Community Participation and the Spatial Order of the City, David Ley, ed. B.C. Geographical Series, No. 19. Vancouver, B.C.: Tantalus Research Limited.

In recent years we have been inundated with highly generalized exhortations to decentralize the processes of government in the urban area. This little book is a welcome change from prescriptions of this order, in that it represents a serious effort to look at some implications and consequences associated with the "power to the community group thesis." It consists of eight essays, ably introduced and edited by one of the contributors, David Ley. Not all of them are equally successful — they seldom are in collections of this sort — but they have been well selected to reflect a wide range of perspectives. The editor has sought, successfully, to diffuse simplistic notions of what governing an urban polity is all about — while making no secret of his sympathy with the decentralizing trend. (He is inclined to describe its obverse as authoritarian.) Overall the collection relays much useful information and some genuine insights.

The widely differing views of the urban community which may be held by the varied social classes in it are emphasized in the first paper by Alan Hobkick, who examines the perspectives of two widely separated single-family residential areas in Vancouver. John Bottomley and Deryck Holdsworth develop a related theme as they draw attention to the manner in which in Vancouver (and elsewhere) conflicts over land use reflect widely differing conceptions of the nature of the city. Both of these papers contain some useful reminders that the perspectives of academic observers may easily becloud their understanding of the community which is the object of their attention.

One of the more interesting papers in this bok is Leonard Smith's fascinating study of the metamorphosis over the last two decades of St. Léonard, the Montreal suburb. His treatment of the educational dispute which has made this area so well known, and of the demographic energy,

as he calls it, of the expanding minority within it, are illuminating. In another tightly written account, J. T. Lemon reviews Toronto City's experience with citizen partcipation, especially as it has centred on the transportation and physical development issues. He ends up convinced that a more dialectical if not completely decentralized system is both desirable and emerging.

Clearly Walter G. and David F. Hardwick have some reservations about the participative process. In their short paper, which returns the reader to the Vancouver scene, its changing political agenda since 1945, and the responses of elected representatives and the bureaucracy to these changes, they emerge as enthusiasts for consultation — if it is not carried too far. Myra Breitbart and Richard Pert, on the other hand, after reviewing the evolution of the advocacy concept, and providing an interesting critique of some results — such as the BAEQ experiment in Quebec — have few reservations. They come out for more, and more on-going and broadly orchestrated, participation. Whether the end product of advocacy ought to be the growth of class consciousness and the development of revolutionary class-based political power, as they suggest, and whether such a derivation need be labelled socialist (as they suggest), are conclusions which readers (including socialists) will have to re-think for themselves.

This reviewer found more helpful Mr. Ley's reflections on the manner in which community groups and their leadership inevitably become enmeshed in urban politics, including the process of co-optation, and on the manner in which the phenomenon of idolatry, as he calls it, deflects them (as others) from these primary goals. The last paper by John Seley is not easy reading, and is made vulnerable in a sense via its posited assumptions (p. 109) of the likely consequences of coming up with a paradigm of community-based planning. Still Mr. Seley deserves credit for his attempt to relate Dahrendorf's conflict theory to the urban scene. Few social scientists are prepared to tackle serious attempts even at midrange theory.

Readers should not expect to find all of the complexities evoked by our experiences with citizen participation raised here. The political scientist, in particular, notes that the role of the general purpose representative in the democratic process (the subject of some incisive latter-day writing by E. H. Haefele, for instance), is hardly touched upon. Nor is the question of the policy issue which has great local significance but a wide "problem-shed" dealt with. Perhaps Mr. Ley and his collaborators can

follow up on these and other dimensions of grass-roots democracy in studies to come.

University of Victoria

NEIL A. SWAINSON

Vancouver, by Walter Hardwick. Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1974. 223 pp., illus., \$5.95.

Vancouver is a case study in urban geography, an outline of the past, present, and future growth trends of the metropolis, a review of twentieth century planning policies, and a planner-politician's credo. Hardwick, besides leading a research team which has thoroughly investigated the urban geography of Vancouver in the decade since 1964, was also a city alderman from 1968 to 1974. Product of this rare combination of academic and local politician, Vancouver provides important insights for the reader and is a vehicle for the personalismo of the author. This is not a modest book.

Despite colloquialisms, the occasional unhappy expression (e.g. mallocation), and the use of catchy phrases, this is an excellent case study for students of urban geography, planning and politics. For the former group especially, *Vancouver* provides an admirable specific against concepts derived from conventional texts. Even in modern Canadian texts, concepts and models of urban structure and process are still strongly rooted in research based on the American experience. Hardwick suggests that the unthinking application of American models to the Canadian urban scene is not only intellectually irresponsible but may also result in the application of inappropriate planning solutions. Grasping the local problem requires local research and perhaps local theory. Even the discovery that a major time lag exists between the operation of similar processes in United States and Canadian cities may have important repercussions in the planning sphere.

Besides its merits as an academic antidote, *Vancouver* could also serve as an informative handbook for concerned citizens and prospective immigrants. Its firm grounding in the historical antecedents of present conditions and its strong commitment to a planned urban future make it required reading for all those who seek to shape the future metropolis.

The overwhelming fact of metropolitan growth, from a population of 125,000 in 1911 to nearly one million and a quarter in 1973, is first demonstrated, together with the radical changes which have taken place

since 1945. The analysis of changing downtown is of relevance to citizens and academics alike. With the decentralization of residential, retail and industrial land uses to the suburban periphery, downtown has devolved into a modern counterpart of the typical ancient city, a focus of managerial power. The corollary of tall, black insurance towers is interchangeable office fodder stacked away in adjacent highrises. To offset the apparent simplicity of this functional sorting schema, the complexity of the central city is emphasized by providing details of the rise and fall of neighbourhoods and changing ethnic and class patterns. These sections are well illustrated by photographs. Captions reveal an eye for telling detail, and there are some illuminating "before and after" shots. In the discussion of new suburbs and the "rurban" fringe, however, there is a tendency towards description and even the mere listing of features and trends.

From the analysis of residential patterns a major theme emerges of both intrinsic and practical interest. Hardwick demonstrates that the character of residential areas is largely a product of the value system of the original inhabitants. Formality, neatness and a desire for large, welltreed grounds set in a manicured public environment characterized the older suburbs of Shaughnessy and Point Grey. Middle-class group norms triumphed over individualism. In sharp contrast, the working-class suburbs of South Vancouver expressed the individualism of the original settlers in the form of irregular set-backs, lack of curbs, gutters, ornamental lighting and a litter of utility poles. Here potential conflict arises when, crying "private affluence and public squalor," planners and politicians with middle-class values attempt to impose standardized solutions on a diverse urban pattern. Modern values (and illusions) are illustrated by the rush to set up homes in semi-rural exurbia ("a good place for the kids"), a move often followed by the frustrations of long commuting hauls and lack of expected amenity levels.

The importance of mental images and beliefs in city shaping is further emphasized by an investigation of city planning since the 1920s. After a rather breathless historical review and a statement of Vancouver's major planning problems, Hardwick suggests that growth was dominated by economic forces until the 1930s. A series of indictments of past planning theory and practice follows. Planners of the 1930s, such as Bartholemew, were dominated by a view of the city as a single downtown core supported by a series of radial transportation lines. The inability of this simplistic framework to encompass the complexity of a metropolis with many subcentres and much peripheral movement is partly responsible for what

hindsight critics regard as the extremely poor forecasting of prewar planners.

Indictments begin to fall thick and fast. Later planners and politicians are chastised for their failure to rid their minds of the simplistic, automobile-oriented core-radial image, which led them to demand radial freeways and third crossings which would have carved up neighbourhoods and failed to solve the traffic problem. Inability to foresee the decentralization of industry and warehousing, moreover, led to underutilized industrially zoned land in the zone of transition around downtown, resulting in the deterioration of residential quality. As in Victoria's James Bay, the rethinking of the 1970s has resulted in extensive rezoning. Further, modern architects and planners are accused of importing inappropriate California and Miami bulding styles into the unique climatic and physiographic setting of Vancouver. (By the same token one might indict southern Canadians for building replicas of their preferred suburban open-plan environments in the resource towns of the sub-Arctic. We are all guilty of cultural transfer.) Finally, technocrat planners are assailed for their lack of responsiveness to the needs of the public for whom they are, apparently, planning. These are fair assessments and bear repetition, which they get. It is more than a little heartening, however, to find that at least the high level of environmental awareness of the early elite was on the right track; "what was once imposed by an elite in Vancouver is [now] being demanded by the majority."

The rise of the "inpert," and the consequent challenge to the expert, are the realities of urban geopolitics today. Vancouver documents citizen protests whereby undesired developments have been modified. Like Jane Jacobs, Hardwick supports public participation in the planning process, and pleads for urban diversity, "people-oriented" downtowns, and mixed land uses in place of the homogeneous zoning of the past. But increasing diversity and local autonomy carry with them the potential for inter-area rivalry. It was perhaps wise of Vancouver's citizens to reject a balkanizing ward system in 1973 in view of the demonstrated trends towards increasing segregation, not only by race and class, but also by life-style and stage in the life cycle.

Local chauvinism, with its desire for the preservation of local identity, could also be a problem if the political reorganization of the region were attempted. Hardwick demonstrates that the Vancouver metropolis, an interdependent functional region, requires co-ordinated planning rather than the rash of independent policies at present emanating from a mosaic of fossilized municipalities. The term "Vancouver" increasingly refers to

a major region, the city inhabitants of which profoundly affect surrounding non-urban land uses via food demands, recreation, weekend cottages, hobby farms and the scatteration of subdivisions. Political fragmentation is stultifying, and a multitude of single-purpose authorities, and even the GVRD (Greater Vancouver Regional District), as presently constituted, are not enough. As with the fragmentation of port control, planning control of the post-industrial city requires a responsible, responsive, accountable planning authority for the entire urban-rural region.

One of the first acts of such a regional authority should be, Hardwick states, the designation of one or two new office-based "downtowns," for example at New Westminster. This might go far towards the retention of local identity in the multinucleate urban region of the future. The public's appraisal of such a plan is not yet apparent, and cannot be discounted. The planner of the future, while having one ear attuned to "planners' solutions" such as cluster development, is likely to be in the rather schizoid position of having the other ear pinned down at grassroots level. As James Lorimer's Citizen's Guide to City Politics suggests, Hardwick has proved reasonably successful at this difficult balancing feat.

Vancouver, whether used primarily by urban geographer or politicized citizen, remains also a personal testament in the modern humanist planning tradition. The book ends with some indication of areas of conflict in the future and pleads that we bestir ourselves to ensure the development of a high quality urban-rural environment for the Vancouver metropolitan region. This surely is better than continuing to get the environment we deserve.

University of Victoria

J. Douglas Porteous

The Mountains and the Sky, by Lorne E. Render. Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute with McClelland and Stewart West, 1974. 223 pp., illus., \$27.50.

The Mountains and the Sky, written by Lorne E. Render, Director of Exhibitions at the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, and published by Glenbow and McClelland and Stewart West, is a handsome book of quality reproduction and printing. "Every painting," the introduction tells us, "is from Glenbow's collection." Though in some areas the Institute's collection is extensive, it is not vast enough to offer "a composite picture of how a number of exceptional artists have looked at and recorded an expressive

and multiform environment." A glance at the four chapters reveals the gaps in the collection, made the more apparent by the author's lack of conceptualization, discrimination, theme and scholarship.

"It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century," Render begins the first chapter, "that travellers began compiling a visual record of the environment of western Canada." This incredible statement entirely overlooks the extensive recording of the Pacific coast and its aboriginal inhabitants by British, Spanish and American maritime explorers of the eighteenth century. The fact that Glenbow's collection does not include examples of the brilliant watercolours of Cook's John Webber, Malaspina's José Cardero or Vancouver's quarter-deck artists does not excuse such an opening. Further along the same page is the claim that H. J. Warre was "the first person ever to portray" the Rocky Mountains, simply ignoring David Thompson's sketches which precede Warre's by almost four decades. That R. B. Nevitt and George S. Brodie, together with Paul Kane, George A. Frost and James M. Alden, could be considered by the author to represent "the cross section of landscape art that developed prior to the 1880's in western Canada" is both incorrect and dangerously misleading to those unaware of the early expeditionary artists or of such an individual artist as W. G. R. Hind. Though the author told us in the introduction that The Mountains and the Sky was "not a history of western Canadian art or of landscape art," he has, by the sweepingly incorrect generalizations in the first chapter, begun to write a bad one.

The second chapter follows this regrettable pattern. Errors continue from minutia such as the number of trips Marmaduke Matthews made to the Rockies (at least ten, not two), to a dangerously misleading confusion of CPR "commissions" with what were usually just free passes. But the generalization continues its frustrating pattern of being either hopelessly vague or simply wrong. These artists who visited the west after the 1880s, Render would have us believe, were somehow "more interested in the landscape for its own sake," presumably because they were less realistic, less topographical, more emotionally responsive than were their predecessors. But his pictures are hardly convincing and one wonders why "the true artistic expression of the West" begins with these later visitors rather than with Kane, Hind or F. A. Verner. Quite wrong is the statement that these painters were professional by training.

In the first two chapters Render has set the stage for "The First Residents," whom he sees offering by 1920 "a completely new body of art, a new expression of the continually changing spectrum of colour, space

and forms." What we see in Chapter III, however, is not a new body of art but a continuation of the old adjacent to the new — that is, artists representing nineteenth century traditions (as do Sara Mary Blake, John Innes, A. F. L. Kenderline and Thomas W. Fripp) are integrated with Walter J. Phillips, Ina D. D. Uhthoff and Charles H. Scott, artists aware of early twentieth century developments in England and France. These artists have been lumped together not because they offer "a completely new body of art" but for the artificial reason that, unlike their contemporaries in the next chapter, they lived but were not born in the West.

Graver than such false grouping is the limitation imposed by the collection. Render has written a chapter on art of the 1920s without mentioning L. L. FitzGerald, W. P. Weston, and the artists of the Group of Seven, all of whom had a most profound influence on western Canadian painting.

The concluding chapter, "Contemporary Views," combines such divergent artists as Emily Carr, Maxwell Bates, W. L. Stevenson, Illingworth Kerr, D. Otto Rogers and Wynona Mulcaster — merely because they are native born. Their "desire to interpret the land with a deeper, more profound insight than had ever been done before," Render feels, "might well be considered the definitive quality of the contemporary artist."

Render ends this final chapter with a three-paragraph summation of the book. Once more the generalizations grate. He states that "it was not until the early nineteenth century that the landscape assumed an important role, and artists began studying and interpreting it as a subject in its own right." Grandiosely attempting to make western Canadian painting a microcosm of the development of western landscape painting, he concludes that "landscape painting as a pure form is scarcely older than some of the earliest representations of western Canada included in this book." Since the earliest reproductions are Kane oils done sometime after 1845 we are witness to a marvel of historical foreshortening. It is here, in general context and significance, that Render is weakest. He could have considered what it was like for European-trained Paul Kane to paint a Canadian landscape when his only convention for it was drawn from the Italianate and Hudson River schools. This exciting concept — the transference of perceptual conventions from one region to another — is given little serious consideration by the author.

The structural faults of this book are legion — absurd generalizations, lack of concept or theme, omissions and the failure to acknowledge them. There is not even a consistent and clear idea of what is the Canadian west itself. Into a book basically about "infinite prairies, the rolling hills,

the hard mountains, and the immense sky" of the Prairie west, he incongruously includes views of rain forests and sea coasts.

These general faults are paralleled by factual inaccuracies and an amazing lack of discrimination. J. W. G. Macdonald is made a member of the Group of Seven (a confusion, presumably, with J. E. H. MacDonald). Emily Carr did not study in England from 1889 to 1904 (an uncritical transcription of a typographical error from the Carr centenary catalogue). Paintings, most notably those of Carr, are misdated.

Finally, Render shows little discrimination in discussing or selecting the paintings reproduced. The varying quality of the pictures is left undiscerned. A Belmore Browne is discussed in virtually the same tone as a Marmaduke Matthews. And Render insists on illustrating pictures that simply do not deserve to be reproduced. Is the Glenbow proud that it has some of Walter J. Phillips' worst?

It is a pity that such an expensive book with such reproduction possibilities suffers from so many faults. Aside from looking at its uneven illustrations, it is a work to be avoided by those eager to learn about western Canadian art.

MARIA TIPPETT

"Gambling Music of the Coast Salish Indians," by Wendy Bross Stuart. Ethnology Division, Mercury Series, Paper No. 9. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1972. 114 pp.

This volume originated as a Master's thesis in the Department of Music at the University of British Columbia. Stuart undertook the field work with the aid of the National Museum, which now has published her report as a paper in its Mercury Series designed specifically to make such research reports available speedily to the interested public. The study is primarily a descriptive treatment of 194 bone-gambling songs recorded at five gatherings of native people in the Coast Salish area in the summers of 1970 and 1971. The title of this paper notwithstanding, six of the songs recorded and presented were sung, presumably, by Yakima Indians and were found to be distinctly non-Salish in style.

The major portion of the paper, some 88 pages, is given over to the transcriptions and analyses of 65 songs in the following order: transcription, note by note with the accompanying meaningless syllables and/or percussion plus information on the pitch, contour, melodic range, scale,

form, polyphony, and other occasions on which the same song was sung. The reader should note that while no song with meaningful lyrics was recorded by Stuart for this study, such songs do indeed exist, both within and outside of the Coast Salish area. It would have proved interesting, and quite possibly significant, had Stuart been able to provide information on the membership of the group singing, and on most especially the lead singer. Such identification would indicate whether there was any correlation between his/her presence and the occasions on which the particular song was sung.

The next section, Part III, is a summary of the characteristics of the songs, with a detailed charting of the use of scales in 77 songs, followed by a table listing the frequency of repetition of the songs discussed in the paper.

Stuart presents these portions devoted to the analysis of the music itself clearly and authoritatively. They form, of course, her main concern. Unfortunately, the presentation is marred by the brief and sometimes inaccurate Part I, meant to lay before the reader the cultural setting of the gambling games of which the slahal (or lehal) songs form an integral part. Stuart first describes the mechanics of the seating arrangement of the players and the hand motions which communicate the guesser's judgement as to the disposition of the bones, hidden within the hands of two players on the opposing side.

It is when the author leaves the realm of the purely descriptive and makes some conclusions about the non-material culture that she errs. Several of her comments merit critical attention. Stuart writes:

... Ownership of songs, while not uncommon on the North Pacific Coast, implies that the songs involved are of a private or spiritual nature. It seems fairly obvious that if these songs were truly private, they would *not* be sung at public festivals where people like myself could record, transcribe and analyse them. After such treatment, *any* song would certainly be divested of power. (pp. 12-13)

First, the word "private" is not well suited to the discussion; "personal" is perhaps what the author meant. Ownership of hereditary songs, such as, for example, among Wakashan-speaking people, necessitated periodic public display of such verbal material in order to validate the owner's claim to it. The owner alone, or occasionally a relative having the owner's permission, could rightfully sing the song. In the Coast Salish area Spirit songs were sung at certain gatherings during the Winter Dance season. The Dancer would initiate the song, to be taken up by others in a prescribed order. That the Dancer manifested his power through his song

and dancing made clear to the audience his right to that particular configuration and expression.

Secondly, that songs are sung at gatherings of primarily Indian people does not imply that the audience should be taping these songs, nor that they are encouraged to, nor that such behaviour is even welcomed by the Indian participants. Some field researchers have noted that behaviour such as taping, tolerated in a native observer, is frowned upon in a nonnative, and sometimes subtly or openly commented on or even actively discouraged. That no one stopped Stuart from taping could also mean that native people did not overtly dissuade her or that she did not pick up the cues which might have been presented to her.

Thirdly, Stuart treats superficially the most complex issue of "power," leading to the conclusion that it would dissipate should the song be sung in public. There is no evidence that this is the case. To the contrary: as mentioned above, public validation is often a necessary concomitant of the individual's possession of power.

For the proper cultural background for the gambling games, the reader would do better to look to other sources of information. Lynn Maranda's M.A. Thesis, "Coast Salish Gambling Games" (University of British Columbia, 1972) concentrates on a full description of the slehel game plus a discussion of the "power" concept, while Wayne Suttles' dissertation "Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits" (University of Washington, 1951) and J. E. M. Kew's "Coast Salish Ceremonial Life: Status and Identity in a Modern Village" (University of Washington, 1970) provide a detailed picture of the cultural setting, both historical and contemporary, in which the slehel game functions.

British Columbia Provincial Museum

BARBARA S. EFRAT

Themes on Pacific Lands, M.C.R. Edgell and B. H. Farrell, eds. Western Geographical Series, Volume 10. Harold D. Foster, series editor. Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria, 1974. xvii and 311 pp.

Themes on Pacific Lands is the tenth in an attractively produced paper-back series from the Department of Geography, University of Victoria. It contains eight articles, all written by present or former members of the department. Three deal with British Columbia: Michael Edgell compares social demands on the forest environments of coastal B.C. and Victoria, Australia; Malcolm Micklewright looks at government involve-

ment in the west coast fisheries; and Charles Forward examines Vancouver's trade with the western Pacific.

In Forward's paper a short historical account, from the 1860s to the present day, is followed by a more detailed regional survey of recent trade and a glance at prospects. In this reviewer's opinion the paper is an admirable example of compact, informative description, clearly written and appropriately illustrated. One might criticize only for omission: the reader is stimulated to hope for rather more extensive analysis.

Edgell's paper evidently arose from familiarity with both environments and interest in the common pressure for multiple forest use. B.C. readers may find the discussion of Australian problems interesting for its own sake, but the value of comparison is questionable. The forests involved are very different ecologically and administratively, and the evolution of multiple use is at an early stage in both, so the experience of one area has little to offer the other. Victoria, Australia, might perhaps be compared more profitably with California, and the B.C. coast with parts of northern Europe.

The article by Micklewright is much the shortest in the book, and probably too short to deal adequately with its complex subject matter. It does indicate quite clearly the fishing industry's most fundamental problems, and provides a handy reference to the principal government measures, but it would have been thoughtful to refer the interested reader to some of the more extensive sources available.

Both Edgell's and Micklewright's papers discuss very briefly problems on which local readers could find out a good deal more without exceptional effort. While this detracts from their appeal locally, it must be remembered that the Western Geographical Series circulates to a wider audience. Some of the five articles not on B.C. probably hold more interest for B.C. readers, providing background on places where many are likely to vacation and do business.

Rudolph Wikkramatileke's articles on Singapore and Malaysia are broad surveys of physical conditions and historical development. Both are models of their type: Wikkramatileke has a facility for integrating physical-geographic, economic and social elements into a readable, evocative prose which contrasts happily with much of today's more "scientific" geography.

Bryan Farrell's two papers and that by Chuen-Yan David Lai are narrower in scope and more academic in style: a thoughtful study of land relationships in Fiji, which successfully illustrates the tensions arising from varying perceptions of and attitudes towards land, when people of three

cultures have to share a limited resource; an account of how tourist accommodation has developed in Hawaii — well worth reading by any prospective purchaser of a condominium there; and a detailed study of crowding in Hong Kong, with particular reference to one of the government's early housing projects.

By and large the papers stand on their own merits, especially as compact, good-quality source material for teachers, but the volume as a whole invites criticism which has been foreseen by the editors: "The reviewer choosing to commence 'the volume is disappointingly uneven in content and style' will certainly have a field day ..." (p. v). Their attempt to head it off at the pass is not really satisfactory: "... hopefully those searching more deeply will also find the excursion rewarding ... The chapters have common threads providing a human connection and a coherence, albeit one which is not defined in black and white." (pp. v, iv). The Pacific is large, its population and environments diverse. Something more than a regional name is needed to give "coherence" — a rock on which many college area-studies programmes have come to grief. As it happens, almost all the papers in this volume are linked by an underlying topical theme - disturbingly rapid growth in the size, mobility, and demands of population, bringing pressure on human relationships, institutions and natural resources. Dispelling the escapists' visions of the South Seas, this book finds nowhere in the Pacific immune from such problems, and behind its deceptively factual approach lies much food for thought on human responses to pressure.

University of British Columbia

ROBERT NORTH