tactical in using these very entanglements to find more relational ways of being and becoming. It is not simply response to racisms but forwards an orientation to response. This is the potential of reconfiguring antiracism with the cyborg: it opens spaces of embodied response-ability as antiracism by foregrounding onto-epistemology, entanglement, and relationality in and as response to racisms.

As evidenced in analysis of Parliament Hill, a cyborgian orientation shows antiracism needs to be responsive to how racisms are deeply embedded in everyday places and processes of cultural production (including human identities, meaning-making, and social spaces). They also show that a cyborgian onto-epistemic figuration holds potential for opening paths of response in and for antiracism considering these entanglements. This approach requires active writing through connections as contextual mapping over description of things produced – mapping over reading a map; a living and becoming-with, not a description and reactive response. It means antiracism can attune to the entanglements of technologies in knowledge production and circulation through a cyborgian perspective, but one that is active, on-going, situated, and embodied; a figuration. Therefore, answering my research questions involves acknowledging, being awake to, and becoming-with a cyborgian onto-epistemic orientation to the world. This orientation means antiracism is a performative embodied praxis rooted in the everyday and its processes of spatial production that interrupts patterned mechanisms' spatial productions of dominance. This approach connects with Sara Ahmed's (2017) work on living a feminist life: feminism cannot be a simply/only a disciplinary routine or a political orientation, it must be a mode of living, of purposeful habitation in the world. This means antiracism can make racism and the representational structures it engenders 'uninhabitable' (Hall, 2002b, "Contesting stereotypes" section), by encouraging an antiracist habitation, and in part this can occur through a cyborgian orientation to that habitation.

Therefore, in developing the cyborgian theoretical conceptualization, plugging it in with antiracism as a methodology, and the engaging this work in a material example of Parliament Hill, I

answer my overall research question: An antiracist practice of response attuned to the entanglements of knowledge production and circulation would look like an embodied cyborgian onto-epistemic orientation to antiracism as relational response-ability. There are several aspects to unpack in this answer. I work through the insights of each aspect, yet I would argue these aspects do not occur separately or sequentially.

First, embodiment in antiracism response-ability emphasizes the co-constitutional relations of racisms and identities in and with material bodies. As discussed in critical literatures in Chapter 3, the intimate embodied aspects of racisms were often an aspect of engagement with knowledge production that is not made overt. As such it was an aspect of antiracism to attend to in any 'recall' of antiracism. Embodiment relates this intimacy that the cyborg, in its agential relationality, purposefully highlights and exposes. It takes on Lichtenberg's (1998) critique that antiracism is often fixated on racism 'in the head' and in this misses the deeper implications of racism 'in the world.' For cyborgian embodiment, the two aspects together are engaged: racism in the head *is* racism in the world, and racism in the world continues racism in the head. They are mutually occurring processes as racisms are processes that entangle identity in structures of racialized dominance. Yet, for cyborgs this embodied attention to relational entanglement provides the ways of developing tactical antiracist response. This is because embodied relational attention highlights co-constitutive relations that can reterritorialize assembling relations themselves. For instance, the three women who produced a relational and tension-filled assemblage of Métis identity and history on Parliament Hill, were reworking the relations of settler-colonial identity for themselves and for Parliament Hill. They tactically entangled their embodied relationality in and with Parliament Hill but also in and with Métis identity and commemorative practices to critically reterritorialize Métis-ness in and with Parliament Hill in their embodied presence.

Second, recalling antiracism to be attuned to the entanglement of knowledge production and circulation requires operationalizing qualities that conceptualize entanglement, knowledge production, and circulation. I argue these are best described and related as cyborgian qualities of figuration, fusion, and monstrosity. It is these qualities that link processes of production to the need for antiracism to

acknowledge the "multi-realist complexity" of racisms as culture (Hage, 2016, p. 132), its rhizomatic (Ibrahim, 2014) and articulated structures (Hall, 1980). These cyborgian qualities also provide space for being attentive to relations between theories of race and racism with processes and avenues of response that is foundational to antiracism (Bonnet, 2000; Dei, 1996, 2006, 2014; Stanley, 2014, 2016).

Third, an onto-epistemic orientation derived from posthumanism, attends to embodiment in an active way that acknowledges the processes of knowledge production, the materiality of knowledge production, the partiality of embodied perspective, and the situatedness of embodied knowledges in cultural production. In effect, it explains Lichtenberg's (1998) distinction between racism in the head as experienced by white Americans and racism in the world as experienced by African Americans.

Insights and Future Directions Towards Living an Antiracist Cyborgian Becoming

This research shows a cyborgian onto-epistemic figuration as a sort of everyday habitation for antiracism requires an awake and tactical understanding of the mechanisms of everyday production of the texture of life as dominance. This understanding and living with and through means acknowledging our becomings as entangled cyborgian beings: that our bodies are co-constituted with the world and deploying such understanding as a means of tactical engagement as praxis. Mapping and plugging in become possible ways of enacting such embodied becoming-with as cyborgian as they remain actively attuned to the processes of engagement and relational constitution in/with the world. Diffraction becomes important to these processes as well, as it provides a mode of engaging in the processes of mapping and plugging in that acknowledges the mechanisms of spatial production. It is not only a recognition of the mechanisms of entangled becoming, but more potently a bearing and deep comprehension of the architectonics of these mechanisms in that entangled becoming: how mechanisms assemble patterns of dominance through territorialization, dialectics, and somatic production. This involves performative embodied positions that rework these entanglements towards anti-essentialist, relational, and nomadic becomings.

Attention to the entanglements of technologies in racist knowledge production and circulation is powerfully not the only mode of antiracist habitation. However, in our digitally infused presents, building

on the insights on the entanglements of our becomings in/with technologies arising from my mapping of Parliament Hill, this attention can provide a powerful mode of praxis.

Further, investigating cyborgs beginning with Haraway (1991, 1992, 1997), I discovered cyborgs show that it matters what we think, know, relate, world, and speak with – the tools of conceptualization and communication are not taken for granted in their constitutional effects. In turn, each aspect of the scholarly, empirical, theoretical, and analytical element I engaged was through an attention to entanglements: to the ways in which they assembled and their effects. This meant extending the onto-epistemic potential of the cyborg (conceptually, methodologically, somatically) into a mode of research engagement. In this engagement the entanglement of my own embodied living in and with the mechanisms of dominance and cultural production I was mapping became intimately overt. The deeper effects of this intimate entanglement of theorization, research, and anti-oppressive praxis is another avenue for future work highlighted in this project.

At the same time, taking on a cyborgian onto-epistemic orientation and living as a means of enacting antiracist praxis is still largely theoretical in this work, an initial 'thinking through' and 'wrestling.' To engage this work further would be to enfold the cyborgian onto-epistemology in and for education with pedagogy and/or curriculum more specifically; as a form of teaching/learning and knowing as becoming. This type of pedagogy and/or curriculum would extend a cyborgian onto-epistemic orientation and methodology to become a means of learning to become an antiracist cyborg in the everyday. Such an approach would encourage an onto-epistemic grounding that is awake to the entanglements of technologies and bodies, but also some means of diffracting such entanglements in antiracist ways in a transformative production for/with the world. In turn, it would move a cyborgian onto-epistemology into a means of transformative knowledge production and circulation that is also material, in the world, and producing an overt cyborgian response beyond a cyborgian habitation. This development could also encourage further work on the possibilities of digital technologies and applications specifically as they entangle with a cyborgian onto-epistemology, engaging the material and technological possibilities and constraints of current technological mechanisms, particularly in site-based

"locative media" application production (Montague, 2017, p. 223).

This would also require more voices and perspectives in the process of mapping to relate with greater complexity the territorial, expressive, and somatic mechanisms of dominance in a place like Parliament Hill. Powerfully, the cyborgian onto-epistemic position for antiracism recalls the situated and contextual becoming of each body and the relational politics required for more deeply understanding that situated and contextual becoming. This means enfolding and assembling other voices than my own in these processes to not only understand what my becoming is/can be, but also what an assembled relational becoming-with may be capable of. It is as Eber Hampton (1995) remarked that "I am often so close to [my positionality] that I can only see one side. Rarely am I able to step back and see one or two other sides but it takes many of us to see more than that" (p. 42). These include voices of other humans who inhabit relational positions to my own, but also attempting to more deeply enfold non-human bodies into a relational becoming-with in order to push further posthumanist and vital materialist perspectives and potentials in a cyborgian onto-epistemology. Future work therefore can take on such openings to other(ed) perspectives.

Such work also requires pushing further at the deep entanglements of settler-colonialism and nation-building in the racist texture of life as revealed in the spatial mapping of Parliament Hill. These elements – settler-colonialism and nation-building – as processes can be engaged further with work on post-coloniality and decolonization to foreground the ways material spatial processes can be disrupted and responded to (see for e.g., Baldwin, 2017; Kerr & de Oliveira Andreotti, 2018; Tlostanova, 2017). As such, I see future directions for this work engaging the insights from these areas with a cyborgian posthumanist orientation to push further the means of response-ability to the material conditions and mechanisms of the texture of life as settler-colonial dominance in Canada, to further map the mechanisms of dominance that construct other spaces, and to explore other ways relationality can be encouraged and lived in our material relationships.

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Appendix A Field Guide

Task:

Reveal if Parliament Hill acts as a place of racist cultural construction, and if so in what ways?

Diffraction: What spatial relations does it produce and in what ways? What and how does it exclude? (how is difference made)

Look for acts of resistance/bubbles in patterns from as informed by a reading of the wallpaper for patterns of dominance and resistance (Grant & Stanley, 2014).

Recall "how space is fundamental to any exercise of power" (Elden, 2001, p. 6).

From literatures look for:

- Flagging (heralded and unheralded) – historical naming, ownership, movement, belonging (Billig, 1995)
    - nation and nationalism
    - racializations
    - representations: look to visual, textual, and mediated (objects and interaction)
    - organization of relations to space, history, nationalism, social, movement; use/function; inclusions/exclusions; where/how of spatial cuts

STAGE 1: Mapping perceptive productions (everyday embodied process of spatial production)

Mapping space – mapping the present (what empirically appears, made not to appear in the present)

Map to catalogue and organize a 'sense of place' (Spencer, 2011) of the site – inventory to produce context

Critical inventory of the space – how does space inflect with history in its managing and re-making (territorialization); the how and the where elements are in site.

Aspects for critical inventory:

- The *people* within the site themselves (what they look like, how they are dressed, how many, where they stand, walk, interact with the site, etc.)
- The *flow* of people within the site's grounds (how they navigate the site, what aspects are of significance through time spent in certain locations, what people take pictures of/document themselves as significant, their reading of information plaques, etc.)
- The details and orientation of the *buildings* within the site (the architecture, placement and physical orientation of the buildings in relation to their surroundings, the open, closed or limited access spaces and to whom, tourist or general public information regarding the buildings themselves – where and how it is available, etc.)
- The details of commemorative *statues, plaques* and *signs/written marking* on the Parliament Hill site (who, in relation to what, how they are represented artistically, positioning and placement of the people in the statues themselves, written information that may accompany the statues, where they are placed in relation to other statues and

plaques and the overall site, the condition of the statues and plaques - well preserved, clean, worn, etc.)

- The *grounds* themselves (the organization and flow of the site - placement of gardens, railings, steps, and fences, boundary markings, the flora and fauna – their type and visual condition, the pathways – both natural and constructed, etc.)

STAGE 2: Mapping digital representational productions

Inventory of digital representations

Keywords: Parliament; Ottawa Parliament Hill; the Hill

- Same day inventory:Twitter and Instagram posts hashtags and key words
    - Location-aware searches (Twitter, Instagram as well as using integrated augmented reality browsers AcrossAir and NearestWiki)
- On-going digital inventory:
    - online news sources (Ottawa Citizen, Metro news Ottawa, and the Ottawa Sun, Toronto Star, National Post and the Globe & Mail)
    - Tourist sites (TripAdvisor; Ottawa tourism)
    - More general digital representations (Google, Wikipedia; Library and Archives Canada; the Canada Public Works and Government Services Canada)