

Wildfires on the occupied lands known as California

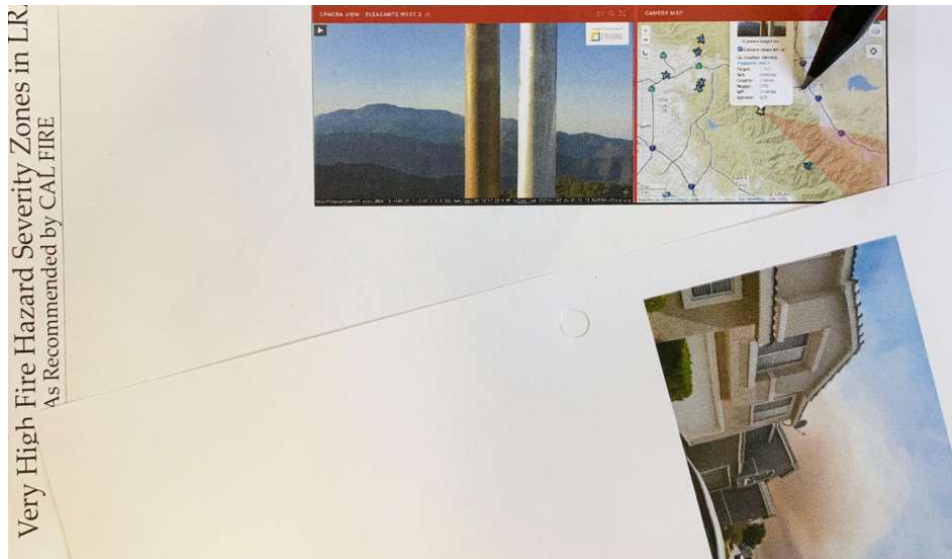


Fig. 1: Top right: CAMERA VIEW – PLEASANTS WEST 2, Inland Empire & Eastern Sierra CA, ALERT wildfire; bottom right: smoke plumes from the wildfire named Holy Fire in 2018 seen from the City of Corona [photo from author's family collection]; left: text from CAL FIRE Fire Hazard Severity Zones (photo: Anousheh Kehar, 2022, CC BY-SA)

“[Indigenous fire practices or cultural burning] is the use of fire by various Indigenous, Aboriginal, and tribal peoples to: (1) modify fire regimes, adapting and responding to climate and local environmental conditions to promote desired landscapes, habitats, species, and (2) to increase the abundance of favored resources to sustain knowledge systems, ceremonial, and subsistence practices, economies, and livelihoods. [Indigenous fire practices or cultural burning] is the intergenerational teachings of fire-related knowledge, beliefs, and practices among fire-dependent cultures regarding fire regimes, fire effects, and the role of cultural burning in fire-prone ecosystems and habitats” (Lake & Christianson, 2019).

i. While fire has many life-giving capacities, the destructive capacities of fire come to the fore in the case of wildfires across the unceded lands of what is called the US state of California. The text concentrates on how fire was made out to be wild in settler-colonial California¹. The role of Indigenous fire practices/cultural

burning has not been widely recognised on the scale at which they historically operated. Although accounts of large swaths of land on fire appear in early colonial documentation, the narrative of fire as a destroyer has prevailed over time and is rooted in colonial concepts of nature that separate humans from ecosystems. The notion of wild assumes the complexities and contradictions of nature as pristine and untouched, yet at the same time as unknowable and uncontrollable. However, these boundaries repeatedly dissolve in thinking about constructions of the wild as an operative mechanism congealed in extractivism and aesthetics.

Wildfire is the term used for unintentional mass fires in what is popularly known as California and the US West Coast. One of the ways in which land is categorised here is wildland. The wildland-urban interface (WUI), one common description, is “where humans and their development meet or intermix with wildland fuel” (quoted in USDA and USDI, 2001, p. 753). Wildfires are entangled in the political-economic organisation of land as property and commodity, shaped by desires and policies of land management. They preserve and uphold the acquisition of Indigenous homelands. The once widespread Indigenous fire practices, referred to as cultural burning, are greatly reduced today, especially for those who do not care to look; they are intertwined and enshrined in ongoing land occupation and continuing changes in land use.

Smoke I

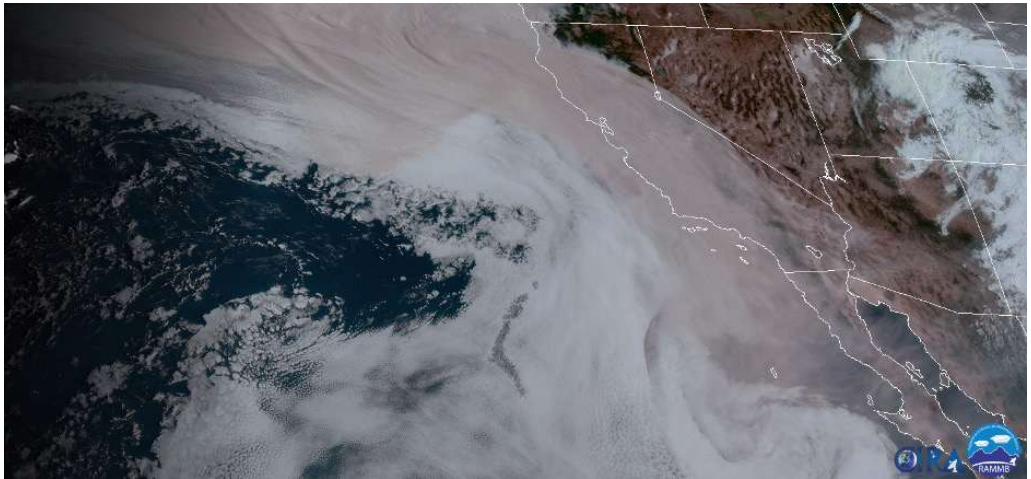


Fig. 2: “2020-09-10 – Massive smoke layer consumes Pacific West Coast – GOES-17 GeoColor” [image: seen via the RAMMB’s HTML5 Image Looper and captured by the GOES-17 satellite of the National Oceanic & Atmospheric Administration (Department of Commerce), NOAA/CIRA/RAMMB]

ii. The image from September 9, 2020 labelled “Massive smoke layer consumes Pacific West Coast” (see Figure 2) captures moving plumes of smoke and the occupied land territorialised as the U.S. outlined in white (the states of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Nevada and part of Montana, Utah, Arizona and Wyoming can be seen in the image). The smoke is from what are referred to as wildfires scattered across California, Oregon, and Washington. On the same day, a Wednesday, the South Coast Air Quality Management District released a smoke

advisory stating that “Smoke transported from fires in Central and Northern California may also contribute to widespread elevated PM2.5 concentrations (author’s note: fine particulate matter). Smoke impacts will be highly variable in both space and time through Thursday” (*South Coast AQMD continues smoke advisory due to Bobcat Fire and El Dorado Fire*, 2020, p. 2). Such advisories are a familiar feature in California and CAL FIRE and federal agencies reported 4,304,379 acres burned by 8,648 fires in 2020 (Office of the State Fire Marshal, 2020, p. 1).²

iii. The wildfire has expansive scales and registers

(Wild)fire

is a reaction,

a process of combustion,

moving from unstable to stable forms;

the (wild)fire

is not singular,

it is a part of,

made of,

from,

in reaction to/with,

and it produces,

produced, is producing

changing

making anew.

iv. The wildfire is complex, nuanced, and entangled.

Wild, in itself, is an abstraction worth unpacking.

Wild is a constructed colonial understanding,

a colonial incarnate.

Wild is a scientifically accepted terminology – burgeoned with coloniality:

categorizing,

a familiar and foundational feature of Western epistemology

(inadvertently, acknowledging the absence of knowledge – on the part of coloniality).

Wild, as a category,

manifests a type of civilness that is nothing if not harmful,

humanness that is separate from nature.

But here wild is also nature:

lush, pristine, untouched, uncontrollable,

hence, wild

destructive,

sublime,

wild is contingent, multiple

In a sense,

wild is property,

dispossession,

wild is criminalized.

v. Many of the attributes of wild were adopted in constructions such as the wildland, wilderness areas, wildfire, or wildland-urban interface. Not just in syntax.

These conceptions identify and produce very particular material conditions that have persisted well into the present, reflected in makings on occupied lands: in substantiations of soil, grasslands and the lack thereof, shrubs, fire regimes, and ecosystems.

vi. In present day North America, European colonisers saw the land as wildland – meaning unsettled, undeveloped, unused – and over time, under U.S. occupation, these ideas became entrenched in law, regulation, policy, land use and planning.

“[I]n the nineteenth century, the American dream was to conquer the wild lands, and displace [N]ative populations, in order to settle the continent and fulfill the nation’s ‘manifest destiny.’ In the twentieth century, wild lands became a scarce natural resource that first the U.S. Forest Service and then Congress sought to preserve and protect. In 1964 (author’s note: The Wilderness Act), the United States became the first country in the world to designate wilderness, ‘untrammelled’ areas ‘where man himself is a visitor who does not remain’” (quoted in Blumm & Erickson, 2014, p. 4). In a general technical report from 1976 titled “Wildland Planning Glossary” (Schwarz et al., 1976, p. 232–233), wildland is defined in the following ways:

1. *Non-urban areas that are not intensively managed and manipulated. They include most managed forests, but not city parks with their exotic plants, “manicured” lawns, and sprinkler systems. The term is not exact because it includes lands that are under management and are not truly wild. Through long usage, it has come to apply to lands that are sparsely settled and present a fairly natural appearance. Forests, deserts, mountains, grasslands and other extensive lands are normally included (Wagar 1964). This term is most often used as one of several terms of comparison to contrast the differing degrees of utilization and alteration of land which occur – e.g., urban land, agricultural land and wildland. The dividing lines between these states cannot be defined in any generally acceptable quantitative terms. The only firm sense of differentiation between these terms exists when they are used to describe broadly contrasting natures and intensities of land utilization. “Wildlands” are simply those natures and intensities of use on the least utilized and altered side of the continuum from totally developed to completely untouched (C.F.S.).*
2. *Lands unoccupied by crops, pastures, urban, residential, industrial or transportation facilities. Lands over which man has not extended his complete and permanent domain with his bulldozers, plows and asphalt spreaders (After Calif. Univ., Wildland Res. Cent. 1959).*
3. *Uncultivated land, except fallow land (Ford-Robertson 1971)*
4. *Land that is uncultivated or unfit for cultivation (Webster 1963)*

vii. There has been a desire to be close to the wildlands – to be abutted with what is understood as natural, undeveloped landscapes – in areas of California since the twentieth century. Mike Davis writes about the entanglements of the burgeoning housing developments in southern California since the latter part of the twentieth century, the expansion in real estate and its perilous social and environmental impact through an analysis of labour, economics and politics. In 1995 he wrote: “Los Angeles has deliberately put itself in harm’s way. For generations, market-driven urbanization has transgressed environmental common-sense. Historic wild-fire corridors have been turned into view-lot suburbs, wetland liquefaction zones into

marinas, and flood plains into industrial districts and housing tracts. Monolithic public works have been substituted for regional planning and a responsible land ethic. As a result, Southern California has reaped flood, fire and earthquake tragedies that were ... avoidable, and unnatural” (Davis, 1995, p. 223). He goes on to say that “as Los Angeles’ urban fabric continues to be extended into ... mountain fire ecologies, the social costs of protecting private development from natural disaster are exploding. ... And the continuing growth of white-flight suburbs in the chaparral belt is raising the public costs of fire protection to unforeseen levels” (Davis, 1995, p. 235).

viii. Through processes of (sub)urbanisation in southern California, the aesthetic of wilderness is a coveted commodity. It is nature as the extractable sublime. An article from 2020 suggests that “home ownership in a fire-prone, wildland-adjacent neighborhood has become an increasingly valuable investment for those who can afford it. This situation is likely creating perverse incentives for continued development of the wildfire-prone WUI for high-end Housing” (Garrison & Huxman, 2020, p. 5). The concept of the Wildland-Urban Interface (WUI) first appeared in a research budget document prepared in 1987 by the US Forest Service, which grew out of fire and water concerns of the U.S. Defense Atomic Support Agency and U.S. Office of Civil Defense. These agencies became aware of ‘mass’ fire as a possible threat to urban areas through simulations of the impacts of a nuclear attack. One of the simulation sites was at the California-Nevada border (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1987, quoted in Sommers, 2008, p. 13–16). In the document from 1987, the WUI is described as “Where large urban areas are adjacent to State, Federal, and private forest lands, the intermixing of city and Wildland has ... brought about major problems in fire protection, land use planning, and recreation impacts” (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1987, quoted in Sommers, 2008, p. 13).

Agencies and institutions continue to use and describe the term WUI. One article explains that “Southern California’s WUI is concentrated along the coast in coastal sage scrub and chaparral ecosystems whose high vegetative fuel loads, Mediterranean climate, and proximity to ignition sources from urban areas and roads combine to produce periodic wildfires” (Garrison & Huxman, 2020, p. 2). The authors note that “For the purpose of [their] analysis, Southern California is defined as the following ten counties, which collectively cover the southern portion of the state: Imperial, Kern, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura” (Garrison & Huxman, 2020, p. 4).

Another describes the WUI as “[t]he encroachment of urban development into largely natural areas. In California this interface often occurs in foothills and higher-elevation areas that developed more recently after valleys and lower-elevation agricultural lands were fully developed” (Mooney & Zavaleta, 2016, p. 893). A compilation titled *Encyclopedia of Wildfires and Wildland-Urban Interface Fires*, describes the WUI as “the area where wildland vegetation meets or mixes with humans and their development, including houses and infrastructure. The term is mainly used in the context of wildfire to define the potential risk that WUI fires pose to human settlement” (Manzello, 2020, p. 1.167).

The California Fire Science Consortium, coordinated by UC Berkeley, states that “Due to the ubiquitous nature of fire losses in the wildland-urban interface of California, the WUI module of the California Fire Science Consortium encompasses the entire state” (*Wildland-Urban Interface [WUI]*, 2020).

It can be said that the WUI is defined and interpreted in different ways, even within the state of California.

ix. In a work titled *Ecosystems of California*, the authors explain that “As a disturbance, fire is unique in that its intensity and frequency depend on the growth rate of the medium (vegetation) it destroys. Because of this, there is a broadly inverse relationship between fire frequency and intensity, with the strength of that relationship varying by ecosystem type (Huston 2003). Worldwide, fire is a keystone process in Mediterranean-type climate ecosystems, determining structural and distributional patterns of both flora and fauna and influencing biodiversity on both ecological and evolutionary time scales (Keeley et al. 2012). In many ecosystems fire is a principal consumer of plant biomass, and it removes, recycles, and renews various nutrients in plants and soils (Sugihara et al. 2006). In many ways it is an important component of the trophic pyramid in ecosystems in that it competes with other herbivores (Bond and Keeley 2005)” (Mooney & Zavaleta, 2016, p. 27).

It is worth noting that in this case, fire is not described so much as a destructive problem but the authors describe more of its relational and life-sustaining capacities. They then go on to say that southern California is predisposed to fire, a predisposition that is determined by its topography and weather, and particularly in the case of Southern California, the Santa Ana winds (Mooney & Zavaleta, 2016, 34).

Smoke II



Fig. 3: Image of smoke plumes from the wildfire named Holy Fire in 2018 seen from the City of Corona (Graphic: video from author's family collection annotated by author)

x. The camera moves from left to right, right to left, back and forth, back and forth. It gives a sense of the approaching plumes of smoke.

This time the smoke was closer than the wildfire.

On August 9, 2018, looking south-east from a front yard on Viewpointe Lane, the smoke travelled toward Riverside as though moving in stacks. Riverside County is a part of the unceded homelands of the Acjachmen, Tongva, Kizh, and Payómkawichum Peoples. The smoke is from the Cleveland National Forest, where the wildfire is burning. How do the dense stacks of dark clouds carry this borrowed memory

as they obscure the blue skies? These plumes of smoke, seen from a neighbourhood enclave in the City of Corona, California, were from a wildfire that started in Trabuco Canyon, east of Holy Jim Canyon in the Santa Ana Mountains of the Cleveland National Forest. They were from a wildfire named the Holy Fire that burned 23,136 acres over almost five weeks (see Figure 3).

On each of the days between August 6 and August 15, 2018, the South Coast Air Quality Management District released a smoke advisory stating that “Winds will be from the west/southwest today before transitioning to a southerly wind during the overnight hours. During the overnight and early morning hours, downslope winds may bring smoke into the valleys west and southwest of the fire. Overall, meteorological conditions may bring smoke into portions of Los Angeles County, Orange County, Riverside County, and San Bernardino County. Air quality may reach unhealthy levels or higher in areas directly impacted by smoke” (*SCAQMD issues smoke advisory due to Holy Fire*, 2018, p. 1).

xi. The Santa Ana Mountain range is part of Trabuco Ranger District of the Cleveland National Forest located in Riverside, Orange, and San Diego Counties. While some of the land is privately owned, most of the forest is managed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s Forest Service, and all of it is occupied Indigenous homelands.

xii. “Climatically, there are fire-prone ecosystems on nearly every continent that evolved natural fire regimes regionally (Bond et al. 2005). Within many of the fire-prone ecosystems, Indigenous adaptations for burning and resultant cultural fire regimes, as coupled socio-ecological systems, reflected their need to ‘learn to live with fire’ (Spies et al. 2014; McWethy et al. 2013). Spatially, Indigenous fire stewardship practices had the highest influence around settlements, their wildland-urban interface (e.g., permanent villages, seasonal camps) and travel corridors (i.e., trails and roads) that linked with more intensively managed habitats containing food, material-fiber/basketry, wildlife/prey, and other desired resources (Turner et al. 2003)” (Lake & Christianson, 2019).

xiii. Before Spanish and American colonization and occupation, regions within what has popularly come to be known as California were modified and maintained by their respective Indigenous peoples through different burning practices. Forests were sparse, with openings between canopies to let in light for healthy ecosystems, water and land (R. Goode, personal communication, between 2020–2021). Grasslands were a notable feature. Microecologies, biodiversity and mosaics of vegetation were preferred and shaped with diverse Indigenous burning practices.

xiv. In different periods of Spanish and American colonization and settlement, there was a great reliance on timber and lumber for construction. The light-filled forests were gutted for production and then regrown into thick forests in a frenzy to ensure steady supplies of wood. Valued as a resource by colonizers and settlers, wood was/is tangled with the aesthetics of lushness – a bountiful nature, a dense forest. Along with state, county, and private ownership, the US Forest Service is one of the federal agencies that manages lands and resources. One way in which it generates revenue, historically and in the present, is through timber sales.

However, most forests that the US Forest Service manages in southern California today are for recreational purposes: to be consumed as a fetishized aesthetic. A coveted commodity—Nature, National Forests, or National Parks. This requires continuing dispossession. A reminder of the many ways “US sovereignty rests on anti-Indigenous concepts of race and place” (Palmer, 2020, p. 793).

xv. Wild is a function against the complex ecological processes mediated by purposeful burning practices instrumental “in shaping the [presettlement] landscape (Kimmerer 2000)” (Kimmerer & Lake, 2001, p. 37). Robin Wall Kimmerer and Frank K. Lake note that the colonizers and settlers saw the burning practices as “destructive and hazardous” (Kimmerer & Lake, 2001, p. 36) and made Indigenous fire practices undesirable over time. The respective Indigenous fire practices were not banned immediately, nor did they stop entirely. However, processes of removing fire from the lands did take place – and for the most part, institutionalized fire suppression and fire exclusion continued well into both the twentieth century as well the present day.

An early instance of a Spanish colonial ban on burning practices by Indigenous peoples around what is now called Southern California comes in the form of a proclamation in 1793. “Arrillaga’s Proclamation” was prepared by the Spanish colonisers for its province of The Californias. The proclamation, “Given in Santa Barbara, May 31, 1793” by Governor Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga, warned the Indigenous peoples against the use of fire “and particularly the old women, not to become liable for such offense, but also by threatening them with the rigors of the law, ... to which end the [commanding officers are authorized to undertake] whatever may be expedient in carrying out [the] order” (quoted in Timbrook et al., 1982, p. 170).

Another part of it states: “I see myself required to have the foresight to prohibit for the future ... all kinds of burning, not only in the vicinity of the towns but even at the most remote distances ...” (quoted in Timbrook et al., 1982, p. 171). It continues with an order “to take whatever measures they may consider requisite and necessary to uproot this very harmful practice of setting fire to pasture lands, not omitting any means ...” (quoted in Timbrook et al., 1982, p. 171).

xvi. Under U.S. governance, a section of the Crimes and Punishment Act in 1850 addressed what was considered a menace and destroyer – fire – fining those involved in setting fire “not less than twenty dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars” (quoted in California Department of Natural Resources, 2018, p. 60). This did not include those who owned what was being burned, who had given their neighbors prior notice (California Department of Natural Resources, 2018, p. 60). A different terminology was adapted in 1852: “The act of ‘procuring’ the setting of a fire was made a crime. ‘Lands’ was added to the places where a fire should not be set. A ‘court of competent jurisdiction’ was specified as the necessary place of conviction. The possible fine was raised to \$200–\$1,000, and a 10-day to 6-months sentence in the county jail was prescribed” (quoted in California Department of Natural Resources, 2018, p. 61).

xvii. Kimmerer and Lake argue that “[t]his marginalization of [Indigenous] knowledge arose partly out of ignorance and prejudice, but also because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence ...” (Kimmerer & Lake, 2001, p. 38). They point to

the intrinsic limitation of accepted methods and evidentiary material in Western science (Kimmerer & Lake, 2001, p. 38). “Accounts of [Indigenous] burning are found in notes, journals, and the oral tradition. These are qualitative, anecdotal sources that are not readily accepted by Western scientists whose training is usually limited to interpretation of quantitative data ... Much [Indigenous] knowledge has been lost to time and forced assimilation, but much persists in the oral tradition and practices of contemporary native communities, who are only rarely consulted as equal partners ...” (Kimmerer & Lake, 2001, p. 38).

xviii. A 2020 publication titled “Good Fire: Current Barriers to the Expansion of Cultural Burning and Prescribed Fire in California and Recommended Solutions” by Sara A. Clark, Andrew Miller, and Don L. Hankins – For The Karuk Tribe, states that “While the continuity of cultural burning following European and American colonization has been limited at best, the practical knowledge of burning has been maintained among some practitioners through applied burning, or recounted in the stories from prior generations” (Clark et al., 2021, p. 1). Decades of a variety of activities by Indigenous fire practitioners and scholars are reflected most recently in the two California bills that were passed in early 2022. On paper, Assembly Bill No. 642 (*Bill Text – AB-642 Wildfires*, n.D.) and Senate Bill No. 332 (*Bill Text – SB-332 Civil liability: prescribed burning operations: gross negligence*, n.D.) expand fire practice and reduce liability for cultural fire practitioners.

Smoke III

xix. A *Los Angeles Times* article from April 24, 2013, titled “Riverside County to send some inmates to work at state fire camps” describes incarcerated people who are to be enlisted in the fight to protect housing developments (St. John, 2013). The accompanying image shows a 2010 fire in Tehachapi, California with people clad in yellow and orange suits, white helmets, and different harnesses, moving across in a line in front of the towering plumes of smoke.

The complex network of firefighters in California is constantly being reorganized under hierarchical structures. Those incarcerated who fight wildfires are part of the Conservation Camp Program, a vocational training program that has been running since 1945 under the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. The incarcerated are paid less than a minimum wage to fight the wildfires. During an emergency, those at work are allotted an extra one U.S. dollar per hour for a single day’s labour and two days are deducted from their prison sentence: a transaction known as 2-for-1 (Goodkind, 2019). In 2014, “California fought court orders to apply those 2-for-1 release credits to other rehabilitation work programs” (Goodkind, 2019) so as not to see a decrease in the number of inmates fighting the wildfires. The program was becoming less popular with the incarcerated due to the potential threat to life and the fact that once released, they could not be employed as firefighters due to obstructions resulting from their criminal records (Sibilla, 2018). In September 2020, a bill titled AB 2147 was signed into law. “Under, AB 2147 a person who participates as part of a state or county fire camp would be eligible to apply for expungement upon release from custody, and if the expungement is approved could seek various career pathways including those that require a state

license” (*AB 2147: Expedited expungement for formerly incarcerated fire camp participants*, 2022). “In October 2020, CAL FIRE and CDCR announced the depopulation of eight of the state’s 43 conservation camps. The eight camps – four in the north and four in the south – had been operating at well below capacity for some time. The consolidation was part of Governor Newsom’s 2020–21 state budget, which called for the camps to be consolidated by the end of December 2020” (*AB 2147: Expedited expungement for formerly incarcerated fire camp participants*, 2022).

xx. Ruth Wilson Gilmore’s book *Golden Gulag* (2007) has made many important contributions to dismantling the separation between seemingly different types of land use in California – prisons and housing development. One of these contributions is to show that there is a recognition of landscape relationships where prisons do not sit outside environmental concerns, where land use is not fixed, and where housing developments are not separated from people who are put in prison. Here I want to reflect briefly with the book on the fact that some of California’s prison population is enlisted in the fight against wildfires.³ I take my cue from Gilmore’s reformulation of incarceration as a question of political-economic reconfiguration rather than one premised on the often-repeated ties of prisons and labour.

Examining social-environmental relations, Mike Davies’ *City of quartz* follows the ‘slow-growth’ movement (which seems to lay the foundation for cities/municipalities to make decisions about how they develop and in maintaining exclusive neighbourhoods), and the fashioning of a “new urban environmentalism” (Davis, 1990, p. 170) attached to ideas of exclusivity, from which emerges a “militarization of city life so grimly visible at the street level” (Davis, 1990, p. 223). He writes: “... on the bad edge of postmodernity, one observes an unprecedented-tendency to merge urban design, architecture and the police apparatus into a single, comprehensive security effort. This epochal coalescence has far-reaching consequences for the social relations of the built environment. In the first place, the market provision of ‘security’ generates its own paranoid demand. ‘Security’ becomes a positional good defined by income access to private ‘protective services’ and membership in some hardened residential enclave or restricted suburb. As a prestige symbol – and sometimes as the decisive borderline between the merely well-off and the ‘truly rich’ – ‘security’ has less to do with personal safety than with the degree of personal insulation, in residential, work, consumption and travel environments, from ‘unsavory’ groups and individuals, even crowds in general” (Davis, 1990, p. 224).

The vocabulary used in Davis’ description of the “comprehensive security effort” is similar to the one used for the protection of homes against wildfires. The most common measure is the hardening of homes, i.e. making them fire-safe in different ways, and creating defensible space between housing developments and places where fires occur, i.e. wildlands.

xxi. Remember here that the WUI is premised on land being wild, that is construed as wildland. And in relation to early US federal and state policies, where wildland was defined as unsettled lands.

Consider that wild as an aesthetic interwoven with land use;
Capital – entangled with developers and with design practice – as premised on this aesthetic;

and wildlands as a set of preservation and conservation practices that prolong the life of this fetishized aesthetic to prepare it for extraction, while also transforming the life-giving capacities of fire regimes into destructive wildfires.

I am thinking with Libby Porter here, who writes on dispossession and displacement not as one and the same but as working in tandem because of the politics that underpin both and that are premised on “liberal rights and subjectivities” (Porter, 2014, p. 392). The context of Porter’s writing is a different reading of the urban, but I believe it could address the context of the wildfire, helping recognise the different structures shaped by colonisation, settlement, and capitalism – structures that entrap dispossession and subjugation, instilling extractivism.

I find it useful to conclude with Mishuana Goeman’s work, which teaches us, through the literary work of E. Pauline Johnson, “to think through the way colonial relationships are mapped onto bodies through legal constructs that are both produced and productive of spatial and social relations with the state” (Goeman, 2013, p. 45) – relationships that are hidden in the construction of the wild as an aesthetic.

Comments

- 1 This excerpt is from an ongoing doctoral research project on wildfires on the occupied lands known as California and thinking with Indigenous fire practices (cultural burning) to expand architectural praxis.
- 2 A note on the agencies in the report: CAL FIRE: State Responsibility and Local Government Contracts; Federal agencies: Contract Counties, United States Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, National Park Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Fish and Wildlife Service, and Military.
- 3 As Gilmore explains in an interview on the *Death Panel* podcast with Beatrice Adler-Bolton on 6 October 2022: “And so then thinking about, for example, mass incarceration, and mass criminalization, even when people are not necessarily locked in cages, but people’s ability to move around or stay put are interrupted by the fact of criminalization, then, you know, we can take a step back and say, so what is the political economy that kind of holds this form together? ... So, if for each of us, we are a place, a kind of place, as my geography professor Neil Smith theorized a long time ago, then what what happens in mass incarceration or mass immobilization is that the economic activity surrounding that is dependent on the extraction of time from each person. So from each spacetime, right, that it’s time that’s extracted.”

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