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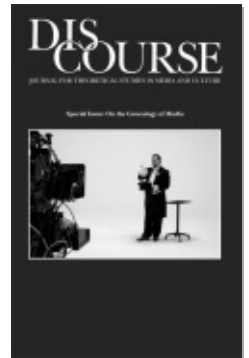
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Green Belt, White City: Race and the Natural Landscape in Boulder, Colorado

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Green Belt, White City: Race and the Natural Landscape in Boulder, Colorado

Abby Hickcox

Boulder, Colorado, is often lauded, and often praises itself, for its proximity to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, its outdoorsy, active lifestyle, and its high quality of life. A *New York Times* article boldly proclaimed that “if you’re a bike-riding, cliff-rappelling, latte-loving, eco-certified boho tycoon, there is heaven on Earth—and it’s called Boulder.”¹ Originally a gateway to smaller mining towns, Boulder is located at the point where the long, flat prairies and plains stretching west from the Mississippi River are suddenly vaulted into the sky, just twenty miles from the Continental Divide. Walking west from neighborhoods on the western edge of the city of Boulder brings a challenging change in elevation, from the once treeless prairie to a hilly and cliff-accented forest full of ponderosa pines, Douglas firs, mule deer, bears, mountain lions, peregrine falcons, and hundreds of miles of trails. Very few houses are perched on the foothills because construction was prevented by the city’s century-long history of environmental conservation.

In addition to wildlife on the trails, one finds Boulder residents hiking, trail running, loaded with climbing gear, or astride a mountain bike. One thing the hikers, bikers, climbers, skiers, picnickers, and swimmers have in common is that, if prompted, most will praise the beauty of the landscape, the enjoyment of fresh air, and the great opportunities for exercise and enjoyment provided by Boulder’s conservation landscape. The symbol commonly used to represent

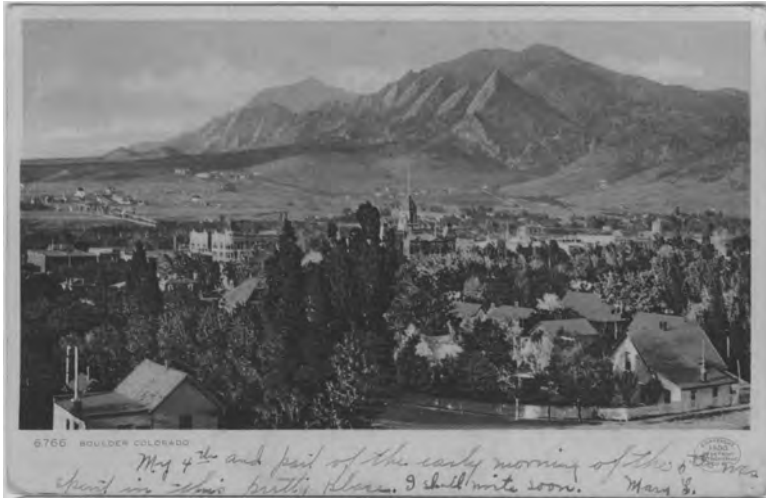


Figure 1. Historic postcard of the Flatirons, overlooking Boulder.

Boulder is the profile of the Flatirons, the huge orange-brown rocks that tower above the city.

Not only do the Flatirons dominate the view from the city, they also represent the city's orientation to the swath of green in which they are nestled. Planners and residents of Boulder appear to have an affinity for all things characterized as green, "eco," hippie, environmentally progressive, organic, outdoorsy, athletic, or healthy. This characterization is expressed explicitly in local newspaper, magazine, and radio advertisements. It is visible in the number of outdoor-gear stores and environmentally themed boutique storefronts in Boulder's downtown. It is expressed less explicitly in residents' everyday conversations, including those overheard in locally owned, Italian-themed, bicycle-decorated coffee shops in which avid rock climbers one-up each other with name-dropping matches.²

Those who live in or visit Boulder cannot help but notice not only the high quality of life but also the high cost of living, which results in an above-average concentration of residents with high incomes or healthy trust funds. The average household income in the City of Boulder in 2000, for example, was over seventy thousand dollars, more than twice the national average.³ Paired with the startling number of wealthy residents is the much-remarked-on majority of white residents and a relatively small number of racial or ethnic minorities. It is not uncommon to hear residents and visitors comment on how "white" Boulder is or on how few black people one sees on the street. In addition, some African American residents express feelings of isolation and special attention in public places in Boulder.⁴ These

perceptions of Boulder's natural beauty, high quality of life, and wealthy, white population are linked in subtle and complex ways in both residents' geographic imaginary and the city's history.

In this essay, I look at how Boulder has come to be seen as so green and so white. I draw on preliminary field research, including surveys, interviews, and participant observation, as well as personal experience living in Boulder and conversations with Boulder residents about my research.⁵ I use both ideological and discursive analyses of landscape to sketch a view of the natural landscape as an agent of history and ideology in Boulder. The idea of landscape creates a conceptual space in which to trace the articulations of the social and material worlds, so it has the potential to bring together representational, metaphorical, social, material, and embodied realms. Recent contributions to the landscape literature emphasize the importance of landscapes not only as texts, codes, and signs but also as material realities that affect and are affected by social relations.⁶ Employing an analysis of discursive formations, I look at how race and class are mapped onto, obscured by, or read off conservation landscapes. Using Boulder's peculiar assemblage of social relations, I argue that landscape is a particularly productive object of analysis for advancing a rich theorization of the relationship among environment, race, and class because, at its most robust, it encompasses both material and semiotic realities and takes into account the social relations of class, race, gender, and environmentalism.

Geographic landscape studies look beyond the apparently natural or built environment to the social history and historical power relations of a place.⁷ In 1967, Boulder was the first city in the nation to pass a tax via referendum to provide funds to acquire and maintain open space, starting with the acquisition of one thousand acres in the foothills on the western edge of the city. In subsequent decades, the city has spent more than two hundred million dollars to acquire more than forty-five thousand acres.⁸ The histories of such conservation policies are often obscured by a commonsense acceptance of the importance of the majesty of the Flatirons and the taken-for-granted protection of pristine, natural landscapes.

A study of landscape is necessarily about social relations.⁹ What made this conservation zoning and tax possible? What social relations create and maintain the space of environmental governance summed up in the slogan "Twenty-five square miles surrounded by reality"?¹⁰ What racial, class, and power dynamics are at work in this landscape? In policy and everyday conversation, the natural landscape is framed as a straightforward material reality separate from people but needing our protection from modernization and development. Landscape theorists point out that this framing is itself a

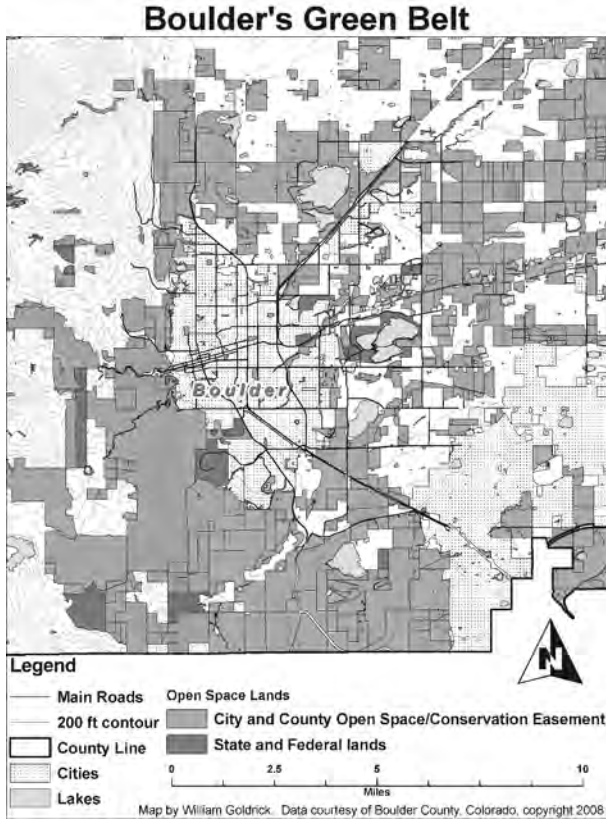


Figure 2. Map of city of Boulder open space and protected areas.

social representation of the landscape, which constructs an *exclusion* of the human experiences, physical transformations, policies, and representations of the natural landscape that also constitute it.

The social practices through which natural landscapes are produced, reworked, and contested are often folded back into the natural aspects of landscape through normalizing claims of the wisdom of conservation activities. This view seems to suggest that social actions are determined by the physical landscape itself. Such passive agency given to the hills, cliffs, animals, and plants greenwashes the social aspects of the landscape. The greenwashing creates a space for classist and racist assumptions to reside unnoticed or unquestioned. Yet, they persist and can be glimpsed occasionally in policy justifications and in everyday conversation. Placing Boulder's natural landscape at the center of my analysis allows me to tease out the

constituent elements of the particular discursive formations of race, class, and nature in Boulder

Green Belt: Views of the Natural Landscape through Social Relations

In Boulder, the natural landscape has served as an ideological force. It is employed in conservation narratives to hide the landscape's social histories of racial and class privilege. The naturalization of the landscape has separated issues of race and class from Boulder's outdoorsy quality of life, despite their central role in its history. Landscape theorists analyze the way representations of natural landscapes hide the social histories that shaped the landscapes.¹¹ Labor relations and conservation policies are forgotten in admiration of nature.¹² Common-sense binaries such as nature versus culture obscure race and class aspects of the conservation politics. Material natural landscapes are called on to legitimize and explain social phenomena, including Boulder's above-average income and high cost of living. Boulder's green belt—the natural landscape that surrounds the city—both justifies the cost of living and enables the quality of life.

The much-admired majesty and uniqueness of Boulder's natural landscapes have obscured its labor-intensive formation and maintenance. In an ideological landscape, social relations are removed from their histories and portrayed as natural.¹³ Nature, not history, becomes responsible for inequality.¹⁴ Likewise, social inequalities in Boulder, including its wealthy white characterization, are often shifted into a discourse about who enjoys, appreciates, or can afford to live near nature rather than questions of who is excluded and why. Exclusion is naturalized through the defense of the city's green belt, deflecting critiques of city planning. Emphasis on the green belt also distracts from planning decisions made within the city with regard to retail and residential development, including the possible expansion of affordable housing.

Landscape

The concept of landscape has been attributed many different meanings, which, today, has proven to be one of its strengths. From its early conception as either the German idea of *landschaft*, referring to a piece of land and its governing body, or the British idea of *landscape*, referring to all of the land visible from one vantage point, the concept has become a tool for synthesis of land, representations of land, and social norms governing them.¹⁵ In the 1900s, American

geographers alternately touted and distanced themselves from the concept of landscape. In the 1980s, Marxist and humanist geographers led a reconsideration of landscapes as ideological tools in the maintenance of social inequality. Since then, studies of landscape have drawn on Marxist interpretations, as well as on feminist and post-structural theories to examine the role of landscape in reproducing, naturalizing, and contesting power relations and social inequalities.¹⁶ Each era of landscape studies has provided a new perspective, strengthening the analytic capabilities of the concept. Most recently, theories of landscape have attempted to bridge the divide between material and discursive analyses.¹⁷

In Boulder, the adjacent rocky foothills have been identified as a natural landscape view in need of protection, as a real-life subject of an iconic landscape painting. The landscape scene, as it is perceived, imagined, and represented, is treated as a simple, natural object of beauty, and its protection is rendered equally unproblematic. Landscape theorists Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove argue that the meaning of a physical landscape—like Boulder's Flatirons—is not fully legible separate from its representations.¹⁸ These representations are not "images standing outside it, but . . . constituent images of its meaning."¹⁹

But Boulder's Flatirons are viewed daily without such representations in mind. The natural landscape around Boulder (what I am calling Boulder's *conservation landscape*) is taken at face value. It is stripped of its constituent representations and social histories. The landscape has a "substantive nature" in the everyday lives of Boulder residents who look at, hike in, and celebrate it.²⁰ Moreover, in scientific management and restoration, the materiality of a landscape cannot be reduced to the representations of it.²¹

According to Marxist interpretations of landscape, social relations constructed around and through landscapes are obscured by their ideological nature.²² An ideological landscape is one that is represented in ways that reinforce dominant social relations and norms.²³ Such ideology is portrayed and reinforced through discourse and representation. Some carefully composed artistic representations of natural and human landscapes work to naturalize dominant views of the social order and do ideological work.²⁴ Daniels explores the political iconography of the "selection, siting, and arrangement of trees in written, pictorial, and parkland scenes" of woodlands in Georgian England.²⁵ Such representations appear to be dictated by nature rather than carefully composed, and, once naturalized, they become reified and reproduced.²⁶

The orderly view of the world represented in landscape paintings and poems naturalizes hierarchical social relations and distracts

people from the way the world actually functions.²⁷ Such is the case with Boulder's natural landscape, which is made orderly through conservation policies and city planning. Natural landscapes are not just preserved, they are created.²⁸ The landscape is then portrayed in open space literature as a culturally and economically valued object because of its natural beauty. As described in the "White City" section of this essay, the establishment of the green belt is often portrayed as an act of wisdom and forethought. The possibility of class elitism or privilege as a reason for protection of the natural landscape is not often considered.

In addition to artistic representations, several different social categories are called into use in the naturalization of Boulder's natural landscape. The most literal naturalization of the landscape in Boulder has been its material transformation from spaces used by people for agriculture or residence into a supposedly more natural space used for recreation and/or set aside for preservation. The unquestioned state of naturalness attributed to Boulder's green belt hides the very labor that goes into the creation of the apparently natural landscape.²⁹ Old homes and buildings³⁰ have been destroyed to reconstruct the idyllic natural landscape, through which miles of trails have been built and maintained. For example, Boulder recently purchased a turkey farm and plans to demolish the farm's outbuildings.³¹ Behind the scenes, land managers and researchers conduct meticulous ecological surveys, evaluations, and restoration projects.³² Such an ideological naturalization of a heavily human-altered landscape erases the labor of constructing the city's green belt.

An analysis of discursive practices related to landscape also examines how landscapes hide social histories. This approach focuses on the everyday and scientific discourses that normalize and reduce landscapes: "By becoming part of the everyday, the taken-for-granted, the objective, and the natural, the landscape masks the artifice and ideological nature of its form and content. Its history as a social construction is unexamined."³³ Because race and class aspects of the social construction of the natural landscape are also unexamined, attention to the discursive practices that link race and class to landscape is necessary.

The material aspects of discursive formations are particularly important in an analysis of the natural landscape. Power relations are stamped onto material landscapes through their physical management. This management then becomes common sense, hiding its social histories.³⁴

Material landscapes are products of social relations, but they mask their own production, leaving a landscape "to speak unambiguously for itself."³⁵ Don Mitchell offers an example in which the



Figure 3. Picture of a historic homestead south of the city, with an interpretive sign in front and Flatirons behind.

workers who planted and maintained an orchard landscape in California are forgotten.³⁶ In their place is a stunning natural scene, an orchard full of nature's bounty. This is an example of how easily narratives of nature can erase not only the labor of a landscape but also the assumptions of race and class that often comprise it. With an explicit focus on the natural and social histories of a place, landscape analysis aims to recover the material and ideological work done in the name of the natural landscape.

Racialized Natural Landscapes

The discursive practices that naturalize Boulder's conservation landscape are most visible in the definition of nature as separate from people. This assumption that nature is defined as the nonhuman world plays an important role in some conservation discourse, as well as in popular understandings of nature and academic analyses of nature.³⁷ It played a key role in Boulder's conservation history, as city residents protected first the building-free view of the foothills, later, specific parcels of land as parks for recreation, and, most recently, the conservation of rare and endemic species and of mountain and prairie ecosystems. The view of nature as a pristine wilderness developed around this conceptual separation of people from

nature and supported the protection of wilderness areas in favor of recognition of nature in cities or in environments more intensively managed by people.³⁸ Such a definition of nature reinforces the idea that it is removed from the social realms of race, class, politics, and economics. It excludes the social actions and beliefs that constitute natural landscapes from commonsense views of them.

The assumed separation of nature from people neglects the ways in which the idea of nature is socially constructed.³⁹ The understanding of nature as separate from people is itself a construction, and the problems with the construction are evidenced in the ambivalent positioning of Native Americans within the nature-culture binary. Native Americans are sometimes positioned as living more naturally or closer to nature.⁴⁰ This view is reflected in an interpretive sign in a Boulder park that states, "Boulder's original inhabitants were quiet, cautious, and respectful as they watched wildlife." The text is accompanied by a depiction of a Native American man who is shirtless, with three feathers upright in his headband and with a large knife strapped to his colorful belt, while he's crouched behind a rock intently watching deer graze on a prairie. The sign is positioned on a paved trail at the point where the trail leaves an urban, grassy, grill and shelter-equipped park at the edge of town and enters the narrower, rugged canyon. People who hike the trail today are encouraged to imitate those "original" inhabitants by talking softly, walking slowly, and keeping their pets on a leash. In this representation, Native Americans are located both in the past and in greater proximity to nature. The sign suggests that we listen to the ancient wisdom of the people from the past to behave the way nature intends. This reliance on a primordial connection to nature lends authority to the rules governing environmental behavior.

Examples like this one highlight the implicit, and at times explicit, assumptions in narratives of conservation that precontact America was a pristine wilderness in which ecological systems and human systems existed in a balanced symbiosis.⁴¹ These assumptions demonstrate the ways that the idea of nature has been constructed to erase Native Americans' histories and obscure their complex and varied relationships to nature, in favor of simplistic stories of harmonious living.⁴² The theme of a more natural lifestyle or time represented by Native Americans plays an important—and problematic—role in conservation thought.⁴³

In addition to erasing Native American history, such romantic depictions reinforce the idea that a pristine-state nature existed in the past. This pristine nature is reified and projected as a goal to which we should return.⁴⁴ Thus, Boulder has purchased vast tracts of land by using tax and bond revenue to restore the land to its nat-

ural or pre-European condition, to its “past-perfect”—the supposedly pristine state in which Europeans first encountered it.⁴⁵

The view of Native Americans as being more natural or living in harmony with the earth naturalizes them, conflates them with nature, and thus reinforces their difference from the majority of people in the United States today, who are alienated from nature. This positioning of Native Americans as closer to nature and of nature as pristine prior to contact legitimizes a racialized understanding of nature and of conservation landscapes.⁴⁶ The division between nature and society is reinforced and normalized by a rich, white conservation movement even while it supports racial stereotypes.⁴⁷ The attempt to divide people from nature and the problematic place of Native Americans within that division also demonstrates the naturalization of beliefs about nature, how problematic those beliefs can be, and how interrelated issues of race, class, and environmentalism are. It comprises one strand in the discursive formations linking Boulder’s conservation landscape to attitudes and understandings of race in the city.

Naturalized Landscapes of Race and Class

The story of environmental conservation in the United States is not complete without attention to social relations of capital and to racial prejudice. Racial prejudice can be tied but not reduced to relations of capital. Neil Smith and Denis Cosgrove suggest that the creation of the idea of wilderness is intricately linked to the alienation of people from nature by industry and the property relationship.⁴⁸ In addition, Jake Kosek demonstrates that the desire to escape cities for the natural landscape was also undeniably bound up in racialized thinking at the turn of the twentieth century.⁴⁹

The city of Boulder is characterized as a place where wealthy people live. Between 2000 and 2004, the median price of a single-family home increased one hundred thousand dollars.⁵⁰ One resident remarked, “When I tell people I’m a student and my husband is a teacher and we own our home, they look at me like I have something to hide, like I’m breaking some kind of rule.”⁵¹ Such comments highlight an assumption that poor people simply cannot afford to live in Boulder. Given Boulder’s above-average income levels and high cost of living, this assumption is accurate in part. However, it is often invoked in a manner that positions poor Boulder residents as outsiders or misfits.⁵² There is a thin line between the small percentage of low-income or working-class residents of Boulder compared with nearby communities and the idea that poor people don’t *belong* in Boulder.

These discourses of rightful ownership and belonging are complex, often subtle, and linked to conservation discourses. One wealthy white Boulder resident pointed out that poor residents “don’t have big lawns or pools in their condo complexes,” so he would expect to see poorer people in public parks.⁵³ Others were dubious about the popularity of parks with poor residents. One person who works in Boulder focused on utility, saying that if “you can’t fish on it, can’t hunt on it, then, from a certain perspective, what’s the point? If you’re struggling economically do you have time to go on long walks?”⁵⁴ Others hypothesized that poor residents might not have access to transportation to parks. Embedded in these comments are assumptions about people’s relationship to and use of the natural landscape *based on class*.

However, the tendency to say that Boulder is elite and environmentally conscious because of class *alone* ignores the explicitly racial and racist acts of the past. Early black Boulder residents are reported as having great difficulty finding employment outside of manual and domestic labor and service work, causing many of Boulder’s early black residents to move away.⁵⁵ In addition, Boulder, as well as nearby Denver, had active chapters of the Ku Klux Klan from 1921 to 1925.⁵⁶ These Klan groups were part of a revived Klan movement after World War I, and they adhered strongly to white supremacy, anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and antiblack sentiment, as well as to prohibition and Protestantism.⁵⁷ They succeeded in electing or appointing Klan members to city and state government and judicial positions.⁵⁸ The Boulder Klan burned crosses in Italian and Latino residents’ yards in a neighboring, integrated community.⁵⁹ Racist sentiment did not comprise the entirety of the Klan platform, but racist notions were linked to other issues such as crime, alcoholism, and religion. Such a political presence at the local and state scale, even for such a short period, could not remain completely separate from the city’s politics. Moreover, references in Boulder’s conservation literature to the wisdom of Boulder’s early residents and leaders would be less ebullient if they took its history of race relations into account.

Racial relations also play a role in the ideological naturalization of the landscape where classist assumptions are accompanied by white privilege.⁶⁰ In Boulder, white privilege grants white people exemption from the stares, comments, excessive helpfulness, and isolation that many people of color in the city remark on. It is reinforced by convivial lamentations among white people about the lack of people of color in Boulder. These remarks simultaneously reinforce an idea of unified hegemonic whiteness in the city and erase the nonwhite residents and their claims on the city as home. Intentionally and proudly characterized as an environmentally conscious

city, Boulder's natural landscape is conscripted into a naturalization of the city's outdoorsy lifestyle. Such a characterization is deeply tangled in discourses of class and race.⁶¹

White City: Conservation Narratives and Hidden Histories

An analysis of Boulder's conservation discourse⁶² shows that Boulder's land acquisition is comfortably couched in rhetoric of environmental preservation and the dangers of population growth. Documents proudly refer back to the purchase of Chautauqua Park in 1898, receipt from the federal government of 1,600 acres on Flagstaff Mountain in 1907, and the purchase of 1,200 acres (including Green Mountain and Bear Peak) in 1916 as the roots of open space preservation in Boulder: "As you drive into the Boulder Valley, with its multi-hued grasses swaying in the breeze, vast red rock reaching toward the sky, and whitecapped mountains forming a backdrop, you are struck by what a truly beautiful place you have found. But it very easily could have been otherwise."⁶³ In the long-range management plan, this original acquisition of land for Boulder's mountain parks is seamlessly followed by the establishment of a "blue line" limiting city water provisions to a specific elevation in 1959.⁶⁴

The establishment of the blue line is sandwiched in a time line between the city's population doubling between 1950 and 1960 and again between 1960 and 1970.⁶⁵ Post-1960 history includes city residents' vote to increase city sales tax to purchase open space and the defeat of proposed extension of city services to a development south of Boulder.⁶⁶ From 1967 to 1976, the city passed ordinances protecting open space and preventing urban sprawl, culminating with the Danish Plan, an ordinance for residential growth management. Reasons offered for this policy shift include a concern for protection of the "natural environment and land resources that characterize Boulder."⁶⁷

This portrayal of history in the city conservation literature unites several disparate themes. The purchase of land for mountain parks, the preservation of scenery, the establishment of the Open Space Program, and institutions established to purchase open space are linked to dangerous rates of population growth, the geographic bounding of city services, opposition to development, and land-use planning. A trajectory of progress is implied, as is a causal relationship, with the fears surrounding population growth prompting conservation actions. The conservation literature portrays all Boulder citizens as beneficiaries of such a rich and progressive conservation program. Land purchased and protected is portrayed as always

already natural and in need of protection from the destructive effects of people.

Despite the assertion that Native Americans may have brought one species of groundnut to the area (and its designation as a rare, threatened species rather than invasive), the conservation literature characterizes all human action as potentially destructive to the environment.⁶⁸ Nature, separate from the city, must be preserved in its prior, pure state. The error of these simple dichotomies is visible even within the documents themselves, in which “ancient hunter-gatherers” and historic structures can be separated from current culture, but agricultural resources are also included in the open space to be preserved.⁶⁹ In a striking similarity to Neil Smith’s analysis, agriculture and grazing are seen as a cultural relic, left over from the time when people lived off the land, rather than portrayed as a destruction of the natural landscape.⁷⁰

The city’s conservation literature portrays the natural environment as guarded by the city and open to all. For “special populations” needing accommodation, the long-range management plan says that the city takes into account the needs of “disabled persons, children, young people, senior citizens, and bilingual visitors.”⁷¹ The assumptions behind the determination of who needs extra help interpreting open space are unclear, and the phrasing here is awkward (e.g., why would a *bilingual* visitor need extra accommodation?). In a subtle racialization of space,⁷² Boulder’s conservation landscape is portrayed as open to everyone but managed by people not belonging to any special population.⁷³

The city’s conservation literature constructs a space in which the urban-rural dichotomy and the nature-culture dichotomy align exactly. As constructed in the texts, people live in the city and visit the country or wilderness for recreation and “getting away.” The natural landscape provides a place for us to take “a break from our work-a-day lives.”⁷⁴ The rural areas are wild places with their own natural balance unaffected by human influence. William Cronon presents this urban rural divide as a romantic view held by city residents who have the time and money to escape modern life by taking a respite in the countryside.⁷⁵ He points out the affluence of the conservation community since its founding. In Boulder, this affluence is distorted into an *effect* of the natural landscape. The conservation planning that shaped the natural landscape is portrayed as determined by the landscape itself rather than a result of affluence.

Explicit justification of conservation programs in Boulder centers on the restoration of the natural buffer that exists around and between cities. The word choice is important: the term *natural buffer* allows for ambiguity between whether it is ecological (not cultural)

or normal, good, and right. *Restoration* of the buffer implies that it is both ecological and right and that there is a need to protect the land in a state prior to human influences.

A historical account of its protection and conservation is thus indispensable to a complete account of Boulder's landscape. The landscape hides its own social history.⁷⁶ The naturalization of space reinforces the ideology that natural landscapes are healthy places and sources of calm and contemplation.⁷⁷ These narratives of natural health, sanity, and purity obscure both the physical labor expended on the landscape and the ideological work that the landscape does to justify or neutralize class, race, and labor relations.⁷⁸

The city's conservation literature is largely silent on several points. Most glaringly, despite the city's thorough study in 2004 of use of, and attitudes about, open space, no data about race, ethnicity, or economic income are included.⁷⁹ This silence points to a possibility that the Open Space and Mountain Parks Department is unaware of a need to address differential access to open space within the population along racial, ethnic, or income lines. However, the situation is more complicated. In interviews with city park and government employees, they expressed a range of desires and concerns about access. Park managers and outreach coordinators articulated an urgent and genuine wish that open space lands were used by a higher proportion of Hispanic residents.⁸⁰ In contrast, park staff reported differential rates of rule enforcement, with Hispanics censured more often than, for example, white members of fraternities and sororities also breaking park rules.⁸¹

The institutional nature of exclusions and differential rule enforcement demonstrates the complexity of the discursive formations of race and the natural landscape in Boulder. Accepting the version of landscape history as natural and pristine, and unaware of its racialized past, planners and citizens who embrace a desire for racial diversity wish the natural landscape were used more frequently by racial and ethnic minorities, including Hispanics. Here, ideologies of a pristine, natural landscape come in conflict with late-twentieth-century discourses of multiculturalism. Consequently, the making of the environmental subject is complicated by its racialization. The ideology of multiculturalism, especially in reference to environmentalism, often occupies a standpoint of white privilege, which enforces racial inequality even while expressing a discourse of racial harmony. The concept of white privilege is useful because a

focus on white privilege enables us to develop a more structural, less conscious, and more deeply historicized understanding of racism. It differs from a hostile, individual, discriminatory act, in that it refers to the privi-

leges and benefits that accrue to white people by virtue of their whiteness. Because whiteness is rarely problematized by whites, white privilege is scarcely acknowledged. . . . White privilege is thus an attempt to name a social system that works to the benefit of whites.⁸²

White privilege racializes conservation spaces. It is one of the social histories excluded from commonsense understandings of Boulder's natural landscapes. It is from a position of white privilege that white park managers, city planners, and residents inadvertently claim the wilderness and open space as their own, even as they welcome a diverse population into them. They invite and encourage people of color to join in and share the wonderful resources that nature unproblematically provides and the city generously protects. For example, I encountered a wealthy white resident in a Boulder community park who said, "It's great how Latinos can come to this park, but you still feel comfortable walking through. It's not territorial."⁸³ Clearly accustomed to feeling comfortable in Boulder's parks, he seemed to expect that the presence of Latinos would make him uncomfortable and possibly exclude him from the park. This racialization is one of the constitutive elements of the discursive formations of Boulder's conservation landscape.

A regressive sales tax that funds parks is another example of a structural inequality fostered by white privilege and class privilege. One park manager insisted that a *lack* of invitation to parks is an issue of social justice: "If you pay for something [via taxes] and nobody's making it clear to you that it's your to use, that's a social equity issue!"⁸⁴ Latinos are paying for the parks, the argument goes, so they should take advantage of them. Others point out that the tax was hardly a choice that the Hispanic community, for example, made in the polls.⁸⁵

The role of the landscape in obscuring and maintaining white privilege is especially apparent in the valuation of "ethnographic resources" discovered on city Open Space land. In these cases, "associated ethnic groups may be consulted and their concerns may be taken into account as appropriate."⁸⁶ Boulder Open Space researchers will develop "ethnographically appropriate approaches to preserving the cultural and natural resources of Open Space."⁸⁷ That is, when it would be culturally insensitive not to include "ethnic groups," Open Space managers will incorporate such groups in decisions, as appropriate. Ethnic groups are implicitly assumed to be nonwhite, as revealed in this statement: in the case of historic and prehistoric burial sites, "Open Space may consult with groups reasonably linked by ties of kinship or culture to ethnically identifiable human remains . . . on Open Space lands."⁸⁸ Presumably, the Open

Space Department staff is in the proper position to make decisions about any cultural resources not linked to “ethnic groups,” such as old farmsteads or homes.

In a video produced by the city of Boulder, titled *Open Space Mountain Parks: Our Vision and Our Future*, the narrative of protecting the natural landscape is reinforced and the actions of early citizens praised:

The foresight of the early citizens in purchasing the Chautauqua area, the Batch Elder Ranch, in 1898 and in encouraging the Chautauqua Association to come to Boulder and have a permanent presence in Boulder then led to those citizens reaching out and talking to Frederick Law Olmsted. He came to Boulder in 1910 and took a look at the surroundings and said this is a great thing! You need to preserve the mountains and the trees. You need to preserve these forestlands and the prairies below and along the Boulder Creek. So we were lucky, early on, that the citizens of this community planned, and we've continued that planning for the last hundred years.⁸⁹

The video states that the early citizens, Chautauqua Association, and Olmsted had great foresight in planning for future generations. But the story is more complex than this version of history suggests. Olmsted's visit is portrayed in a different light by historians concerned with race and class. Although Olmsted is famed for wanting to establish U.S. national parks that would be open to more than “a very few, very rich people,” he despised Native Americans, and his landscape planning was not always so democratic.⁹⁰

In his visit to Boulder, Olmsted recommended not only the preservation of the majestic Flatirons along Boulder's western edge, but also the creation of small expensive residential lots and large parks to cater specifically to middle-class and elite populations.⁹¹ Olmsted also warned against attracting industry, particularly the kind that would foster “noise, dirt, disorder, or annoyance.”⁹² Olmsted discouraged the city from developing infrastructure that would facilitate the establishment of industry, and the city began an effort to buy out existing industries in the late 1800s.⁹³ Olmsted's recommendations about protection of the mountain views, as well as the character of the city, are largely erased by the loss of the landscape's social history. The conservation landscape was re-created and adored as a natural space relied on “to speak unambiguously for itself.”⁹⁴ The groundwork was laid for Boulder to become a *healthy* city because of its parks and natural landscape, with the anti-industry, anti-working-class history erased.⁹⁵

Olmsted's recommendations to keep working-class people out of the city fell on friendly ears. “The reason there were no factories or industry here, other than the Beech Aircraft that came in the

1950s, is that the city fathers in the last century didn't want those industries because of the people they'd bring here."⁹⁶ This exclusion of industry played a part in and was justified by the protection of the natural landscape around Boulder. The conservation landscape has since been justified as an employment advantage in recruitment: "The [Open Space and Mountain Parks] land system and the quality of life it represents attract visitors and help businesses to recruit and retain quality employees."⁹⁷ The employees referred to presumably work "clean" industries the city attracted midcentury (like the National Bureau of Standards and other research and development firms⁹⁸), high-tech firms, outdoor-industry headquarters, and the University of Colorado, not the low-wage service sector that keeps the city's restaurants and hotels open for tourists and residents.

The cultural value of the preserved natural landscape is easily translated into economic value. The apparently inevitable increase in land value with preservation and the growth boundary (Danish Plan) is accepted or lamented but rarely challenged. The origins of such elite populations in the city are often traced not to the Klan presence, hostility to working-class populations, or the town's founding, but to the land use and zoning policies implemented since the 1960s. This version of Boulder's class history reinforces the idea that the virtuous goals of natural landscape preservation inadvertently caused the city to be dominated by wealthy whites rather than vice versa.

Furthermore, Kenneth Olwig analyzes Olmsted's role in designing parks (including the eviction of existing populations without qualms) to reinforce the idea of a unified nation after the Civil War.⁹⁹ Comparing similar nationalistic work done by the material and ideological molding of natural landscapes in attempts to unify Britain, Olwig points out the explicit goals that Olmsted had in creating a national unity and identity. The scenic landscape of national parks, "the ideal park landscape . . . was seen as the cradle of the nation."¹⁰⁰ In this unification, "the framing of the American national park as nature was used to obliterate the memory of earlier cultures and their marks on the land."¹⁰¹ These normative values of race and class were constitutive of the conservation landscape but obscured by the portrayal of the land as natural and imperiled. Boulder's conflict-free conservation history narrative and its own manifest destiny-like determination to foster a conservation-loving population in Boulder and beyond shows that Olmsted's idea of national unity took root there. The city's elitist and racist pasts were replaced by the more palatable conservation history of the city's natural landscape.

A study of landscape shows the linkages between nation, class, race, and environmentalism. Perceptions of Boulder as a rich, white

city have been mutually constituted with its characterization as a green city. The city's wealth and racial homogeneity are perceived as a natural consequence of its conservation policies and outdoorsy lifestyle, repeating tropes of poverty-stricken minorities, of poor people who have no time to think about conservation, and of racial minorities and poor people who do not value nature the way rich and middle-class white people do. These tropes have been allowed to explain the peculiar green belt and white city because other social histories of elitism and racism have been erased. Moreover, this conservation landscape is not only shaped in parks department literature; it is invoked in residents' daily reference to the healthy lifestyle, the beauty, the wisdom of planners, the love of hiking in Boulder's mountains and prairies, and even the puzzled references to Boulder's population that is "so white." Discourses of race, class, and conservation in Boulder are intimately intertwined, both in history and today.

Conclusion

A study of the ideological and discursive dynamics of landscape brings to light the normative function of the celebration of Boulder's esteemed quality of life and outdoor recreational resources. A close look at landscape uncovers the moments of elitism and racism in the city's social histories. At such moments, city leaders chose a direction for Boulder that would be most beneficial in maintaining a healthy (buffered), quiet (lacking noisy ruffraff), well-organized (not disorderly), and prosperous (not impoverished or working-class) city. These moments do not need to be the uncontested trajectory of Boulder's governance to be carried along as subtext in the discursive formations of race, class, and nature.

Innocently unaware of the landscape's labor history or the role of landscape in supporting elite city policy and swayed by the easy work of matching conservation landscapes to the cultural landscapes of the wealthy white elite, many Boulder residents unabashedly celebrate the city's recreational and conservation resources. This essay is not written to condemn progressively minded city planners, environmentally concerned citizens, or proactive government officials in Boulder. Instead, this story demonstrates the importance of the discursive formation of the conservation landscape in both the creation and the elision of the city's history.

This is also a story of people falling in love with a landscape that they, in part, created, both materially and symbolically. That love might have grown out of related fears, denial, alienation, and possibly hostility toward racial others and the working class, as

Kosek, Smith, and Delgado and Stefancic suggest.¹⁰² But, Boulder residents believed, as did Olmsted, and many still do believe, that contemplation or experience of the natural landscape fostered health and inner peace. So they cultivated a landscape that fulfilled their desire for a pristine nature, called that landscape into being, and, in the process, displaced portions of the landscape's social history that fell outside of the conservation narrative. With scientific and thoughtful management, Boulder's natural landscape has lived up to many of its residents' expectations. In a commonsense understanding of the landscape, the problems of class-based exclusion and overwhelming whiteness seem external to such a pure, simple, and sometimes spiritual relationship between the people and their natural landscape. Thus the relationship is fostered through everyday interactions, representations, and policy making. And the model is touted as an example to follow, with barely a second thought for the jettisoned social histories of the landscape not amenable to the discourse of conservation.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

¹ Florence Williams, "Twenty-Five Square Miles Surrounded by Reality," *New York Times*, 31 March 2008.

² Field notes, May 2008.

³ U.S. Census Bureau, "Fact Sheet: Boulder City, Colorado, Census 2000 Demographic Profile Highlights" (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau), *American Factfinder*, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/SAFFFacts?_event=ChangeGeoContext&geo_id=16000US0807850&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=boulder&_cityTown=boulder&_state=04000US08&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&ActiveGeoDiv=&_useEV=&ptxt=fph&pgsl=010 (accessed February 2007).

⁴ Rodriguez, Cindy, "Black Like Me'? Not in Boulder," *Denver Post*, 26 January 2006, final edition.

⁵ Research conducted includes a survey of Hispanic Boulder County residents' use and opinions of parks and open space (2008) and a textual analysis of Boulder Open Space and Mountain Parks literature (2007). Research in progress is an ethnographic exploration of the dynamics of race, class, and nature in Boulder.

⁶ Semiotic analyses of landscape include Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Stephen Daniels, "Marxism, Culture and the Duplication of Landscape," in *New Models in Geog-*

raphy, ed. Richard Peet and Nigel Thrift (London: Unwin and Hyman, 1989), 196–220; and James Duncan, *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandy Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Material analyses include Denis Cosgrove, “Landscape: Ecology and Semiosis,” in *Landscape Interfaces: Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes*, ed. Hannes Palang and Gary Fry (New York: Springer, 2003), 15–20; Don Mitchell, “Cultural Landscapes: The Dialectical Landscape—Recent Landscape Research in Human Geography,” *Progress in Human Geography* 26, no. 3 (2002): 381–89; Don Mitchell, “Cultural Landscapes: Just Landscapes or Landscapes of Justice?” *Progress in Human Geography* 27, no. 6 (2003): 787–96; and Kenneth Olwig, *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain’s Renaissance to America’s New World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

⁷ Ibid. (all of the references in note 6).

⁸ City of Boulder, “Some Facts about Boulder’s Open Space and Mountain Parks,” City of Boulder Open Space and Mountain Parks, www.bouldercolorado.gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1166&Itemid=1084 (accessed September 2008).

⁹ Mitchell, “Cultural Landscapes” (2003).

¹⁰ Williams, “Twenty-Five Square Miles.”

¹¹ Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984); Cosgrove, *Social Formation*; Daniels, “Marxism, Culture”; and Duncan, *City as Text*.

¹² William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), 69–90; Don Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); and Anne Whiston Spirn, “Constructing Nature: The Legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted,” in Cronon, *Uncommon Ground*, 91–113.

¹³ Smith, *Uneven Development*, 16.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Kenneth Olwig, “Recovering the Substantive Nature of Landscape,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86, no. 4 (1996): 630–53.

¹⁶ Timothy Oakes and Patricia Price, introduction to sect. 3 in *The Cultural Geography Reader*, ed. Timothy Oakes and Patricia Price (London: Routledge, 2008).

¹⁷ Olwig, *Landscape, Nature*.

¹⁸ Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, “Iconography and Landscape,” in *The Iconography of Landscape*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1–10.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1.

²⁰ Olwig, “Recovering.”

²¹ Ibid.

²² Smith, *Uneven Development*.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Stephen Daniels, “The Political Iconography of Woodland in Later Georgian England,” in Cosgrove and Daniels, *Iconography of Landscape* (see note 18), 43–82.

²⁵ Ibid., 43.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Daniels and Cosgrove, "Iconography and Landscape."

²⁸ Donald S. Moore, Anand Pandian, and Jake Kosek, "The Cultural Politics of Race and Nature: Terrains of Power and Practice," in *Race, Nature, and the Politics of Difference*, ed. Donald S. Moore, Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 1–70.

²⁹ Mitchell, *Lie of the Land*.

³⁰ Old buildings in this case are contrasted with historic buildings, which are preserved, restored, and interpreted for visitors. Historic buildings usually date to the frontier or early city era. The history of old buildings is destroyed in favor of a natural landscape, while the history of historic buildings is preserved and made to meld with the natural scenery, encouraging visitors to recall the early days when people farmed the land.

³¹ City of Boulder, "Open Space Board of Trustees Agenda," item 5, meeting date 12 March 2008, City of Boulder Board of Trustees, www.bouldercolorado.gov/files/openspace/pdf_osbtmemos/ahi_longmont_farms_acq_turkey.pdf (accessed September 2008).

³² City of Boulder, "Open Space and Mountain Parks Independent Research Reports," www.bouldercolorado.gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=9429&Itemid=3132 (accessed July 2008).

³³ Duncan, *City as Text*, 19; and Mary Louise Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," in "*Race, Writing, and Difference*," ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 138–62.

³⁴ James Duncan and Nancy Duncan, "(Re)reading the Landscape," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6, no. 2 (1988): 117–26.

³⁵ Mitchell, *Lie of the Land*, 30; and Mitchell, *Cultural Landscapes* (2002, 2003).

³⁶ Mitchell, *Lie of the Land*.

³⁷ Noel Castree, *Nature* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 8.

³⁸ Cronon, "Trouble with Wilderness."

³⁹ Noel Castree, "Socializing Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics," in *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics*, ed. Noel Castree and Bruce Braun (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001), 1–21, quotation on 5.

⁴⁰ Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Bruce Braun, "'On the Raggedy Edge of Risk': Articulations of Race and Nature after Biology," in Moore et al., *Race, Nature* (see note 28), 175–203; and Moore et al., "Cultural Politics."

⁴¹ William M. Denevan, "The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 3 (1992): 369–85.

⁴² Ibid.; Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Landscape Wars of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁴³ Ibid. (all of the references in note 42); and Cronon, "Trouble with Wilderness."

⁴⁴ Cronon, "Trouble with Wilderness."

⁴⁵ Doug Mercer, "Future-histories of Hanford: The Material and Semiotic Production of a Landscape," *Cultural Geographies* 9, no. 1 (2002): 35–67.

⁴⁶ Jake Kosek, "Purity and Pollution: Racial Degradation and Environmental Anxieties," in *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, and Social Movements*, ed. Richard Peet and Michael Watts, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2004), 125–65.

⁴⁷ Giovanna Di Chiro, "Nature as Community: The Convergence of Environmental and Social Justice," in Cronon, *Uncommon Ground* (see note 12), 298–320, quotation on 300; and Dorceta E. Taylor, "American Environmentalism: The Role of Race, Class and Gender in Shaping Activism, 1820–1990," *Race, Gender and Class* 5, no. 1 (1997): 16.

⁴⁸ Cosgrove, *Social Formation*; and Smith, *Uneven Development*.

⁴⁹ Kosek, "Purity and Pollution."

⁵⁰ From \$375,000 in 2000 to \$476,500 in 2004 (Housing Collaborative, "Boulder County/Broomfield Housing Needs Assessment," City of Boulder: Boulder Community Reference Report [2005], 8, www.bouldercolorado.gov/files/HSSHHS/Boulder%202005%20Needs%20Assessment.pdf [accessed September 2008]).

⁵¹ Field notes, May 2008.

⁵² Linda Peake and Brian Ray, "Racializing the Canadian Landscape: Whiteness, Uneven Geographies and Social Justice," *Canadian Geographer* 45, no. 1 (2001): 180–86.

⁵³ Field notes, July 2008.

⁵⁴ Interview, June 2008.

⁵⁵ Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, "Home-Grown Racism: Colorado's Historic Embrace—and Denial—of Equal Opportunity in Higher Education," *University of Colorado Law Review* 70, no. 3 (1999): 703–811.

⁵⁶ Robert Alan Goldberg, *Hooded Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Delgado and Stefancic, "Home-Grown Racism."

⁶⁰ Laura Pulido, "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California," *Annals of the American Geographers* 90, no. 1 (2000): 12–40.

⁶¹ Derek Christopher Martin, "Apartheid in the Great Outdoors: American Advertising and the Reproduction of a Racialized Outdoor Leisure Identity," *Journal of Leisure Research* 36, no. 4 (2004): 513–35; and Braun, "On the Raggedy Edge."

⁶² The arguments made in this section are based on information produced by the Boulder Open Space and Mountain Parks Department. Documents include Boulder Open Space and Mountain Parks websites and brochures, Open Space inventory reports, management policies, focus group reports, and visitation study reports. The

documents were evaluated for major themes and silences on the topic of people's interactions with and perceptions of nature.

⁶³ City of Boulder, *Long Range Management Policies*, City of Boulder Open Space Department (March 1995), www.bouldercolorado.gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=6478&Itemid=1087 (accessed March 2007).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ City of Boulder, "Some Facts."

⁶⁸ City of Boulder, "Amazing FACTS!" City of Boulder Open Space and Mountain Parks Department, www.bouldercolorado.gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2830&Itemid=1071 (accessed March 2007).

⁶⁹ City of Boulder, "Amazing FACTS!"; and City of Boulder, *Long Range Management Policies*.

⁷⁰ Smith, *Uneven Development*.

⁷¹ City of Boulder, *Long Range Management Policies*, 8–1.

⁷² Pulido, "Rethinking Environmental Racism."

⁷³ Although the categorization of Latinos as a racial other is contested, I use it because when I asked Latino and Hispanic Boulder residents what their race is, the majority of them said "Hispano," "Latino," or "Mexicano." See also Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, 3rd ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute, 1987).

⁷⁴ "Leave No Trace Brochure," City of Boulder Open Space and Mountain Parks and Leave No Trace Outdoor Ethics, n.d.

⁷⁵ Cronon, "Trouble with Wilderness."

⁷⁶ Duncan, *City as Text*.

⁷⁷ Cronon, "Trouble with Wilderness"; and Olwig, *Landscape, Nature*.

⁷⁸ Cosgrove, *Social Formation*; Mitchell, *Lie of the Land*; Olwig, *Landscape, Nature*; and Smith, *Uneven Development*.

⁷⁹ "City of Boulder Open Space and Mountain Parks 2004 Attitudinal Survey," Boulder Open Space and Mountain Parks, 2004, www.bouldercolorado.gov/files/openspace/pdf_research/04_Attitudinal_survey_results.pdf.

⁸⁰ Interviews, 2008.

⁸¹ Interview, Boulder Reservoir staff, November 2007.

⁸² Pulido, "Rethinking Environmental Racism," 13.

⁸³ Field notes, July 2008.

⁸⁴ Interview, July 2008.

⁸⁵ Interview, Boulder County employee, June 2008.

⁸⁶ City of Boulder, *Long Range Management Policies*, 6–1.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 6–2.

⁸⁹ Boulder Municipal Channel 8, *Open Space Mountain Parks: Our Legacy and Our Future*, video (2003), www.bouldercolorado.gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2989&Itemid=1142 (accessed July 2008).

⁹⁰ Frederick Law Olmsted, “Preliminary Report upon the Yosemite and Big Tree Grove,” in *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted: The California Frontier, 1863–1865*, ed. Victorian Post Ranney et al. (1865; repr., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 488–516, quotation on 504; quoted in Olwig, *Landscape, Nature*, 199.

⁹¹ Delgado and Stefancic, “Home-Grown Racism.”

⁹² Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. *The Improvement of Boulder Colorado: A Report to the City Improvement Association* (1910; repr., Boulder: Thorne Ecological Foundation, 1967), quotation on 6.

⁹³ Delgado and Stefancic, “Home-Grown Racism.”

⁹⁴ Mitchell, *Lie of the Land*, 30.

⁹⁵ Notably, by the mid-1900s, with its population growing, Boulder began recruiting “clean” industry, such as research and development firms, to come the city: “New residents meant both new opportunities and new challenges. Although jobs were needed, townspeople wanted to preserve the beautiful natural setting and amenities developed over the years” (City of Boulder, “History,” 2006, www.bouldercolorado.gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3225&Itemid=1736 [accessed July 2008]).

⁹⁶ Interview, Boulder County employee, June 2008.

⁹⁷ City of Boulder, “Open Space Board of Trustees Agenda.”

⁹⁸ City of Boulder, “History.”

⁹⁹ Olwig, *Landscape, Nature*.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 202.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 206.

¹⁰² Delgado and Stefancic, “Home-Grown Racism”; Kosek, “Purity and Pollution”; and Smith, *Uneven Development*.