


Rob Shields, Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa. January 2004.¹
**Intersections in Cultural Policy:
Geographical, Socioeconomic and Other Markers of Identity**¹

Abstract

Region is shown to be constitutive of individual and social identifications, not only as geographically determined by one's Province, Territory or area of residence, but also as a cultural symbol. It highlights the politics and instability that lurk beneath the anodyne concept of identity. Intersectionality is performative. Using approaches developed in cultural geography and environmental psychology, region is shown to be significant in the expression and everyday realization of identity formations. 'Region' challenges the assumption that identity markers intersect on a single plane or that identity markers do not appear in different forms depending on their engagement with other, equally varying identity markers. In regional, urban and neighbourhood examples, region is shown to intersect with and to impact on other identity markers such as race, gender, and ethnicity in four ways: (1) as a surrogate for other markers such as socio-economic status or ethnicity; (2) as a framework for analysis of specific cultural policy and identity issues; (3) as a resource or set of 'affordances' in the everyday performance and blending of intersectional identifications, and (4) as part of a 'social spatialisation' or a 'brand' uniting local groupings of diverse identities. Although under-researched as an intersectional and surrogate identity marker, region is relevant to cultural policy as a brand reflected in diverse cultural events. It has the power to unite people despite other, mutually-incompatible identity markers.

Sommaire

La région s'avère constitutive de différentes et sociales identifications, non seulement géographiquement comme province, territoire ou secteur de résidence, mais également qu'un symbole culturel. Les régionalismes démontent la politique et l'instabilité qui menacent sous le concept banal de l'identité. L'Identité intersectionnelle est performative. En employant des approches de la géographie culturelle et la psychologie environnementale, les régions et régionalismes s'avère significative dans l'expression et la réalisation quotidienne des formations d'identité. Elles défient la prétention que les marqueurs d'identité intersectent dans un seul plan ou que les marqueurs d'identité ne semblent pas sous des formes différentes selon leur enclenchement avec autre marqueurs d'identité – marqueurs d'identité qui changent aussi. A travers des exemples, les régions sont montrées pour intersecter avec d'autres marqueurs d'identité tels que la race, la sexualité, et l'ethnicité de quatre manières: (1) en tant que substitut d'autres marqueurs tels que le statut socio-économique ou l'ethnicité; (2) comme cadre pour l'analyse des issues de la politique culturelle et d'identité; (3) comme ressource ou ensemble d'affordances dans l'exécution quotidien et le mélange des identifications intersectionnelles, et (4) en tant qu'élément d'un spatialisation social ou

¹  Rob Shields 2003. <http://www.carleton.ca/~rshields/index.htm> This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/1.0/> A revised version of this paper is forthcoming in *Canadian Ethnic Studies*.

d'une marque qui regroupe des identités diverses dans une localité. Bien que sous-recherché comme marqueur, la région est appropriée à la politique culturelle comme une marque reflétée dans des événements culturels. Elle a la puissance d'unir des personnes en dépit d'autres, marqueurs incompatibles d'identité.

Introduction

This brief theoretical paper considers the relevance of intersecting region [al], socioeconomic status and other 'identity-markers' for cultural policy and research. It argues for a flexible framework for regional-intersectional research on cultural identities because 'region' is found to contribute to intersectional identities in multiple ways. It attempts to clarify the manner in which 'region' as a spatial identity-marker is not only a regional myth or stereotype, but may act as a resource for individuals and communities, a powerful label which frames policy decisions, a surrogate for other non-spatial markers of identity and intersections such as socioeconomic status, religion and ethnicity.

A Canadian urban example can be found in the area known as the 'North End' of Winnipeg. After the Second World War it is referred to as an immigrant and Jewish enclave (Gutkin 1987). In the 1960s, small bungalows were built in the area and bought mostly by Ukrainian-Canadians as well as others of East European origin. The generally single-income households were often supported by manual labourers. Very much like a regional image, the area was portrayed as having a certain 'gritiness' which reflected the character of aspiring immigrants. Orthodox, Jewish and Ukrainian Catholic religions have long been important institutions and bases for community networks. While there was diversity within the community, the North End became a byword for other intersecting identity-markers such as 'working class' and 'East European'. On the one hand the stereotype served to advertise the specialty businesses in the area (Selkirk Street, lined in the 1970s with Ukrainian and Jewish food stores) and conferred a strong identity and sense of origin on those who grew up there. But on the other hand it could have negative implications for those who inherited its mantle. Workers in the area were negatively affected by economic cycles in the 1980s and 1990s and the area's East European population aged as children left in pursuit of jobs and larger suburban homes. To outsiders, 'North End' came to signify economic decline, further stigmatizing the area. As new Canadians with Philippine and South East Asian roots moved into the area in the 1990s, the image began to change again, taking on racialized overtones and intersecting with new sets of identity markers (on race and diversity see Walcott 1997; Williams 1992).

Region provides the concrete environment that supports or hinders everyday cultural practices and events - this includes the businesses and the churches, church halls and community centres in the example of the North End. But, region may take even more tightly localized forms as, for example, an urban ethnic, commercial, religious or other type of enclave in which a spatial or regional identity are subsumed within an ethnic, religious or other identity-marker. In the case above, region becomes a byword for a complex intersection of identity markers, a rubric and even a stereotype that masks the changing and diverse quality of the North End. 'Region' therefore presents a challenge to the assumption that identity markers intersect on a single plane or that identity markers

do not appear in different forms depending on their engagement with other, varying identity markers. Identity-markers remain theoretically unclear, overlap with each other (religion and ethnicity for example), and are incomplete as a set (for example race, above). Identity-markers may not be comparable attributes that intersect in a direct, head-on, manner. The example of the North End illustrates this. Furthermore all 'identity markers' are in a dynamic relationship with each other to create what might be called a changing *order of identity*. Intersectionality is not merely a lateral, side-to-side overlap but can just as easily be an unequal up-down intersection in which one identity marker dominates and suppresses others.

'Region'

Regional and spatial thinking have played a well-recognized role in Canadian cultural policy and in understandings of Canadian national character. There is also a literature on regional economic disparities and development. I will take the unusual step of avoiding a review of these two important areas of academic excellence in Canada (see Shields 1991). Instead I wish to focus on how region plays a background role within the rhetoric and discourse of Canadian cultural research and policy discussions. This paper treats the notion of 'region' as including urban areas and specific places-of-interest, instead of only the taken-for-granted but poorly defined sense of a region as a flexible geographic area including several towns and an expanse of landscape. It adds the more metaphoric sense of 'region' as a spatial shorthand for other identity markers and the different forms region may take. These spatial forms constitute a milieu and crucible within which still other identity markers intersect, are negotiated by people in their everyday lives, and reflexively transform the *space of intersection*.

A survey of recent documents on Canadian Cultural Policy reveals these recurrent themes of place, regional scales and spatial issues such as globalization and Canada, homelands and host communities, mobilities and diasporas (Hesse, 2000; Abu-Laban, 2000). Recent discussion papers on culture² and intersections of diversity can be easily read as manifesting a set of spatial concerns. For example, one prominent theme has been the different local and regional cultures within Canada and what is surely by now a tradition of geographical concentrations of waves of New Canadians of a given culture to one or another urban centre.

Another spatial theme has been tensions between the local and the far-off or foreign. If, 'Ethnic and racial minorities are often faced with choices between the dominant Canadian culture and their culture of origin' (Kligman, 2002:1), this is also a choice between the local, proximate milieu and that of a distant homeland. In recent cultural policy documents, this has taken the form of a concern for flows of goods, bodies and cultural ideas and practices into and (to a lesser extent) out of Canada. This is highlighted in concerns over Canadian cultural sovereignty. Policies designed to modulate cultural flows in the context of globalization - at times restrict 'cultural products [such as films] from flooding the less powerful Canadian market.' At other times they promote greater interaction to avoid a "frozen culture" phenomenon, where an immigrant group maintains the culture of origin as it was at their time of emigrating...' (Kligman, 2002:1). The global relationship between diverging cultural practices of diasporic communities

within Canada and foreign homeland cultures of origin is a new challenge to Canadian cultural policy. This foregrounds the importance of a spatial understanding of global scales, relations and flows (on diasporic communities and cultural practices, see Appadurai 1996).

In cultural policy, 'region' tends to be understood as referring to one or another 'regionalism' and its expression in particular cultural features, practices or forms (for excellent case studies see Molloy, 2001; De Bres, 2001). But an expanded sense of the term is essential because 'region' poorly captures the spatial and areal qualities of cultural policy and practices. The significance of region is its role as a *spatial* marker of identity not its specific geographic scale or size.

Region in Canadian National Identity

Canadian identity and nation-building projects have appealed to the images of regions and particular places (The True North Strong and Free, the St. Lawrence, Quebec City, Niagara Falls, the Rockies and so on are recurrent landmarks in nationalistic art and literature - (Shields,1991)). It is not surprising that diversity challenges to monolithic definitions of regional identities (for example, Maritimers) should also refer to places and regions as a way of recasting identities. Antagonisms around identity, intra- and cross-cultural relations are also integrated into popular regional mythologies and stereotypes, contested or instilled in subsequent generations, and thus reproduced or changed as part of the values and affective life of social groups. Often these values are contested through shifts in the symbolic and discursive meanings of key regional myths – such as 'The North' or local place identities (e.g. the myth of *Evangeline* (Longefellow 1995) celebrated at Grand Pré). Artists such as Jin Me Yoon have often led the way in problematising the manner in which iconic places and artistic representations of the landscape have become indexes of a monolithic identity associated with the identity of the Canadian state. In her *Souvenirs of the Self* or in *A Group of Sixty-Nine* she inserts non-Caucasian immigrants into scenes of famous Canadian landscapes (Yoon 1998; for a discussion see Manning 2003:26-8).

Approaches to region as an identity marker are also shifting. Andrew Nurse provides an overview of the importance of region as a factor in identity in Canadian social science (2003). Geographers such as Manuel Castells summarize this approach to region by contrasting the established national 'space of places' with an emerging post-industrial and global 'space of flows' (Castells,1996). This approach always takes region in intersection with other identity markers, such as socioeconomic privilege or sexual orientation.

'Social spatialisation' is one term that has been advanced to denote geopolitical formations which are as much a question of values, history and contested meanings as of territory and location (Shields,1989;Shields,1988;Shields,2003a). In these formations, the identities of places and regions are understood to be an effect of a network of difference. As a product of an ongoing social spatialization, place and regional identity itself can be understood as an important cultural product and a key element of cultural practices. Spatialization denotes an ongoing social process of coding and casting places and regions

as contrasting ‘places for this’ and ‘sites for that’. The point is that regions only have strong identities in contrast to other regions. Spatial identity is as much a matter of difference as of internal regional character. Put another way, this is to say that ‘place image’ is not constructed in a purely local manner but with an eye to other places and regions. This suggests that like intersectionality, spatial identities require contributions from several directions, outside the point of intersection or the region itself.

Building on and reforming established place and regional identities by highlighting new activities is a never-ending contest of possibilities, images and identities. Further, these may be only partially or inadequately ‘performed’ at any give place and time (see below and see Barmadat 2001 on performativity). Recognizing the contested and performative qualities of national and popular senses of region and identity offers an understanding of cultural diversity which is both geopolitical and sociological. This approach provides a structure in which diversity can be analysed across geographical space. Localities are treated as ‘arenas’ in which agents confront structures and the potentials, or ‘affordances’ of a place in citing and elaborating identities (see below). There is great regional variation in the inclusion and recognition of other identity markers, but research on this is relatively sparse. However, the best historical studies acknowledge the contingency of local configurations of culture and the intersectionality of identities (for example, Parr 1990 on gender, place and economics; Harris 1997 on aboriginal status, colonialism and region).

Four Spaces of Intersection

With these concerns in mind, I am arguing for expanding the rubric of ‘region’ to include (1) a further set of spatial identity markers at different scales such as ‘global’ or ‘foreign’ or ‘place’ and ‘neighbourhood’ which frame cultural policy discussions or provide the sources of metaphors and a conceptual shorthand for identities. (2) In concrete terms, places and regions can be understood as ‘affording’ varying opportunities and offering different resources for cultural practice. (3) This may result in a plurality of regional ‘performances’ of a given cultural identity. (4) One development is to concentrate collective and community resources in ‘enclaves’ which concretize and support a cultural or other identity (one thinks of gay enclaves (sexual orientation) or of religious enclaves). These will be briefly discussed as four intersections of region with other identity-markers. Each undergirds a different *space of intersection* for yet other identity markers.

Spatial Metaphors as Surrogate Markers of Socioeconomic Status An idiomatic example of region or place as a conceptual ‘shorthand’ would be the common metaphor of being from ‘the wrong side of the tracks’ - a spatial metaphor for low status. As in the case of the North End, poverty or ethnicity (or both) are often coded as a spatial-regional stereotype, a metaphor that can be both cast as an aspersion or worn as a badge of honour - ‘I “from the wrong side of the tracks” have made it!’. It may be difficult to see that this is a case of the intersection of region with ‘socioeconomic status’ because the spatial marker *displaces* the other salient identity marker(s). This is a key to understanding how the processes of social spatialization turn regions and places into images and how images influence the development of regions and places such as tourist destinations or ethnic enclaves in cities. Here region or area intersects with other identity markers to become an

‘opportunistic’ or ‘*surrogate marker*’ of status. Here region is not only a surrogate but may also become the *name* given to an intersection - such as socioeconomic status and sexual orientation as in the case of gay nightclub areas in some cities.

Region may be an index of high status or a special or praiseworthy attribute. But in many cases spatial region as a surrogate marker and coded carrier of other identity markers is an unwelcome association for an individual. Rurality, for example, may be understood as an index of lack of sophistication or in some contexts can be received as a surrogate for other identity markers. At the urban scale, areas often function as surrogate identity-markers for race - for example Chinatown (Anderson 1990), and Africville require little explanation regarding the racial and ethnic status of the presumed inhabitants (Clairmont and Magill. 1974). Thus some intersectionalities of region may operate not only as an enlightened policy approach but must be considered as a form of prejudice and stereotyping within the informal structures and processes of everyday life. This is a form of cultural ‘labeling’ by region, area and place. These labels frame decision-making in not only cultural but also economic and human resource policy.

Affordances: Regions or environments are fields of resources and opportunities. ‘Affordances’ are properties of an environment taken relative to an observer or actor. These ‘affordances’ structure the behaviours and interactions possible in places or regions. For example, agricultural or fisheries resources may give rise to regional cuisine. In this sense, regions can be characterized as offering a basic infrastructure which may support only certain aspects of cultural practices and productions.

Cities as nodes in global networks of economic trade and information exchange, as ports and gateways afford anonymity. These flows allow individuals to escape normative pressures of dominant cultures. Various studies have pointed to the continued segregation of immigrants in gateway cities (Bauder&Sharpe,2002). This is a push-pull phenomenon, in part a matter of exclusion from desirable areas with high levels of affordances, and in part the pull of accessible social networks of previous immigrants.

In economic terms, local and regional affordances are natural advantages and disadvantages. Consider the importance of timber and mining to the interior of British Columbia or the fisheries to the evolution of Eastern Canadian identities - a region stereotyped as the ‘Maritimes’. These occupational cultures - often synonymous with ethnicity, gender and class - intersect with and dominate regional identities. In the context of a changing global service economy, ‘natural advantages’ need to be rethought in intersectional terms - region and socioeconomic status, but also language, ethnicity and so on.

There is disagreement on how far this ecological psychology term should be extended. J.J. Gibson, the original proponent of the concept of affordance saw few limits (1982). Affordances are a concrete aspect of social spatialisation. The infrastructure and resources of cities and regions such as housing can thus be broadly regarded as affordances. For example, Peters argues that urban natives and their relationship to regional reserve life and culture is anchored in the availability of housing in cities

(Peters,1998). Diversity and availability of housing is thus one urban affordance. This metropolitan-peripheral intersection of urban neighbourhood, aboriginality and socioeconomic status is a good example of the broader policy significance of this concrete aspect of space and region. In terms of cultural policy, it is also important in the case of aboriginal cultural centres in cities and the sustenance and the development of aboriginal cultures in urban settings.

Performativity (Spatial-region as effect of diversity): Local affordances are important factors in understanding the reproduction and endurance of minority, sexual and other cultures and subcultures. Lack of affordances leads to certain activities, traditions and expressions being given primacy over, or neglected in favour of, others. Cultural practices, events and institutions often have a symbolic, ‘performative’ quality in that they signify not only a canonical meaning or historical event but symbolize and carry forward unperformed but significant aspects of the culture (see Bell 1999). Butler (1993) and Fortier (1999) argue that it is not necessary to enact all elements of a cultural identity to effectively signify and reproduce it. The same is true of spatialisations that are not only concretized in the development of heritage landscapes, built environments and the creation or husbanding of affordances. They must also be reproduced and continued through enactment. In her brilliant study of the Italian community in London, England, Anne-Marie Fortier shows how Canadian understandings of multiculturalism reveal that such ‘ethnic’ cultural identities are generally ‘cited’ in partial performances. These actualize a more complex and multifaceted identity in a selective manner which is appropriate to a given setting and supported by available affordances (Fortier,1999; see also Butler,1993:225). It is as if cultural identity hovers like a virtual entity extending what does get done, said or seen to a far larger set of unsaid, unperformed but tacitly understood features which must be accounted-for in successful cross-cultural engagement.

Thus terms such as identity and culture, however defined are in practice citations of a virtual ideal. Whether actualized as a parade or a cultural festival, heritage and diasporic cultures are as much in the mind as they are actually performed. This returns us to the importance of spatial metaphors as a conceptual shorthand which ‘fills in the gaps’ between the ideal and the actual. A parade of formally dressed people in a ‘Little Italy’ area will be framed in such a way that one will more likely expect a Catholic religious theme and understand the parade as an expression of Italian Catholicness than a similar parade encountered in another part of the city.

The concept of performativity shows that ‘identity’ is always relative and a matter of practice. As a manifestation of diversity, *intersectionality is performative*. It also explains the manner in which a few key cues and practices can suffice to connote an entire cultural heritage, allowing participants to recognize themselves and each other within ethnic traditions, for example. Performativity also directs attention to the embodiment of cultural practices and the manner in which they must take *place* physically as well as conceptually to be effective. The local milieu is taken up in practices as not only a stage but as a supporting prop with affordances and limitations. Performativity thus links region, as a place with specific, limited, affordances, to cultural

practice in a manner which gives a vivid and clear sense of how heritage or another historical identity marker is taken-up and reproduced as a living, inter-generational cultural identity or another intersectional identity.

Enclaves: Enclaves are one solution to shortcomings in affordances that group resources locally to support performances of cultural identity. In the case of enclaves, intersectionality is literally territorialized and concretized in the built environment (e.g. Vancouver's 'Chinatown' - (Anderson,1990) or sexual orientation (Toronto's 'Boys Town' (VanderBurgh,2001) or Ottawa's 'Pink Triangle' - (Macdonald,Fisher,Wells,Doherty,&Bowie,1994)). Enclaves are ongoing productions as well as outcomes. They are the visible, tangible element of spatialisations which synthesize the above elements of images, affordances and performances of identity. They provide affordances and a secure context in which identity-markers can be performed and embodied. As such they are more than the mere sum of the built environment, for the community they support is essential to the security and legitimation of identity performances - whether they be cultural in the artistic sense, ethnic, sexual, aboriginal or religious (to name only a few).

Research on the diversity of urban cultures is often frustrated when cultures are highly localized in enclaves of ethnicity . Access to census micro-data sets is highly restricted to protect any possibility of linking patterns of answers to particular respondents and thereby compromising their anonymity. At a recent workshop on diversity, a participant commented,

Although the specialised surveys, such as the Ethnic Diversity Survey, will be helpful, they are not local enough. It is important that census data and data from other surveys can be brought down to a more localised level in order attain a better understanding of immigrant enclaves and residential patterns (Mulholland,2003:3).

Therefore, the participants concluded, it is always difficult to get a detailed quantitative model of minority participation in cultural activities and industries, if there is relatively small population in an area or enclave. Qualitative research based on ethnographic observation remains the only rigorous set of social science methodologies for researchers who aim to investigate exclusion of minority artists, and access by communities, to support cultural participation by the most under-represented minorities. The problem of access to micro-data compounds a situation where, for example, 'while authors identified as ethnic such as Christopher Ondaatje, are praised, there is a general lack of data on ethnic participation in cultural industries despite initiatives in that direction' (Roundtable participant, Intersections of Diversity Symposium 2003).

These four urban manifestations of spatial identity markers show the multidimensional significance of region as a spatial identity marker for the field of cultural policy. As a stereotypical label, region may be a surrogate for other intersecting identity markers. As a set of affordances and local resources it may be an infrastructure and as a space of intersections it may be performative. As an enclave, region may be a product, a

spatialisation of performances in the form of a place.

Regional Intersections and Cultural Policy

Consider another example: Shediac, New Brunswick proclaims itself the 'Lobster Capital of the World'. To celebrate this, the city has hosted an annual Lobster Festival since 1949. The Lobster Festival celebrates the region's geography through crafts depicting summer scenes, landscapes and of course lobster cuisine. Traditional Acadian shellfish dishes are also served at lobster-eating events. A slew of parades, fireworks, 'cultural' entertainments highlight the importance of this economic means of survival and historical dietary mainstay (Fox 2003). The Festival highlights the locality's maritime affordances (resources) and Acadian roots, and celebrates the way of life of the region, which creates for tourists and locals alike a time-space 'bubble' of constructed identity.

However, pointed critiques have been made of the social impact of the tourist images of the Maritimes' inshore fishery, its facilities and local culture (Davis, 1991; re. Peggy's Cove see McKay, 1988; re. Newfoundland see Overton, 1988). Touristic images displace racialised, gendered and linguistically-diverse realities, not to mention aboriginal, identities and trans-national relationships to a North Atlantic economy of trade (Coates, 2003; Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003). Strong regional identities - often important to attract investment or tourism - may not support the recognition of other markers of identity. The irony is that regional tourism identities, publicly funded by promotional campaigns, may erode multicultural justice by undercutting the recognition of cultural diversity and the liberal state as a legitimate institutional arbiter between communities.³

Local affordances, and a carefully constructed touristic image are carried forward in a performative manner that is both everyday (in the sense of everyday economic activity) and staged (in the sense of annual festivals). Yet this intersection of region, economics and identity is contested. The intersectionality of identity-markers is not just dynamic, it must be understood as fundamentally *political*. A workshop on culture and intersections of identity also identified the importance of public commemorations and representations of local history, asking for,

Research on the effectiveness of heritage centres as part of the decolonialisation and de-museumisation of aboriginal cultures in Canada and in particular how this intersects with aboriginals, non-aboriginals, youth/generation and gender.... How do small museums organize local memory? We also need to research how minority memory is included or excluding What are the implications regarding power, the state, minority culture, majority culture, intra- and inter-minority relations? Who gets represented in the collective identity? (Mulholland, 2003:3).

Policy Questions and Issues

How can festivals, cultural institutions, gay-pride parades, and so on, be opportunities to present cities as fun and internationally-connected spaces of diversity and intersectional identities? For local decision makers, cultural events and festivals have come to be seen

as one part of economic development strategies. The arts, and in particular the exotic diversity of multicultural artists and performers have been used to lure tourists and to build cities' reputation for sophistication, cosmopolitanism, privilege and happiness. For the last decade, particularly in Europe, the multicultural city has been the focus of both policy-making and subsidies as cities all over Europe have vied for the annual title of "European Cultural Capital" (Bianchini, 1993). This successful policy initiative has explicitly recognized the importance of images, affordances and performativity. This is also an important shift in regional development and community economic development thinking (Parkeh, 2000).

Intersectionality is political, dynamic, and can be negative as well as positive. The intersections of identity-makers in local areas and regions such as Shediac or elsewhere reveals the instability of identity and its political qualities. Regional intersectionalities can have negative social impacts such as negative stereotypes of socioeconomic, race, religion or ethnic status. This is an important factor in cultural policy planning (consider the impact of SARS on Toronto's commercial and cultural sectors, and the calculated response in forms such as mega-events chosen for global media impact). The intersection of identity markers is a dynamic one in which region plays an important role by providing the images of an historical heritage as well as concrete affordances. These have been argued to be elements of an overarching and intersectional 'social spatialization'. This theoretical approach allows us to see that on one hand region anchors an order of identity. However region is also reflexively shaped by performances of intersectional identity.

How do regions enter into intersections with each other and with other identity-markers? Social spatialisation has been suggested as a key to understanding the intersectionality of regions. Further research is needed to clarify the dynamics of region and other spatial identity markers, especially as they appear to make multiple contributions on different levels to intersectional identities, and to even act as a surrogate identity marker. Policy approaches need to be developed which are responsive to the dynamic qualities of regional intersectional identities.

Promote regions and other spatial identity-markers by naming and highlighting the diversity a 'regional-branding' or label represents. Regional identities can later be liabilities, but cultural policy-makers must acknowledge and make use of the tendency of spatial identity makers such as region to become surrogate labels for the complexity of intersectional identities. For example, how else to sum up Shediac and similar places other than as 'The Maritimes'? How else to describe the complex intersection of ethnicity, religion, poverty, aspiration and even individual character, that produced so many distinguished Canadians than just as Winnipeg's 'North End'?

Are the research tools and information adequate to develop cultural policy? Resources can be found in critical cultural studies and the academic literature offers relevant case-studies of diversity cited throughout this paper. Drawing on the existing stock of knowledge and record of excellence in research and evidence-based policy which has been developed in the cultural policy research areas over the last 30+ years, the research

tools and instruments for understanding how identity markers map onto regions, especially small enclaves, need to be reassessed. Further research and case studies are needed to show how regional-intersectional identities are reproduced under conditions of globalization.

These policy issues which have been raised in this paper highlight the need to avoid oversimplifying, reifying and thus losing our grasp on the nature of cultural identity. This is not a task which approaches to identity under the rubric of intersectionality resolve once and for all. Rather, markers of identity such as region are themselves not fixed objects and do not intersect with other markers of identity on a single plane. One marker may overlap the other, taking on the role of a surrogate or subsuming other markers of identity within a single label or stereotype. Africville, Winnipeg's North End, or the Maritimes are just such regional identity-markers which have become bywords for diverse and intersectional identities.

Cited References

- Abu-Laban, Yasmeen. 2000. The Future and the Legacy: Globalization and the Canadian settler state. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 35 (4):262-276.
- Aftab, P. (2001). *The Parent's guide to protecting your children in cyberspace*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Anderson, K. (1990). 'Chinatown Re-oriented': A Critical Analysis of Recent Redevelopment Schemes in a Melbourne and Sydney Enclave. *Australian Geographical Studies*, 28(2), 137-154.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands: the new mestiza = La frontera*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.
- Bauder, H., & Sharpe, B. (2002). Residential segregation of visible minorities in Canada's gateway cities. *Canadian Geographer-Geographe Canadien*, 46(3), 204-222.
- Bell, V. 1999. 'Introduction', *Theory Culture and Society Special Issue on Performativity*.
- Bianchini, F., and M. Parkinson. 1993. *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bramadat, P. 2001 Shows, Selves and Solidarity: Ethnic Identity and Cultural Spectacles in Canada. Canadian Ethnic Studies Association (CESA) 16th Biennial Conference Nov. 2001 (Department of Religious Studies, University of Winnipeg)
- Burman, J. (2001). At the Scene of the Crossroads 'Somewhere in the silvered city': Diasporic public spheres in Toronto. In P. Moore & M. Risk (Eds.), *Culture of Cities: Under construction* (pp. 203-211).
- Castells, M. (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society* (Vol. 1 of 3, *The Network Society*). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Clairmont, Donald, and Dennis Magill. 1974. *Africville : the life and death of a Canadian black community*. Toronto :: McClelland and Stewart.
- Coates, K. (2003). Breathing new life into treaties: History, politics, the law, and Aboriginal grievances in Canada's maritime provinces. *Agricultural History*, 77(2), 333-354.

- Davis, A. (1991). *Dire Straits. The Dilemmas of a Fisher: The Case of Digby Neck and the Islands*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- De Bres, Karen, and James Davis. 2001. Celebrating Group and Place Identity: A Case study of a new regional festival. *Tourism Geographies* 3 (3):326-337.
- Forman, M. (2002). "Keeping it real"?: African Youth Identities and Hip Hop. *Critical Studies*, 19(1), 89-118.
- Fortier, A.-M. (1999). Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s). *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16(2), 41-64.
- Fraser, N. (2001). Recognition without Ethics. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 18(2-3), 21-42.
- Gibson, J.J. (1982). *Reasons for realism : selected essays of James J. Gibson*. Edward Reed and Rebecca Jones (eds) Hillsdale, N.J. : L. Erlbaum, 1982
- Gilson, Stephen French, and Elizabeth Depoy. 2000. Multiculturalism and Disability: A Critical perspective. *Disability and Society* 15 (2):207-218.
- Gupta, D. (2001). Spaces of Culture: Cultural Mapping and urban festivities in Montreal. In P. Moore & M. Risk (Eds.), *Culture of Cities: Under construction* (pp. 171-178).
- Harris, R. Cole 1997. *The Resettlement of British Columbia; essays on colonialism and geographical change*. Vancouver, UBC Press.
- Hesse, B. (2000). *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, 'Transruptions'*. London, Zed Books.
- Hoggart, R. (1957). *The Uses of Literacy; Changing patterns in English mass culture*. Fair Lawn, N.J.: Essential.
- Jakubowicz, Andrew, and Helen Meekosha. 2002. Bodies in Motion: Critical issues between disability studies and multicultural studies. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 23 (3):237-252.
- Johnston, D. (2001). Queer Culture in Toronto and Montreal. In P. Moore & M. Risk (Eds.), *Culture of Cities: Under construction* (pp. 243-244). Toronto: Mosaic.
- Kligman, S. (2002). *Roundtable on Culture and the Intersections of Diversity: Overview of Program, Policy and Research Issues*. Ottawa: Multiculturalism Branch, Heritage Canada.
- Latouche, D. B., Guy. (1999). Montreal et Toronto: Deux capitales culturelles et leurs publics. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 22(1-2), 113-130.
- Leavis, F. R. (1930). *Mass Civilization and Minority Culture*. Cambridge: Minority.
- Longfellow, Henry W. 1995 *Evangeline - A Tale of Acadia*. Halifax: Nimbus.
- Low-Beer, S., Bartholomew, K., Weber, A. E., Chan, K., Landolt, M., Oram, D., Schilder, A., & Hogg, R. (2002). A demographic and health profile of gay and bisexual men in a large Canadian urban setting. *AIDS Care*, 14(1), 111-115.
- Macdonald, N. E., Fisher, W. A., Wells, G. A., Doherty, J. A. A., & Bowie, W. R. (1994). Canadian Street Youth - Correlates of Sexual Risk-Taking Activity. *Pediatric Infectious Disease Journal*, 13(8), 690-697.
- Mahtani, Minelle. 2002. Interrogating the Hyphen-Nation: Canadian multicultural policy: and 'mixed-race' identities. *Social Identities* 8 (1):67-90.
- Manning, Erin. 2003. *Ephemeral Territories: Representing Nation, Home and Indentity in Canada*. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

- McKay, I. (1988). Twilight at Peggy's Cove: Towards a genealogy of "Maritimicity". *Borderlines*, 12, 30-37.
- Mitchell, K. (1997). Different Diasporas and the Hype of Hybridity. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 15(5), 533-553.
- Molloy, Andrew. 2001. Art, Culture, Regionalism and the Representational Populist Resentment of William Kurelek. *Prairie Forum* 26 (1):1-15.
- Mulholland, M.-L. (2003). *Culture Workshop, Intersections of Diversity Seminar*. Ottawa: Multiculturalism Branch, Heritage Canada.
- Nurse, A. (2003). *Regional Identity Markers*. Ottawa: Multiculturalism Branch, Heritage Canada.
- OECD. 1999. Boosting innovation; The Cluster Approach, at Paris, France.
- Overton, J. (1988). A Newfoundland Culture? *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 23(1-2), 5-22.
- Parkeh, B. 2000. *Rethinking Multiculturalism. Cultural diversity and political theory*. New York: Palgrave.
- Parr, Joy (1990). *The gender of breadwinners : women, men, and change in two industrial towns, 1880-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Participant(s). (2003). Culture Workshop, Intersections of Diversity Seminar (pp. 5). Ottawa: Multiculturalism Branch, Heritage Canada.
- Peters, E. J. (1998). Subversive spaces: First Nations women and the city. *Environment and Planning D-Society & Space*, 16(6), 665-685.
- Pieterse, J. N. (2001). Hybridity, So What?. The Anti-Hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition. *Theory Culture and Society*, 18(2-3), 219-245.
- Rocher, D. (2001). Gay Pride and Divers/Cité. In P. Moore & M. Risk (Eds.), *Cultures of Cities ... Under construction* (pp. 2-13). Toronto: Mosaic.
- Shields, R. (1988). Notes sur la spatialisation de la société. In e. G. Benko (Ed.), *Géographie et nouveaux aspects de la théorie sociale* (pp. 259-267). Caen: Editions du Paradigme.
- Shields, R. (1989). Social Spatialisation and the Built Environment: The Case of the West Edmonton Mall. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 7(2, Summer), 147-164.
- Shields, R. (1991). *Places on the Margin: Alternative geographies of modernity*. London: Routledge Chapman Hall.
- Shields, R. (1999). Culture and the Economy of Cities. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 6(4), 303-311.
- Shields, R. (2003a). Geopolitical Spatializations: Critical geopolitics and critical cultural studies. *Geopolitics*, 8(1), 204-211.
- Shields, R. (2003b). *The Virtual*. London: Routledge.
- Singer, S. M., Willms, D. G., Adrien, A., Baxter, J., Brabazon, C., Leane, V., Godin, G., MatickaTyndale, E., & Cappon, P. (1996). Many voices - Sociocultural results of the Ethnocultural Communities Facing AIDS Study in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Public Health-Revue Canadienne De Sante Publique*, 87, S26-S32.
- Tastsoglou, E., & Miedema, B. (2003). Immigrant women and community development in the Canadian maritimes: Outsiders within? *Canadian Journal of Sociology-Cahiers Canadiens De Sociologie*, 28(2), 203-234.

Tremblay, F. (2001). Street Prostitution in Le Faubourg St.-Laurent. In P. Moore & M. Risk (Eds.), *Culture of Cities: Under construction* (pp. 14-19). Toronto: Mosaic.

VanderBurgh, J. (2001). Pete and Joey do Toronto: The Young Street 'Seen' Scene. In P. Moore & M. Risk (Eds.), *Culture of Cities: Under construction* (pp. 37-48).

Whatmore, S. (2002). *Hybrid Geographies*. London: Sage.

ⁱ I am grateful to Cathryn Kallwitz who contributed both substantive and bibliographic research to this paper, which also benefited from informal conversations with Sarah Kligman, Ian Donaldson and Marilyn Smith. It draws on the comments of anonymous reviewers and of participants at a workshop on cultural policy and diversity held as part of the 'Intersections of Diversity' Seminar in Niagara Falls, April 2003.

2

² In academic research on critical cultural studies, intersectionality is acknowledged. Both in academia and in activist contexts, the meanings of the word Culture have been displaced away from normative, Edwardian notions of high culture, civility and civilization found in earlier texts (cf. Leavis, 1930 toward a notion anchored in the collective practices of everyday life (Fortier, 1999; Nurse, 2003: 29-30), struggles for cultural recognition (Fraser, 2001; Shields, 1999) and the development of syncretic cultures in diaspora (Mitchell, 1997; Pieterse, 2001; Appadurai, 1996; Anzaldúa, 1987; Jakubowicz, 2002; Gilson, 2000; Mahtani, 2002).

³ This issue has also been raised in policies aimed at balancing urban-rural and inter-regional divides in (re)training programs and educational attainment (OECD, 1999).