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To Build a Space: a Reading of Bodies, Temporality, and Urban Colonization

Delaney Tax
University of San Diego

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Student Name: Delaney Tax

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FACULTY APPROVAL

Josen M. Diaz	jmdiaz	11/16/2020
Faculty Project Advisor (Print)	Signature	Date

Dr. Susannah Stern	_____	_____
Honors Program Director	Signature	Date

To Build a Space

A Reading of Bodies, Temporality, and Urban Colonization

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A Thesis

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Delaney M. Tax

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Abstract

Historical and modern urban planning theory often focuses on an idealized body and subject, shaped by race, gender, and sexuality, that exists within the city. This passively and actively divides space into thresholds impenetrable by bodies othered by social and political ideologies. This project looks at the realities of colonial urban planning and the gendered, raced, and queered implications forced onto bodies and communities through the built environment. This investigation examines the frameworks present in colonial urban theory that engender meaning and knowledges onto bodies as they move through the cityscape. Exploring modes of in/access and power along built and invisible divides, these frameworks are applied to case studies. Through reading instances of applied and ideological colonial urban planning, constructions of power, embodiment, and history come to the forefront. The specific implications of individual bodies and communities interacting with the built environment are thus illuminated to be wrought with colonial implications and physical manifestations of white supremacy.

Introduction

Throughout my education, I have listened to countless land acknowledgements. My university sits on stolen Kumeyaay land, and recognizing this is central to any organizing efforts that happen within the institution. Land acknowledgements suggest that community and individual relationship to land matters. This relationship is being constantly negotiated by the implications of colonization and its historical and modern physicalities. Existences and worldviews are shifted though the ways we occupy or are excluded from space. A simple statement acknowledging presences on stolen land, however, does not begin to deconstruct the ways my university and virtually all constructions of space, both past and present, physically and ideologically, utilize occupied land to further an imperialist mission. Colonial presences have made the built environment vital to domination through building over existing livelihoods and enacting extractive capitalism on bodies and nature. In order to adequately confront the pervasiveness of colonialism, we must investigate the built environment.

This exploration into the implications of the built environment derives the theory central to this work: colonial urban planning, or spatial, temporal, and ideological instances of power enforcement that define the space and the individuals within. This investigation uses the concept of colonial urban planning to frame the various spatial, temporal, and ideological implications of white supremacy and western domination. This work conceptualizes colonial urban planning through urban theory surrounding capitalism and identity politics, which contributes to the methods of urban control and the structuring of power itself. In doing so, this analysis focuses specifically on the conceptions of race, gender, and queerness within the western cisheteropatriarchy(Massey 1994, Lipsitz 2011). This dictates what individuals and communities are considered normal, and therefore hold power, within colonization. This power manifests

through ideology construction, spatial organization, and economic exploitation within the city. At the center of colonial urban planning lies a question of how normative applications of planning negotiate the presence or absence of a just city and the communities on the land. By using case studies of colonial urban form in both historical and contemporary manifestations, this thesis dissects out the ways in which bodies are purposefully raced, gendered, and queered by architectural planning itself in order to maintain or implement imperialist power structures. The colonial constructions of both dominant planning and dominant identities as good and normative leverages the power the state has over individual bodies and their access to space. Thresholds, barriers, and areas of contestation arise out of both physical contact zones and ideology made prevalent through urban symbolism. It is within these spaces of contact and in/access that I investigate the intentional identity politics and subsequent ideological control that arises from planning. This study shows that the built environment is central to the construction of identities and belonging, and colonial urban planning becomes a self regulating phenomenon along modes of restriction and access.

Investigating Colonial Urban Planning

Colonial urban planning and colonial urban forms are fundamental to understanding the built environment. When using these terms, I am referring to the modalities through which colonialism is made physical in the built environment. Colonialism, as defined by Dr. Rupa Mayra, is the process through which bodies are "disconnected and dis-integrated from our ancestry, from our Earth, from our indigeneity, our Earth-connected selves" (Mayra 2018). Colonization is the combination of extractive capitalism, systems of supremacy, and domination enacted on bodies/land in order to guarantee social, political, and economic power. It is enforced on the basis of difference that the dominant power uses to further their grasp on the physical and

ideological space. Concepts of race, gender, and sexuality, among others, are invented through colonization and perversely given power through consistent colonial use and enactment. Colonization is pervasive and becomes embedded into lived experiences and ways of life long after the colonizer has labeled themselves as benevolent and nonexistent. This pervasiveness stems from a variety of contacts between colonizer and colonized that are maintained, disrupted, and reformed through the colonizing power's ideological control. Imperialist practices take many forms, and planning becomes an effective pathway to first destroying and then reconstructing existing livelihoods and subsequently ensuring physical legacies of long-term power structures.

Throughout history, planning has been used as a normative tool to shape social ideas and values (Gunder 2010, 298). This is recognized throughout scholarship, whether critical of planning or residing within its norms. The purpose of urban planning is to create or shape a space that is healthier, stronger, or better than what previously lay there. To exist, ideas of healthier, stronger, or better must be in comparison to a state of being, individual, or community that is deficient. Thus, planning is rooted in normative ideas of what is good (Gunder and Hillier 2007, 468). Conceptions of the good and urban planning as a whole do not exist in a vacuum; they are influenced by dominant social, political, and economic norms that have roots in violence, domination, and supremacy. Planners' work for a good city and subsequently a good world is often underlined with hegemonic, utopian influences that play into the desires and interests of the ruling class (Gunder 2007, 469). Working within the system of planning requires a partial acknowledgment and acceptance of imperialist and supremacist ideologies. All planning happens within a system that exists because of colonization and is done by occupants of stolen land. This is where colonial urban planning emerges; it is the specific instances through which supremacist forces use the built environment as a means of control and a space of extraction. This can be

simply operating through colonial structures or explicitly using the urban form to represent and allow for violence. Colonial urban planning is both a tool for and a product of domination of land and communities. Due to the fact that colonial urban planning cannot be understood from simply recognizing instances of straightforward imperialist action, it is important to examine a wide variety of temporal and spatial relationships within ideology and experience (Mills 2003, 705). Throughout my analysis of colonial urban planning, I look at specific contact zones, or physical or temporal spaces at which colonizing forces collide with subordinated groups. These contact zones can manifest in spaces of separation or division in urban plans or implicit colonial ideologies, which are implemented within the ways space is policed or structured in order to maintain hegemonies. Contact zones are also evident via cultures morphing and changing along paths that benefit or resist the colonizing force.

Examining colonial urban planning gives us insight into what Sara Mills calls subaltern subjects and subaltern spaces, or "where indigenous spatial frameworks and colonised evaluations of these frameworks collided, within the context of the imposition of imperial spatial frameworks" (2003, 712). The subaltern is the ideological contact zone where multiple cultural norms are confronted and understood through the lens of the colonizer. This becomes the colonial imaginary, or the narratives of discursive truth structured by and for colonial powers as a space of temporal organization to gather othered bodies, spaces, and ideologies. The raced, gendered, and queered frameworks utilized by colonial powers are applied to indigenous practices in ways that result in a shift of power dynamics. Colonial space is thus crafted to represent and implement these power dynamics and construct the existing communities as uncivilized or infantile. Spaces of division, forced invisibility with gendered and raced realities, and tactics of surveillance are all results of subalternity brought on by colonial frameworks. Not

only are existing cultures erased and restructured to include colonial power dynamics and interpretations, but space itself becomes an expectant acting ground on which these attitudes are played out and advanced.

Methodologies and Concepts

In order to adequately conceptualize colonial urban planning and materialize the pervasive pathways along which colonialism physicalizes, I utilize three main methodologies. Poststructuralism in urban theory, as utilized by Susan Fainstein, uses cultural criticism techniques to map "the ways in which spatial relations represent modes of domination" (1997, 26). Poststructuralism emphasizes decentralization and consideration of multiple forms of oppression and tendrils of power. There is a focus on the uses of urban form to manipulate consciousness, and Foucault's theories of power and the social context of space are used by poststructuralists to find the roots of this notion (Fainstein, 1997, 26). Using poststructuralist methodology, I consider the urban symbols and constructions that serve to divide and conceal such division along various modes of oppression. I also consider the illusion of histories touted by the city and how they serve to prevent resistance.

Poststructuralism, however, can often consider the materialization of power without considering who the power serves or disenfranchises (Fainstein 1997, 26). To remedy this in my analysis, I utilize decolonial methodology. Decolonial methodology stands in contrast to the eurocentric worldview based on intellectual rationalism and recognizes techniques of othering implemented as a result (Hlabangane 2018, 686). Breaking on open the intentionally and unintentionally invisible relations of eurocentric colonization, it also focuses directly on the groups involved in and affected by colonization. This moves criticisms from merely recognizing structures of power to subverting supremacist notions and dismantling these structures. Urban

planning critics relying too heavily on poststructuralism run the risk of further burying groups affected by colonialism by not acknowledging the colonial labels under which they are colonized

The third methodology I utilize is feminist, which I mainly use for its epistemological approaches and considerations for ways of being and knowing (Margaret Fonow and Cook 2005, 2213). The designation of eurocentric knowledge as truth is a colonial tool to maintain power structures and make spatial and temporal division more difficult to cross if a body is deemed less worthy or knowledgeable. In fact, colonization itself relies on the destruction and erasure of other knowledges in order to disconnect colonized communities from their histories. This is directly related to the long-term success of occupying forces. Intersectional feminist methodology (Crenshaw 1995) considers the issue of whose knowledge is being uplifited and privileged especially in regards to the construction and navigation of urban forms. I prioritize reading urban forms for its epistemological values and constructions of certain knowledges as truth.

From there, I utilize theories within geography, urban theory, and economic and political power organization to isolate the applied modes of colonial urban planning within case studies. Antonio Gramsci's theories of ideology and hegemony lay the groundwork for studies of urbanism and power. He understood ideology as the dominant beliefs of the society, and its emergence is due to the ruling class' desire to maintain the existing order. Gramsci engaged with Marx and Engels in their conception of ideology as a set of abstract symbols that justify existing social, economic, and political realities (Gunder 2010, 300). From here, Gramsci's hegemony is social groups' active and passive investment in ideology. Ideology is not only abstract but also physical, built symbols that construct the lived environment as an immovable absolute. Thus, hegemony manifests as enforced permanence and continuation of the urban form and planning

practices that maintain structural ideologies. The deployment of ideology relies on a recognition of the city as "lacking" something (Gunder 2010, 306). Communities in power and urban planners alike utilize the rhetoric of a city lacking safety, green space, or economic opportunity as a way to overarchingly manipulate or maintain structures and individual lived experiences. Lacking is remedied through the state encouraging members to participate and consume in specific relationships to their built environment (Gunder and Hillier 2007, 172). Individuals thus become highly regulated through a capitalistic environment, which is what Michel Foucault recognizes as biopolitics. Biopolitics are the methods through which the state deems bodies productive or useless in biopower, which is the ways that bodies are put to work or made productive (Foucault 2008). Biopolitics emerges in analysis as the mode through which bodies are labeled in relation to colonial power structures. Being gendered, raced, and queered in contrast to the cisheteropatriarchy labels bodies as useless or deficient and therefore worthy of being erased, enslaved, or eradicated. Planning is integral to Foucault's conception of biopolitics, as it represents an often implicit state power apparatus working to normalize hegemony.

In a city's drive to remedy lacking and create passive perfection through the regulation of bodies and spaces, it creates thresholds. These thresholds symbolically and physically maintain the dominant hegemony and label bodies through biopolitical processes. They create what Foucault understands as a heterotopia, or a space within a space with inverted and reconstructed layers of meaning (Foucault 1967). From here, the concept of heterotopia is used to conceptualize the various meanings that urban forms hold for communities and individuals labelled through biopolitics. These meanings stem from the visible and invisible histories played out in the iconographies of urban forms and their embedded state ideologies. In Foucault's *Archeology of Knowledge*, he confronts the discontinuity of history, its discourses, and the

knowledge that is represented as integral to this history (1979). Discourse is rarely taken as a sign of hidden truths, and knowledge as society understands it carries with it the legacy of rejected and erased ways of knowing. Sara Mills furthers this in her conception of "the archeology of space" (2003, 696). Mills contends that it is essential to consider the dominant knowledges that permeate the built environment and our spatial frameworks, as well as the norms that were and are held by the state (2003, 696). From this, heterotopias are only visible through the continuous questioning of ideological histories and realities that shape the way that space is experienced. Further research on the subject of colonial urban planning reveals resistant modalities held by subjugated individuals that reconstrue existing spatial frameworks (Rowe and Licona 2005, Anzaldua 1987).

Henri Lefebvre argues against normative urban planning, stating that it is "capitalism's and the state's strategic instrument for the manipulation of fragmented urban reality" (1976, 15). It is impossible to separate it from its ties to normative meaning-making because of the nature of urban planning, its ties to the biopolitical state, and its existence as a colonial methodology acting upon colonized land and bodies. Attempts to remedy the urban sphere through neoliberal politics will inevitably recreate the existing realities because there is no shift of hegemonic or structural control (Fainstein 1997, 20). David Harvey describes the capitalistic city as generating inequalities by its very nature through its methods of encouraging consumption and negotiating risk along xenophobic mechanisms (1973). The capitalistic city not only allows this, but encourages it. Using Harvey's framework, I recognize that the unspoken iconographies, thresholds, and heterotopias of the urban form are not an accidental byproduct of urban planning; rather, they are the very axis on which the colonial mission turns. The disease of the city has less to do with what it is lacking and more to do with the city itself. Modern commodifications of

justice and goodness by the neoliberal state only serves to maintain the dominant ideology. Lefebvre conceives of space in three dimensions: perceived space, representations of space, and representations of space (1974). Perceived space is the physical ways in which the built environment is centered around the social uses of space which is, in this context, in relation to capitalism, colonialism, and power. Representations of space refers to the way documents, such as master plans, enacts power to control the ideological constructions (Wrede 2015, 12). Representational space is the "third space" (Soja 1996) that stems from resistances to the dominant hegemony and discourses. For the sake of this investigation, the first two dimensions will be the focus, with further research focused on the ways in which third spaces arise from these dimensions. Normative ideology and the built environment mutually influence each other, as Doreen Massey states "it's not just that the spatial is socially constructed; the social is spatially constructed" (1984). Considering the manifestations and reconstructions of colonialism and white supremacy within a community must be coupled with an exposition of how a city and its planners play into them.

Bodies Raced, Gendered, and Queered

Ideological pervasiveness and the thresholds that exist through and continue this ideology serve to race, gender, and queer bodies as they move through space. Urban planning and its facets are colonial tools to project an overarching hegemony and strengthen settler grasps on power. One of the main ways this is done is through the othering of bodies in comparison to the cisheteropatriarchy. The process of othering represents a binarization of power (Smith 1997, 118) between those who hold power to negate themselves as the norm. Ideological and spatial othering takes many different forms, but my research focuses on the ways in which this othering is driven by the urban form. The concept of othering extracted through individual and

community interaction with the urban form has to do with the ways that bodies are gendered, raced, and queered when included, excluded, or while traveling through space. This othering has less to do with the individual's or community's actual identity and more with how the dominant colonial framework categorizes these individuals or communities in relation to power. For example, bodies may be queered not because they take part in homosexual activity, but simply becuase their behavior exists outside of what normative colonial understandings consider to be masculine or feminine. This categorization itself is an enactment of power, and it paves the way for colonialism to enact itself onto bodies and to shape the urban form as a mechanism for this.

Race is an essential dividing factor in colonial urban planning. Settler recognition and construction of racial identity is fundamental to justifying continued violence and civilizing crusades. Existing communities of color are not seen as fundamental aspects of the land in the colonial imaginary; rather, they are extractable parts of the space that must be controlled or erased in order to maintain or gain power. Racialization has little to do with the existing racial identity of individual bodies existing under white supremacy. Race is a social construct and is fluidly attributed throughout history, with real and systemic consequences for those currently and historically racialized (Roberts 2011). This fluidity is also true for the ways in which urban form is built to perceive and further categorize bodies interacting with the space. The white spatial imaginary requires conquest, genocide, and removal to have what colonial communities consider to be good or pure spaces (Lipsitz 2011, 29). As discussed previously, planning operates out of a normative framework of eclipsing deficiency and striving for productivity. Racialized others are seen as antitheses to this goal, as the colonial imaginary frames nonwhite bodies as inherently problematic. Recognizing and acting upon a "lack" (Gunder 2010, 306) is made easier by the racialized methodology that attributes this lack to physical bodies. Within historical and modern

urban planning, there is also the drive to universality (Gunder and Hillier 2007, 171) that is inherently raced. The construction of universal planning norms allows historical structures of colonial power to grow and dominate on a global scale. Using universality, planning maintains the cisheteropatriarchy through mechanisms and tactics that do not change based on the spatial or temporal location of the area occupied. Thus, any community existing outside of the occupying power structure is immediately funneled into the same universal expectations of the Other because their subjugated position puts them outside of the realm of whiteness.

The western belief in a natural history is tied to the issue of universality. A search for natural history led to Europeans entering spaces "in search of specimens and extracting those specimens from their meaning within indigenous systems" (Mills 2003, 705). European colonization functions along the oppressive basis of misreading indigenous cultural meanings within the framework of cisheteropatriarchy, insinuating that the world functions in the same way that the west does. The colony becomes "a space in which meaning is possible" (Noyes 1992, 6) and structural powers can implement and manipulate as they see fit. This natural history is not real history; it is a story about a colonized society before being interrupted by imperialism and works to both enfranchise the presence of imperialist forces and excuse the violence deployed as necessary and ambivalent. Natural history and universality work to ideologically shrink the world into a series of identical spaces that further serve evolutions of capitalism and, later, neoliberalism. Natural history comes to play in urban planning techniques, as will be illustrated through case study analysis.

Universality and natural history impact the ways bodies are gendered through urban form. Gender, just like race, is a social construct centered around ideas of the normal, the abnormal, and privilege. Colonial models of public and private space are influenced by

constructions of the feminine in western social norms. Women's bodies and presences are negotiated through the cisheteropatriarchy, and their occupation of spaces is permitted and declined based on their relationship to powerful males. Judith Butler argues that, when gendered bodies interact with gendered expectations within a cultural temporal and spatial location, the space in which that interaction takes place embodies these cultural articulations (1990). Gendered space is concurrently rigid and fluid, but the spatial moments embodying gender become both spaceless and timeless through the logics of natural history and universality. European gender relations are centered around types of productivity and which bodies are able to do what task, whether rooted in truth or constructions of usefulness based in biopolitics and power dynamics. Thus, space is gendered based on who is relegated to it and its construction further institutionalizes gender relations (Massey 1994, 179).

Gendered space, gendered bodies, and conquest logics are deeply intertwined, and this is evident in the ways in which spatial colonization symbolizes indigenous land and bodies as available for taking. As further analysis will show, european male sexuality is embedded in ideologies of conquest. Nature, indigenous built space, and physical and conceptual colonized bodies are each seen as passive and willing for imperialist penetration and control. Orientalist thought equates entire cities and countries to an individual sexualized body that plays upon existing ideas of gender and generates further dichotomies of otherness. Geography and gender hold a symbiotic relationship in which geography influences ideas of gender and gender relations, while gender influences the production of the geographical (Massey 1994, 179). . The boundaries and thresholds created by gendered space interact with gendered bodies and enforces the Foucaultian ideas of biopolitics and heterotopias, as well as representing a sort of instability that is fluid based on the evolution of gender constructions (Wrede 2015). While there is

immediate permanence to gender constructs and the built environment, the implications of this are not evenly applied based on other social locations. Thus, spaces shift in meaning and accessibility as colonial ideologies of gender are enforced and race and queerness interact with individuals in the space.

The spatial method of queering bodies has to do with how bodies are framed as existing outside of a constructed norm or seen as interacting with multiple binary placements. Being queered in the colonial imaginary interacts with being raced and gendered, as well as accounting for other uncategorizable ways of being. Queerness exists in opposition to cisheteropatriarchical ideals and directly contradicts the historical and modern ideological desire to categorize bodies. To understand how queering functions, I am looking at queer theory and working backwards. In queer theory, queering functions as a resistance method to reunderstand an ideological and physical norm through a lens that rejects the structures normalizing subjectivity. However, queering as an act of resistance implies that queer already existed as a label for the unlabelable. Certain ways of being are considered normal or abnormal under enactments of power, and a rereading or decolonization of these methodologies that is fundamental to queer theory requires normalcies and abnormalcies to be explicitly or implicitly named through ideology. Foucault's conceptions of sex as the idea under which "anatomy, sensations, acts, and practice are arbitrarily unified" (Butler 1994, 2; Foucault 1976, 54) assists in conceptualizing what intersections signal a body as queer. The rigidity of dominant hegemony excludes practices or individuals that do not read as heterosexual, masculine, monogamous, or individualistic regardless of the body's actual relationship to these norms. Raced and gendered expectations are also applied to these bodies, but the way they are read in comparison to the cisheteropatriarchy often leaves them as not belonging to any of the categories or existing within or outside of

multiple categories. Understanding how individuals and communities transcend categorization and how categories themselves are reconsidered in response to a queered presence is vital to conceptualizing how space is utilized to enforce these categorizations.

Queering is often applied to bodies in response to threats against colonial power structures and claims of dominance. Racing, gendering, and queering are each responses to instances that do not mesh with colonial understandings of reality, but queering is especially essential to marking a body as a risk to colonial control. For example, indigenous males are often queered in the eyes of colonial power structures because of their perceived sexual threat to european women (Mills 2003, 711). Sexual contact between the two is assumed to have happened because of the ways colonizers fail to control the indigenous male bodies, which stems from the uncategorizable nature of the indigenous male body and its practices. Thus, colonial spatial and temporal responses to this threat result in violence and erasure. Queered bodies are labeled in this way because of their uncategorizable nature that may stem from various intersection between race and gender or from The physical bodies of these threats are systemically eradicated from colonized land, leaving only the unreal history of the perceived danger that functions to dehumanize and justify continued imperialist intervention. The symbol of the dangerous, queered body lives on in the colonial imaginary, and the built environment responds by building over its lived experience and creating a shrine to the unreal, natural history. The queered body is thus made invisible in its identity, and this process also makes invisible the structure of power the body was funneled through in order to be made queer. Rather than normalcy and abnormalcy being present in the colonial imaginary and subsequent planning, the white, straight, maleness that renders all other identities as contradictions to its existence is

blended into the very fabric of the spatial and temporal city. Bodies are othered against what is seen as the basis of reality.

Existence in the Colonial Built Environment

Utilizing the methodological frameworks and colonial identity politics, the built environment can be read as a manifestation of colonial hegemony through a variety of presences and absences. The ways in which ideology and thresholds come into play with a variety of spatial organizations and realities can be evaluated across space and time. By using urban planning theory and a recognition of colonial confrontations, this section will expand on the specificities of these instances in the subsequent case studies.

Colonial urban planning is fundamentally concerned with the issue of embodiment, including embodiment of knowledges, power, and identity. Paul Bowman understands embodiment as an "elaboration of something other than is received, perceived, felt, constructed" (2019, 75); embodiment is constructed in this way as power outside of practices of labeling and categorization. It specifically has to do with the lived experience of individual bodies and how their affect is negotiated. As Foucault's archeology of knowledge suggests, a recognition of embodied knowledges contradicts what dominant discourse deems as truth. Because power is dependent on discourse to frame both itself and the subaltern, colonialism assumes this as a threat to structural order and employs mechanisms, through spatial planning as well as others, to manipulate, erase, and deem false. Identity creation within colonial power structures attaches itself to embodied experiences and frames them within subjective discursive practices (Hall 2002, 6). In doing so, embodied knowledge and experience is confined in a way that grants all power to the dominant ideologies constructing these identities. Embodiment is also reversed, forced onto individuals as a method of regulation. Subjectivity replaces othered knowledges and

identities, and this is enforced through language and environment (Mills 2003, 703). Subject bodies thus experience both the built environment and the discourse surrounding it as simultaneously under and outside of modes of power. A disembodiment takes place as imperialist powers force ways of being from indigenous and existing individuals and communities. This constructs the urban form, which is a physicalization of power, with in/visible boundaries and thresholds projected only onto othered bodies.

Organization of space becomes dependent on action, presence, or absence developed through cultural practice (Moore, 1986, 117). Although space is an overarchingly powerful normative enforcement, tactical ideological manifestations are only possible through the ways that both colonizer and colonized interact with their social positions and the boundaries and thresholds that are visible because of it. This is where the phenomena of heterotopia appears, as they only exist if specific cultural ideologies are embodied by individuals. Heterotopias are layered with meaning and reflections of reality, and they are not equally accessible or meaningful. For example, both a prison and a museum can be read as heterotopias; the former is a heterotopia of regulation and punishment while the latter is a heterotopia of combined histories. Both of these spaces are weighted with more meaning depending on whether the body is restricted to the space or is absent from the presented histories, respectively, and how individual and community bodies are deemed productive under biopolitics. Foucault discusses heterotopias as a realized counterpart of a utopia, or an ideal space that does not exist. The drive for utopia becomes a vital pillar in the colonial imaginary and the built environment. Orientalist confrontations with unoccupied land are often framed by a desire to find a utopian paradise and, when they come across a blank canvas of bodies and space on which to enact ideologies, sublimity is reached. The experience of the sublime is coded with white maleness, as the

benevolent colonizer comes across pure land and centers himself and his power within it. The land is represented as foreign in order to highlight a dominance and transcendence narrative to be enacted (Mills 2003, 701). Sublimity exists in place of an absent, indigenous body that would otherwise hinder the colonial mission. From this, a natural, unreal history is created that erases existing presences and normalizes their absence. Quiet, untouched utopia open to conquest is then chased through the supremacist practices and structures, and physical control is central to attempts to make real an unreal place. Colonial actors enforce disappearances and reshapings on the land, the built environment, and the bodies that make up their sublime acting ground. This is maintained not only through discourses about the land that grant power to colonial forces, but within the construction of colonial urban planning and how these constructions are conceived. Built space and its recreations become an absent referent to both colonial hegemony and the underscored livelihoods of disappeared communities, which serves to "make the 'elsewhere' sensible, visible, legible, intercalated in urban time and place" (Lefebvre et al 2003, 131). This elsewhere cannot be spatially located; it is a utopia of subliminal privilege that will never be reached. Because utopias are unreal, the spaces altered, destroyed, and created during utopian discourse become heterotopias that hold and negotiate bodies that have been forced into the margins.

Capitalism and tourism become fundamental to the continuation of the colonial imaginary and dominant hegemony. Just as colonialism is tied to capitalistic expansion, colonial urban planning is a reflection of capitalist social relations (Scott and Roweis 1977, 118). David Harvey's extensive formulations on capitalism and planning provide insight into the racing, gendering, and queering tactics that are fundamental to maintaining capitalism. The "inequities-generating machine" of the capitalist city employs othering tactics as a means to

establish and maintain structures of power (Harvey 1973). Social inequality thus translates into geographical inequality and vice versa. Economic activity acts upon these inequities through production and consumption in such a way that maximizes gain and profit (Massey 1994, 51). Tourism becomes a vital mode of maximizing profit while also institutionalizing colonial ideology. Tourism, as defined by Donald Reid, is "a form of leisure which demarcates the classes from one another and separates the enriched life from the ordinary person" (2003,105). Colonial discourse relies on the maintenance and continuation of a natural history, and operating a tourist economy allows for this natural history to be commodified. Colonial symbols and narratives are made physical within a tourist economy and operate as a means of transportation to a physical site of ahistorical fiction. Rather than the tourist being linked to the past, thresholds of colonial imitation "project them into a fantasy world where an ostensibly meaningful existence is available for purchase" (Fainstein 1997, 27). In this fantasy, othering is a capitalist mechanism that translates embodied histories and knowledges into experiences profitable through market logics. The us-versus-them dichotomy central to othering is manifested through tourist spectatorship, in which consumers adjacently witness the performance of natural history. The ideal tourist occupying colonial urban form is one that fits seamlessly into cisheteropatriarchical constructions of what Reid calls an enriched life (2003, 105). Tourism acts along the lines of capitalism and further exacerbates the raced, gendered, and queered dynamics of the colonial city, centering consumption and performance around the recognition of visible and invisible difference. Not only does a tourist economy operate on the recognition of difference, but it functions as a method of sorting individual bodies into consumer or consumed, welcome visitor or threatening outsider, and visible or invisible. The separation between the tourist and the ordinary person, in this context, is better understood as a separation between the tourist and the

imagined occupant of a colonial or postcolonial planning space. Because colonial urban planning relies on the erasure of existing histories, individuals, and communities in order to establish hegemonic control, the subject that the tourist is consuming does not actually exist. Rather, the subject is made up of multiple symbols integral to the natural history of the space that replace the subject's embodiment. The meaning of the space is further interrogated through the interactions between the tourist/colonizer, the colonial imaginary, the spatial and temporal absent referents to a displaced community, and the community itself. Through tourism, heterotopias, thresholds, and barriers in colonial urban planning are made more visible or created in order to isolate othered bodies and dissuade them from occupying the space or encapsulate the desires of the welcomed visitor.

Case Studies in Colonial Urban Planning

Algiers and *The Plan Obus*

Algiers was the first French colony in Africa and was colonized from 1830 until its revolution and independence in 1962. Because of its perceived economic possibilities and exotic location and people, Orientalists and colonial explorers were fascinated with Algiers' way of life and their own potential to gain power there. Orientalism, in this context, can be understood as the specific colonial methodologies fostered through european art and academia and its fascination with the east, which is the general spatial/temporal location of any space that was populated by nonwhite, non-european populations. The movement centered around the invisible white male observer watching over hypervisible, feminized brown bodies, capturing a foreign moment in time so unlocatable that it situated entire communities as passively and infinitely stuck in the past. Algiers' temporal location in the past rendered the land and the people in need of european

colonial enlightenment. Orientalism fostered a natural history of Algiers that was fabricated and placated through colonial imaginaries surrounding othered bodies and embodiments.

Documents written by colonial travelers focus on the sublime experience of first seeing the Algerian casbah on the horizon. The casbah is the indigenous city center in which community gathering, economic activity, and living took place. The casbah became the central focus of europeans in Algiers because of the highly fetishizable alien dynamics that lay within it. Orientalism fostered an almost erotic obsession with what they considered to be "low" cultures, such as Algiers, as an escape from "high" european culture into a sublime colonial hedonism (Celik, 1992, 64). The casbah, along with the bodies within it, were immediately sexualized through the lens of colonial power. As he approaches the city, French author Jean Lorraine notes that Algiers is "a wise and dangerous mistress", insinuating that Algiers exists to tempt him into lust and uncertainty (1899, quoted in Celik 1992, 22). The colonial imaginary frames Algiers as other and inherently risky because of its citizens' radically unfamiliar gender and race presences. Not only did the city become highly racialized, but an entire built environment and population came to be represented by one singular body of the indigenous Algerian woman.

My analysis will specifically be focused on Le Corbusier, his master urban plan *The Plan Obus*, and how the ideological and spatial organization of this plan pulled from Orientalist rhetoric and contributed to the gendering, racing, and queering of Algerian bodies through the urban form. *The Plan Obus* is a key representation of space that, while never articulated in its entirety, shaped colonial discourse and planning far into the future. Le Corbusier came to Algiers under the influence of Orientalism and a fascination with the East's vernacular architecture. His early sketches of Algiers depicted the casbah not as a group of buildings, but as a single veiled Muslim woman (Le Corbusier 2015). This followed in the Orientalist tradition of reducing

indigenous ways of being to single bodies, and also worked to gender the casbah and the bodies inside of it as mysterious and penetrable. Le Corbusier's fetishization of Algerian architecture continued in his rhetoric around a "natural richness" that was present in the urban space he considered to be crowded, dirty, and starkly different from European life (Le Corbusier 2015, 17). His experiences of sublimity are directly related to his viewing of Algerian bodies as less than the Algerian architecture and colonial sexuality embedded in taking control of this architecture. Because the casbah became an absent referent to a penetrable body, the spatial and temporal constructions of *The Plan Obus* focused on a benevolent destabilization of indigenous life in order to maintain the natural history framed in Orientalist conceptions of the urban space. Le Corbusier emphasized this conception of sublimity, pure space, and natural history through working to emphasize what he considered to be the proper uses of indigenous architecture without the indigenous bodies. In this analysis, I will be focusing on three aspects of *The Plan Obus*: The green belts, museum and tourist space, and physical and ideological contact zones.

Green space, especially green belts, have been used as a manifestation of "colonial governmentality" and biopolitics in both colonial and colonizing spaces (Certomà 2015, 24). Structural control of nature changes the relationship with nature from neutral and symbiotic to restrictive given the embedded colonial meanings of domination and extraction. Green belts are manipulated spaces of nature that usually separate indigenous dwelling spaces from european dwelling spaces, and they are utilized in Algiers to keep illness that is conceptualized to harbor in Algierian spaces from the French dwellings (Abu-Lughod 1981, 145). Thus, the green belt acts as a physical and restrictive contact zone that prevents racial intermixing. *The Plan Obus* transformed the concept of green belts from horizontal to vertical, diagramming them as bridges from the French settlements in the mountains to the Algerian settlements below. This

implemented a power dynamic and elevated French bodies over indigenous bodies, while also creating a specific site of racial contact where the bridge met the space dictated for the Algerian population (Celik 1992, 69). Green belts specifically racialized non-european bodies by barring accessibility, as well as queering them through the elevated position of surveillance and avoidance.

The Plan Obus is centered around colonial tactics of preservation, destruction, and reconstruction in order to serve the specific imperial mission of utilizing Algiers' economic possibilities. Le Corbusier wanted to reconstruct Algiers within his framework of architecture and urbanism being a great educator (cited in Celik 1992, 75), both for the european tourists traveling to Algiers and the Algerian citizen in need of civilizing education. This framed Algiers within the concept of the inequality-generating capitalistic city that disenfranchised indigenous bodies by isolating their existence within a specific temporal and spatial location. Through occupation, the french colony perceived an unreal history of the urban form and its community members, and these histories created a blank acting ground on which fetishization and civilizing projects could be enacted. Le Corbusier was especially focused on intentional demolition and preservation of the casbah in order to maintain the space as a museum. In *the Plan Obus*, the casbah was separated into Algerian dwelling areas and what Le Corbusier wanted to be considered as authentic Algerian lived areas dedicated to Algerians performing authenticity to european tourists. Le Corbusier hoped to bring about an "indigenous renaissance" (Celik 1992, 69). Slums were to be removed, displacing indigenous communities in order to depict an ideal indigenous world that justified colonial settlement through its perceived civilizing effectiveness. The removal of living bodies from specific zones in favor of idealized performance and architecture queered the lived reality of indigenous populations by erasing actual connections to

space. The museum and tourist space also created a contact zone between europeans and Algerians in which europeans were permitted to take place in a forced urban capitalism, while Algerians were unable to occupy the european dwelling spaces in the same way.

Contact zones within *the Plan Obus* were negotiated through the physical and ideological hegemonic tactics of the colonial power structure. The green belts represented a contact zone that was specifically negotiated to prevent the perceived threat of diseases that could be transferred from the Algierians. Contact was permitted at the entrances of the green belt bridges, but the structures themselves acted as a physical barrier preventing the racialized Algerians from accessing the upper european colony. The positionality of the green belt also created a contact zone between the perceived Algerian woman that represented the casbah through an elevated viewership dynamic. While the actual lived histories of Algerians was erased through the plan, the perceived mystery and penetrability was maintained; this could be observed by colonizers from above the city and within the tourist space. The private space of the casbah was gendered, and therefore the bodies occupying it were as well. This ideological presence but physical absence led to colonial exploitation that played out in the urban iconographies and knowledges preserved and replaced. A universality of indigenous life was created by colonial discourses that prevented Algerians from negotiating their relationship to place and allowed for european economic benefit of raced, gendered, and queered implications.

The design of *the Plan Obus* was rooted in both violence and sexualized contact. *Obus* refers to the French word of the pathway of an exploding bombshell. The plan, modeled after these pathways, referenced the violent militaristic presence that the French had in Algiers while insinuating a continued destruction of indigenous ideology and built space. Le Corbusier also modeled *the Plan Obus* after the curves of a woman (Celik 1997, 23), referencing the Orientalist

gendering of the city while further equating individual Algerian bodies to that of one, imagined, gendered representation. The obsession with the Algerian woman and the private space equated to her erased the Algerian male presence, and this is reflected in the tourist economy centered around european travelers penetrating and observing an imagined private indigenous community centered around a sexualized colonization. Embodiment was erased through the manipulation of spatial history, furthering the conceptions of a universal and natural history. While *the Plan Obus* was never implemented before, it provides an important insight into colonial urban planning practices and became an influential document in further colonial projects.

<div align="center">The Colonial Politics of Cultural Districts: Little Italy, San Diego</div>

Unlike many Little Italys across the country, San Diego's Little Italy is a relatively new phenomenon. It developed in the early 1990s due to local business owners creating the Little Italy Association that designated the area as a business improvement district (Ford, Klevisser, and Carli 2008). An area's designation as a business improvement district comes with a focus on business performance with tourists and dwelling desirability for tenants, many of whom move into the area as outsiders to the ethnic identity that the area touts. The transformation of community identity within Little Italy represents the destruction of what Katheryn Terazano calls an ethnic enclave, or a space in which migrants were gathered together by a combination of racist redlining tactics and cultural familiarity (2014, 242). Ethnic enclaves were to serve as temporary communities that assisted in the dominant narrative of assimilation; Italian migrants were to use the area now known as Little Italy to adjust to and become productive within American society. The Italian and Italian American community in the ethnic enclave around the harbor was weakened by an urban renewal highway project in 1962, and continued to thin until the 1990s (Terazano 2014). This is when the city deemed the area as potentially productive and

branded it Little Italy. While the tourist economy in Little Italy thrived, the cultural identity was stifled by gentrification and an unreal cultural narrative. The illusion of Little Italy has since been ingrained in the economic expansion logics and the forced subaltern status brought on by modern colonial urban planning discourse.

Little Italy, San Diego is concentrated around six blocks hovering next to the San Diego harbor and over Downtown San Diego, India Street, the main street running through Little Italy, is densely lined with restaurants and storefronts occasionally opened up by multiple plazas decorated with fountains and cobblestones. The Little Italy landmark sign, one of the city's main investments into the development of this cultural district, hovers over India Street with the intention of transporting passerby into a unplaceable place. The fountains and open spaces in the plaza and the pseudo-authentic storefronts also evoke an unreal history of place. Before it was deemed as economically profitable by the city of San Diego, what is now known as Little Italy was home to mostly Italian and Italian-American fishermen and their families. Just like other ethnic enclaves, Little Italy provided affordable housing, churches and schools in the migrants' language, and businesses that catered to cultural needs (Terzano 2014, 342). While the dominant governmental ideology pushed for migrants to eventually shed their cultural identity to become true Americans, the community in pre-commercialization Little Italy provided pathways for economic and cultural security. The destruction of this physical and ideological support system after the urban renewal highway project that cut through the enclave gives insight into the colonial workings of San Diego's planning. Evidently, the renewal was not to benefit those already inhabiting the urban fabric; rather, it was part of San Diego's racial erasure tactics that were utilized to welcome the white flight stemming from racial tensions in Los Angeles. This is also seen in the development of Balboa Park and the widespread use of spanish colonial

architecture around the city (Uddin 2015, 158). Private car travel was prioritized with the implementation of a highway, and this privileged white suburbanite travel to the downtown areas while disenfranchising the existing community who did not have access to private transportation. Occupants of Little Italy and other densely populated urban spaces in San Diego were further removed from other modes of travel by the city's emphasis on funding private rather than public transportation infrastructure.

This urban renewal project was the method by which San Diego began to erase the othered community inhabiting Little Italy. As the migrant population was forced out through gentrification and displacement, the city began to use the space as cultural branding to attract outside tourism. Thus, the urban planning of Little Italy was purposefully constructed to erase the existing population and create what Joseph Conforti refers to as an "ethnic Disneyland" (1996, 839). The metaphor of a theme park points out the heterotopic experience that Little Italy, San Diego was constructed to evoke; a theme park represents a place neither here nor there that uses iconography to transport patrons through a foreign experience that is too general to actually be rooted in a historical moment. This phenomenon is common across ethic-enclaves-turned-business-improvement-districts, as it works to construct a universal norm of cultural identity across time and place. Little Italy, San Diego, is purposefully not rooted in the surrounding place. It could easily take the place of Little Italys across the county. Its construction purposefully eliminates the need for space-based discourse and removes the responsibility of white power structures to provide economic, social, or political support to the Italian migrant that no longer exists. The forced invisibility of the migrant population allows for the dominant power structures to negotiate what history is maintained or constructed and how it is expressed in order to attract a white tourist. In Little Italy, San Diego, the constructed history

consists of "Italian-sounding" names of condominiums and public places, while few of the existing residents are Italian or Italian American (Terazano 2014, 347). The city is thus commercially Italian, which fosters the illusion of ethnic history without maintaining the important ties to place and migrant body that would make the history authentic.

The tactics through which migrant bodies are raced can be traced through the development of Little Italy, San Diego. The urban renewal rhetoric and subsequent destruction of the existing ethnic enclave prioritized white suburbanites over the existing migrant population by physically and ideologically plowing through the community in order to better consume and capitalize upon the space. The threshold created by the Little Italy sign, the plazas, and the Italian monikers on buildings and restaurants races nonwhite, and especially Italian, passerby by placing them within a narrative so obviously constructed for only white economic contributors. The urban form and iconography throughout the space is an absent referent to not only an imagined Italy, but the bodies that urban planning has made invisible and the purposefully generic nature of the space that allows for temporal and spatial transformation. Through erasure tactics that are still in use today, the Italian population is queered through ahistorical constructions of what is normal and abnormal. The urban symbols used in the space vaguely references an unplaceable history; the fountains, cobblestone open spaces, and retro storefronts are meant to communicate to tourists that Little Italy has maintained its history and operated this way since Italian communities first developed in San Diego. However, since the area as we know it has only existed since the 1990s, the iconography is referencing an empty history and unreal bodies. The historical community structure of the Italian ethnic enclave has been labeled as abnormal through its striking nonpresence in the modern existence of Little Italy. Any cultural expression outside of one-dimensional, easily commodified aspects, most notably food, is

forcibly pushed aside to make way for the white tourist and consumer. Bodies are further queered through the structural methods of displacement such as gentrification, redlining, and economic inaccess. The intimate interactions between ahistorical culture and outside tourists fostered through the consumption of food gender both Little Italy's restaurant environment, and its relation to the absent Italian female body. The restaurants in Little Italy push an authentic and home-cooked experience of food consumption that place the tourist within an ahistorical Italian community that purposefully does not exist. The blurred lines of public and private space generated through restaurants perceived as local, the open plaza spaces, and imagined history of Little Italy itself intends to place tourists within an authentic Italian community experience. The private space I am referring to is not actually private, but merely a construction of an open community welcome actually maintained through a pervasive dedication to the tourist experience. Just as seen in *the Plan Obus*, the city becomes part of gender construction for both individuals within the othered community and those consuming.

<div align="center">The Mission System and the University of San Diego's Campus</div>

The history and continued presence of the spanish catholic mission system shapes Southern California's urban planning, and is especially prevalent in the iconography of San Diego. The first mission, founded by Father Juipero Serra in 1769, was known as Mission San Diego de Acala and was located in present day Mission Valley, San Diego. This mission, along with the 20 other missions founded until 1823, originally served as a civilizing tool for the indigenous communities living on the land. The spanish colonization of California relied on indigenous indentured labor to toil the land, and spanish colonizers maintained control through forced baptisms, disembodiment of cultural practices, and community destruction (Miranda 2010). The agriculture-centered mission was upended in the 19th century by the repercussions of

the Mexican-American war and the rise of anglo-americans to power over California (Kryder-Reid 2016, 73). This drastic economic and political change altered the purpose of the mission system and, in order to maintain its relevancy in a changing religious and racial demographic, required a shift in ideological and physical representation. The mission system and the colonizers running it thus reoriented to represent a preservationist history and a romanticized past that was notably absent of the indigenous bodies that had previously been the backbone of its success.

During the period of mission revitalization in the 19th century, the ideology of manifest destiny was being cemented through the construction of California as the property of white colonizers (Kryder-Reid 2016, 71). Discourses surrounding manifest destiny romanticize the land through a framework of natural history and sublimity; the white settler is imagined to have come across empty land that is guaranteed to him. In order to maintain this narrative, the evidence of indigenous occupation needed to be erased. Thus, the mission system could not operate as an outwardly violent method of assimilation and control relying on indigenous bodies for religious dominance and labor. Missions were transformed from agricultural spaces to that of a romanticized history of colonization and manifest destiny. In order to maintain relevancy and further colonial ideology, political figures and church powers alike urged for the preservation of missions in order to stimulate economic and academic participation with settlers and tourists alike (Moran 2013, 434). Charles Lummis, an activist central to the ideological and physical transformations of the mission system, advocated that the missions were not only filled with environmental and economic potential but "a past of history and romance" that was central to Southern California's capital (1895). This history was not real, but rather an aspect of the colonial imaginary that both enabled colonial erasure of indigenous existence and a continued

narrative of benevolence. While the discourse of assimilation was maintained through the ideological and physical transformations of the mission, the focus was shifted from the violent assimilation tactics of the original mission space to the unique "Americanization" of all migrants through the mission's reference to white supremacy (Matthews 2012).

The physical transformation of the mission system centered around the discourses of leisure and control. This is most obvious in the development of the mission garden. Architecturally, the mission garden is an open space of perfectly curated greenery that intended to evoke a connection to nature and the sublime that was fundamental to colonial hegemony and relationships to the land. It replaced agricultural space with a benevolent leisure area that fundamentally made invisible the indigenous bodies that were subject to abuse through the mission system and the impact they had on continuation of the mission system up until this point. Feelings of peace and tranquility were intentionally evoked by the white men, and sometimes white women, who were allowed into the space. This worked to reframe colonial violence as an invisible reality of the mission space as tranquility overrided the history of genocide. Spatially, methods of control were replaced with implicit barriers and thresholds that were marked as only created for and occupied by the colonial white male. These barriers and thresholds are only made real, and therefore experienced, through the inherent falseness of the colonial imaginary. Mission gardens were the framework for further redesigns and discourses that shaped the mission landscape as a secular, romantic symbol of colonial success. The aesthetic transition from an economy fueled by indentured labor to an untrue history created a safe passageway from past to present for tourists participating in the mission's new role as a capitalistic space. The mission garden thus becomes an ahistorical heterotopia that transports the individual moving through it to a colonial memory not rooted in time or place.

The mission garden's focus on the experience of those conforming to the cisheteropatriarchy races, genders, and queers othered bodies through a false representation of their history and physically and ideological restriction of bodies allowed in the space. The reconfiguration of the mission centered around drawing secular, American men to the space as both scholars and travelers. Women and nonwhite individuals were rarely allowed to enter the mission in the 19th century, and the mission garden provided a space not unlike a green belt to monitor and restrict bodies from moving through. When women were allowed to pass through the mission garden into the mission, they became a representation of a false inclusion narrative as well as a tool to maintain social and political capital (Kryder-Reid 2016, 91). This represents the social mobility afforded to whiteness and further queers othered bodies for not emulating imperialist constructions of femininity and masculinity. The enslavement and genocide of indigenous communities was raced and queered, as we see through Deborah Miranda's analysis of the extermination of two-spirited individuals referred to as joyas (2010). Indigenous existences that resided outside of colonial constructions of hypersexuality were labeled abnormal and therefore deserving of violence and later erasure. Interactions with the mission garden are also queered based on whether the individual body connects with the ahistorical narrative present or finds fault in it. Evident erasure of nonwhite bodies perpetuates further exclusion from the space based on forced disembodiment of lived and generational realities. These realities are furthered ostracized through the rhetoric of the mission garden as "just a garden" when it is in fact a method of naturalizing a violent path with the hegemony of the present (Kryder-Reid 2016, 134).

The aesthetic tradition and planning representations developed within the mission garden are seen across San Diego in recreations of spanish colonial architecture and benevolent open

spaces. This tradition is evident on the University of San Diego's campus. The university's catholic roots are represented in widespread use of mission garden aesthetic principles and the implicit ideological connection between catholicism, academia, and sublimity. The various statues and references to mission actors such as Father Junipero Serra traces the shifting narrative from the reality of Serra's role in genocide and colonialism to a benevolent figure bringing civilization to California (Kryder-Reid 2016, 91). The university models itself as an absent referent to a false history, thus the university itself is a heterotopia of a romanticized colonial story created to hide institutional violence. This violence did not necessarily happen under the institution of the university. However, individuals on the margins of power structures that pass through this heterotopia are burdened with the raced, gendered, and queered implications of this architectural shrine. The University of San Diego can be thought of a museum site representing a history twice removed, since it has no concrete historical connection to the unreal construction of the modern mission system nor the spatial location of being a mission site. This twice removal does work to further distance the genocidal history of the catholic mission system, which therefore passes over othered bodies even more.

Conclusion

> We come to this space through suffering and pain, through struggle. We know struggle to be that which is difficult, challenging, hard and we know struggle to be that which pleasures, delights, and fulfills desire. We are transformed, individually, collectively, as we make radical creative space which affirms and sustains our subjectivity, which gives us a new location from which to articulate our sense of the world. - bell hooks (1989, 23)

The built environment deeply impacts the lived experiences, presences, and absences of bodies operating in and around the space. These impacts stem from the deeply rooted colonial power structures that negotiate power and acceptance. Western imperialist constructions of gender, race, and queer identity are not only integral to whether a body is present or absent in

history, but are embedded in the urban form that is a product of this imperialism. Constructions of identity are visible in the various thresholds, barriers, and heterotopias built into the urban form. Recognition of and access to these specific spaces embedded with specific experiences is dependent on how an individual or community is othered, marginalized, and erased. The tendrils of colonial urban planning are far-reaching and transcend space and time to become embedded in our modern world and lived experiences. Colonialism takes many faces, just as colonial urban planning takes a variety of explicit and implicit forms through urban iconography and land use. This analysis pulls the urban icons and forms so deeply normalized and breaks down the raced, gendered, and queered byproducts. Throughout the case studies and beyond, colonial urban form and the structures of urban planning as a whole create spaces of marginalization based around cisheteropatriarchical constructions. Further research and work around this subject, however, must center around resistance. bell hooks holds that "Marginality as a city of resistance" is the very space of liberation (1989, 23). Reunderstanding urban form and reconstructing it as liberatory is the pathway to decolonization. Community organization around the construction of third spaces, or spaces outside of the margins and rooted in resistance, is vital to claiming the urban form as for the people (Anzaldúa 1999). The heterotopias, barriers, and thresholds are spaces of potential when forcibly disconnected from their imperialist meanings. Building justice starts there.

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