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[Figures 37–62, p 141–151]

The Canadian government invested nearly \$1 billion when hosting the G8/G20 summit in the summer of 2010, \$676 million of which was devoted to security during the events. New infrastructure included a three-metre-high fence that stretched for nearly ten kilometres, seventy-seven additional CCTV cameras around Toronto's downtown and four "long-range acoustic devices." \$330 million was budgeted for policing.⁻¹ The Toronto Police Service, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and other forces from around Canada were present in the city. In the face of this securitization, the G20 event in Toronto (the G8 summit was held in nearby Muskoka just prior) was met by a counter-forum of activists representing a plurality of causes. On June 26, 2010, a peaceful march of thousands took place on the streets of Toronto. By late afternoon, the largest mass arrest in Canadian history had begun. In all, 1,105 people were apprehended on the weekend of June 26-27, 2010.⁻²

Part of this securitization scheme included converting the cavernous Toronto Film Studios into the makeshift Eastern Avenue Detention Centre (EADC). Inside, the detained were held in conditions that have been described as "deplorable."⁻³ They were segregated from the demonstration and events "inside" were actively excised from the collective memory of the G20, as cell phones and cameras were confiscated and real-time reporting was disallowed. Four years later, an attempt has been made here to resurrect the EADC and expose its architecture of control, one as ephemeral as the event itself. This project is intended to revive the EADC through two methods. First, from the point of view of several detainees through mental sketch mapping (MSM). Cultural geographer and environmental psychologist Jen Jack Gieseking describes MSM as having varied application and results, though it can offer a qualitative understanding of the experience and memory of place.⁻⁴ We have

¹
CTV.ca News Staff,
"Ottawa Releases
Costs for G20, G8
summits," CTV,
November 5, 2010,
[www.ctvnews.ca/
ottawa-releases-
costs-for-g20-g8-
summits-1.571322](http://www.ctvnews.ca/ottawa-releases-costs-for-g20-g8-summits-1.571322).

²
Alessandra Renzi
and Greg Elmer,
Infrastructure
Critical: Sacrifice
at Toronto's G8/
G20 Conference
(Winnipeg:
Arbeiter Ring
Press, 2012).

³
Deborah Cowen
and Neil Smith,
"Martial Law
in the Streets
of Toronto: G20
Security and State
Violence," Human
Geography 3, no.
3 (2010).

⁴
Jack Jen
Gieseking, "Where
We Go From Here:
The Mental
Sketch Mapping
Method and
Its Analytic
Components for
Social Science
Data Gathering,"
Qualitative Inquiry
19, no. 9 (2013).

adapted this method here in an attempt to give form to people's memories of the largest mass arrest in Canadian history. Second, I made requests for access to information from the Toronto Police Service for documents related to the planning and design of the detention centre. It was my hope that any official drawings of the detention centre would help validate the memories described by the participants and potentially also serve to unveil some of the machinations behind the construction of this architecture of control.

In June 2012, the Toronto Police Service Board appointed the Hon. John W. Morden to head an Independent Civilian Review of policing at the G8/G20 summit and found (amongst other things) violations at the EADC which included failing to detain young persons in accordance with the law (they were not held separate from adults, as well as denied counsel and communication with a parent or guardian); engaging in unsuitable and routine strip searches; failing to provide reliable access to medical care; ignoring international standards with respect to the use of restraints; and failing to provide those arrested with sufficient information concerning their detention.⁻⁵ There has yet to be a full public inquiry into the events of the G20.

Using MSM, this project has attempted to revive the memory of those few days—through a collective process of recollection and investigation—when a film studio on Eastern Avenue was transformed into a prison. I was able to make contact with a handful of people who were arrested that weekend and collectively we sketched our own MSMs, or simply provided a textual account of our time in the EADC. The drawings of Amelia H. and Jay W. are featured in this piece, as well as the written accounts of Meaghan D., John P., Mark D., Faraz S., and Dana H.. On their own, these accounts provide damning evidence of police abuse, but it was also my hope that they would serve to focus a counter-narrative concurrent to any information I was given through the requests for documents.

In late January 2014, I made several access-to-information requests for documents from the Toronto Police Service with specific regard to the planning and construction of the EADC. The transformation from film studio to mass temporary holding site required certain logistics, but the contingency of its planning and construction has served to hide it from the official record. The EADC

must have had a particular arrangement for construction—its size would suggest as much. Ideally, the release of official architectural drawings would allow for a base on which to begin an MSM project, and detainees could provide a check against the official record. My requests were continually denied. As such, our collective recall would have to be more speculative.

Here then we have used MSM as a means of storytelling, using cognitive mapping as a way of communicating memories. The sketches, drawn four years after the events, are mostly textual in context. In fact, some participants chose simply to write. The drawings and stories curated thus far represent a non-comprehensive sketch of the conditions inside the detention centre, but this participatory project works as a resuscitation of site and toward a reconciliation of events. Faraz S. guides us through his weekend: “Photographed in this area with bungling officers and subpar cameras. Held here next, asked if I’m a suicide risk, shirt taken off. Not sure of arrangement here, spent 2pm-6pm in a cell in this place. Held with six other people overnight.” Though uncertain about some specific details, his memories are deeply embedded in his personal experience; through this account, combined with additional sketches, a collective record begins to emerge. In Mark D.’s retelling, he is careful to take into account the spatial dimensions of the detention centre:

I was held in a cell within view of the bus bay near the front entrance. As I recall, my cell was positioned on the far left hand side of the bay, stretching all the way from the north wall until about halfway down the east wall. As I recall, the eastern wall was divided into two cells of roughly equal size. Mine was quite large and had ample room to lie down in—though I know that others weren’t as fortunate. All told, I recall having approximately 12-20 people in my cell.

The stories collected contain memories that oscillate between distinct specifications and foggy impressions. Though participants remember the physical layout differently, their memories of events constitute a shared experience. John P., who wears a prosthetic leg, writes:

I did not have my glasses at Eastern and did not see very well during my stay there. The police would not give me my leg as they said it could be used as a weapon. People were also calling out for water, food, blankets and other things. Many were cold. I had my one shoe on but some were in bare feet. I was in a huge room, with human voices mixed in with police noises, buses and banging. Everything was a blur.

Meghan D.'s account details the overcrowded conditions, and the humiliation forced upon her for no reason other than her gender: "Second cage. 38 women. 20' x 10'? Had a washroom. No room for all of us to stretch out at the same time. Still in zip-tie cuffs but struggled out of them here. Fed cheese sandwich & cup of water... I was searched a third time. They take my bra."

Surprisingly, several of my requests for information were returned in time for this publication. These provide an initial and partial documentation of the facility. What they reveal is a decidedly planned detention centre, rather than a makeshift and ad hoc "solution." The drawings of the facility included here are by architecture and interior design firm One Space. Emphasizing interior design over architecture proper, The Toronto Police remind us: "Please note that the EADC facility was not constructed. The building had already been in place while its interior was altered in preparing for the above-noted event."⁶ One Space's portfolio includes working spaces for the Toronto Police Service and the Canadian Consulate in Dubai. (One Space has declined to comment on this particular project, their participation only revealed through the access-to-information requests.) The plans speak for themselves, and indeed they reveal a significantly more elaborate facility than any one contributor was able to recall from their MSMs. The thirty "bullpen cells" clearly denote a larger operation than any one person's experience suggests. The orientation of the building also contradicts the initial layout used for the MSMs, as the floor plan we used assumed a different building footprint. With these final drawings of the EADC, the next phase of sketching would be to "ground-truth" the building, combining the method begun with our MSMs and the official architectural record. Combining the MSMs with

the released documents allows us to move closer to confronting the pop-up architecture of state repression. In 1989, geographer Edward Soja invoked cognitive mapping as a way of revealing “a hidden and insidious human geography that must become the target for a radical and postmodern politics of resistance.”⁷ The One Space drawings are abstractions, of course, but carrying out the MSM activity produces a counter-narrative. The drawings and texts are a channel for people to tell their stories, and contribute towards the mounting testimony regarding the events of June 26-27, 2010.

One can read here a contradiction internal to public space: It exists as a venue for both liberation and control, for democratization and surveillance. Inside a detention facility, this dialectic breaks down, as state control over bodies exerts psychological and political control. In so far as public actions confront a politics of fear, in detention, democratic resistance is less amplified or publicized. This project is an attempt to find a method of unlocking the space of detention from the monopoly of those who built the infrastructure. One Space is governed by their own logic, as are the Toronto Police and Canadian government. This investigation will not, on its own, result in accountability, but as there has yet to be a full public inquiry into the G20, we can advocate for this type of documentation to serve towards that eventuality.

In addition to the architectural drawings, I have also acquired other documentation, including receipts, lists of equipment for processing prisoners, and several images of the building while under construction. One drawing entitled “Alternate Facility” seems to be a conceptual rendering in support of the final design. Along with these, we are presenting memories from a handful of those who were there, not to claim comprehensiveness but to begin the act of collective remembrance and offer our contribution towards an “architecture of record” revealed by the requested documents. And, like the event itself, this project is not without its own contradictions. As Dana H. writes of her experience: “But I also remember the strength of the other women I found myself with. I carry forward the friendships I made in those cages. Most days I’m just happy to forget.”

7
Edward W. Soja,
Postmodern
Geographies: The
Reassertion of
Space in Critical
Social Theory
(London: Verso,
1989), 63.

Figures

↓ Pop-up, Lock-down, pp 99–103 ↓

Toronto Police Service, Eastern Avenue Detention Centre, 2010. Access to information requests (Retrieved June 17, 2014).



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39

Incarceration



Figure 40

Scapegoat 7



Figure 41



Figure 42



Figure 43



Figure 44



Figure 45

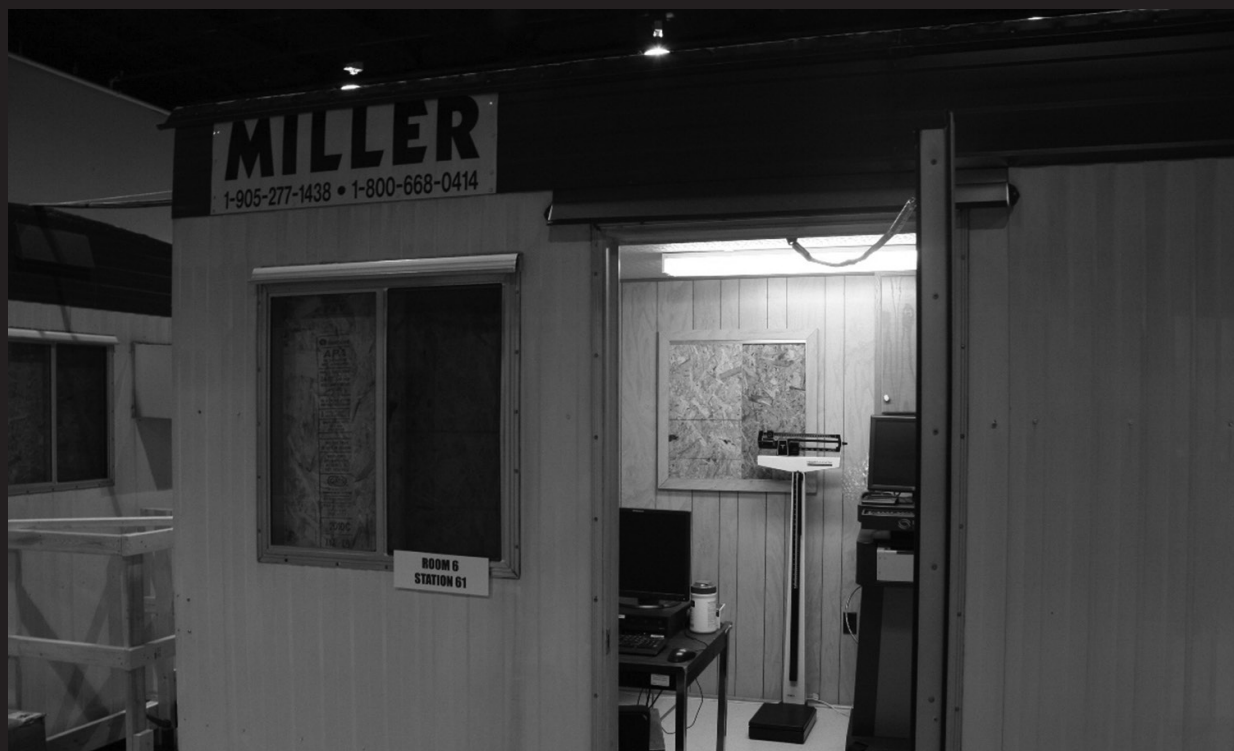


Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 48

Incarceration



Figure 49

Scapegoat 7



Figure 50



Figure 51



Figure 52



Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55

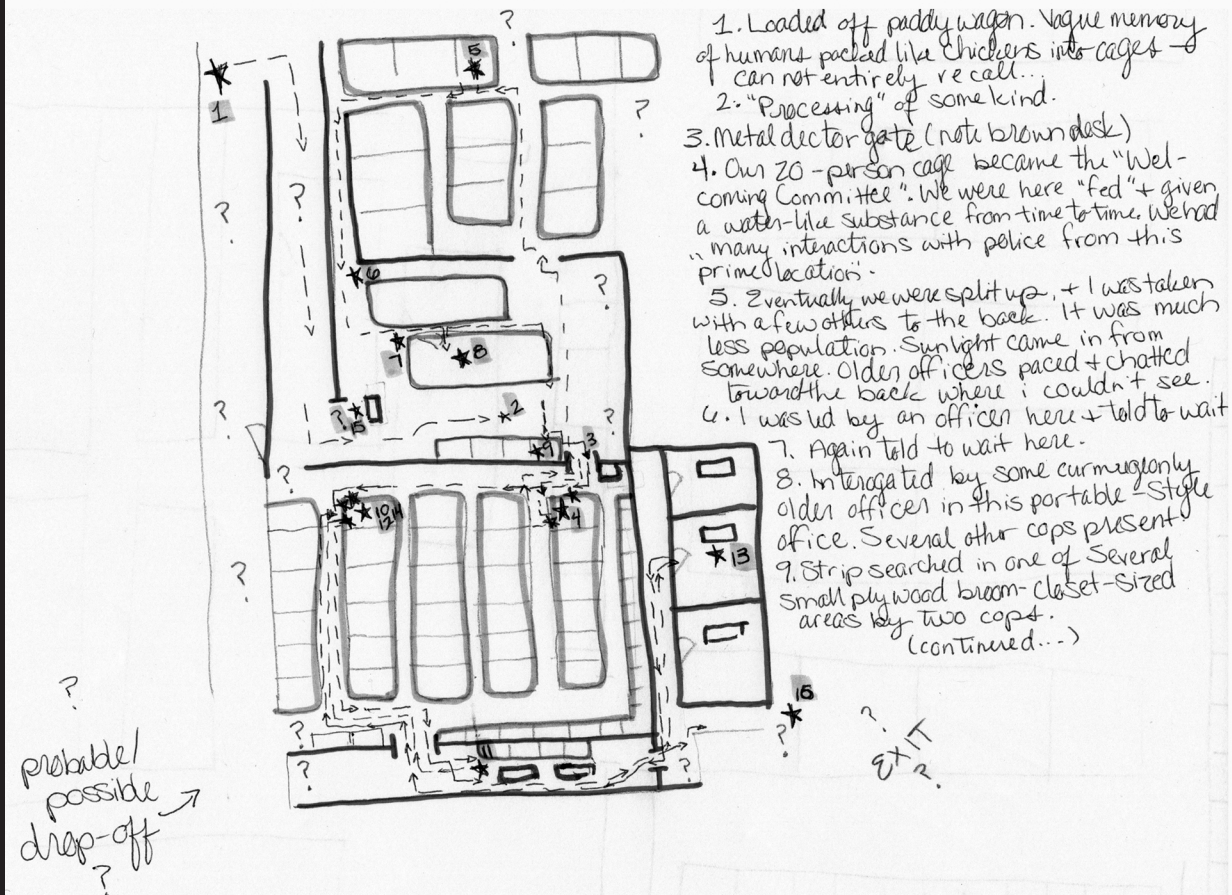


Figure 56

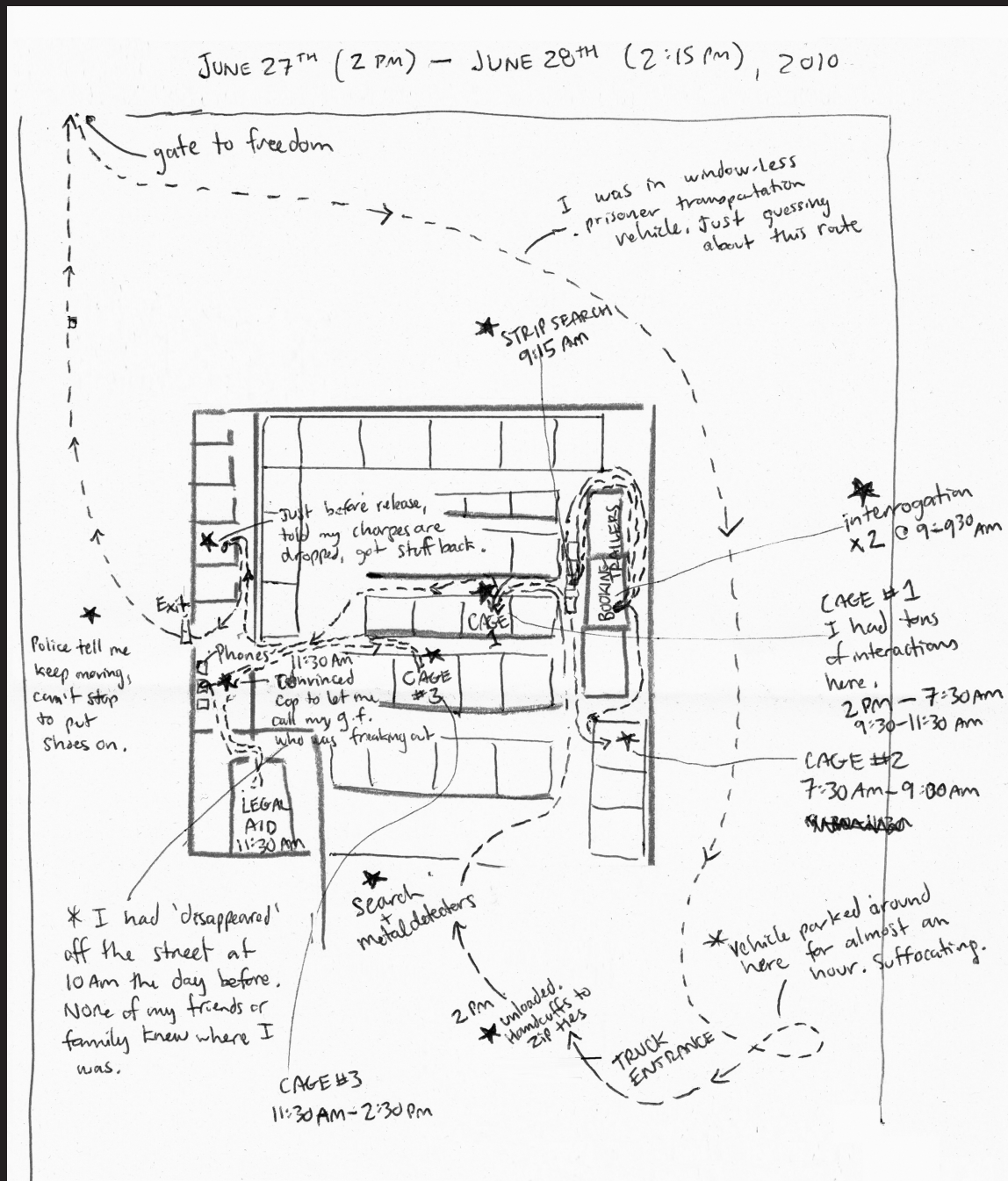


Figure 57

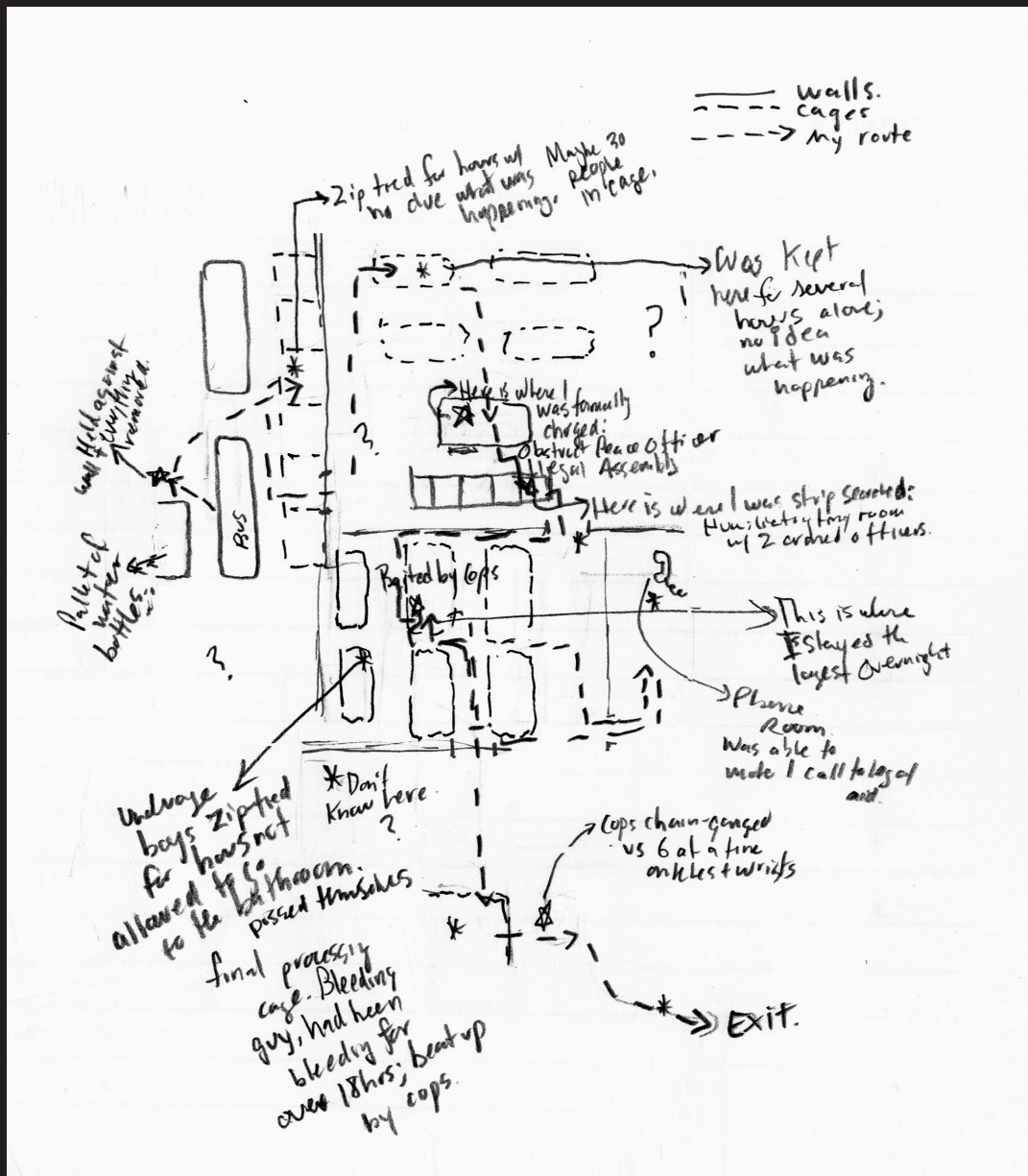
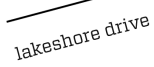


Figure 58



149

eastern avenue

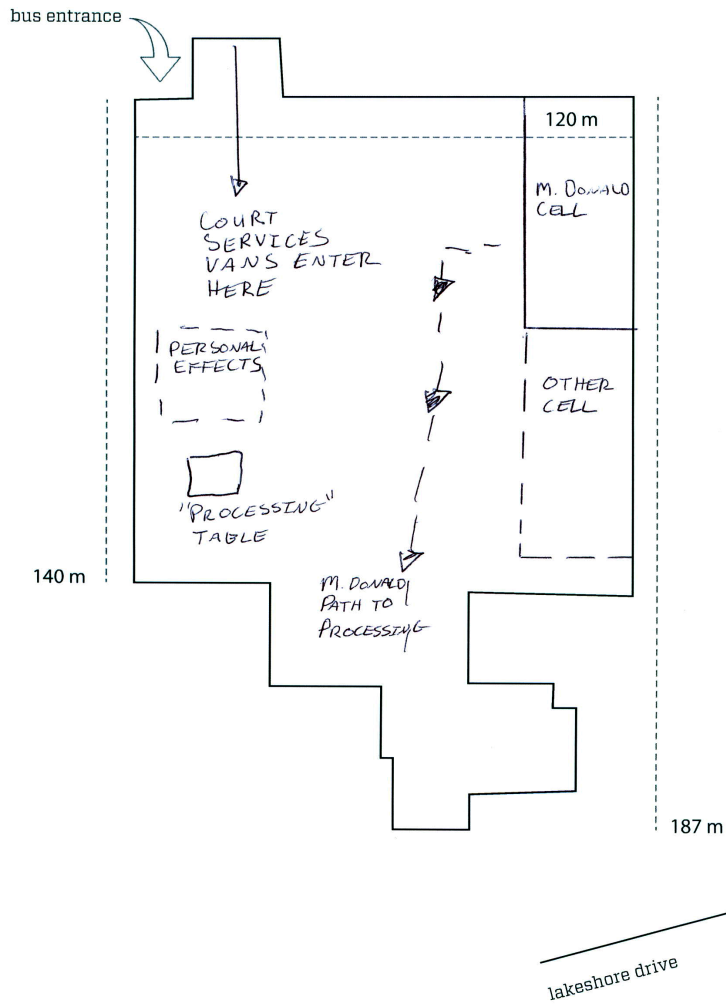


Figure 60

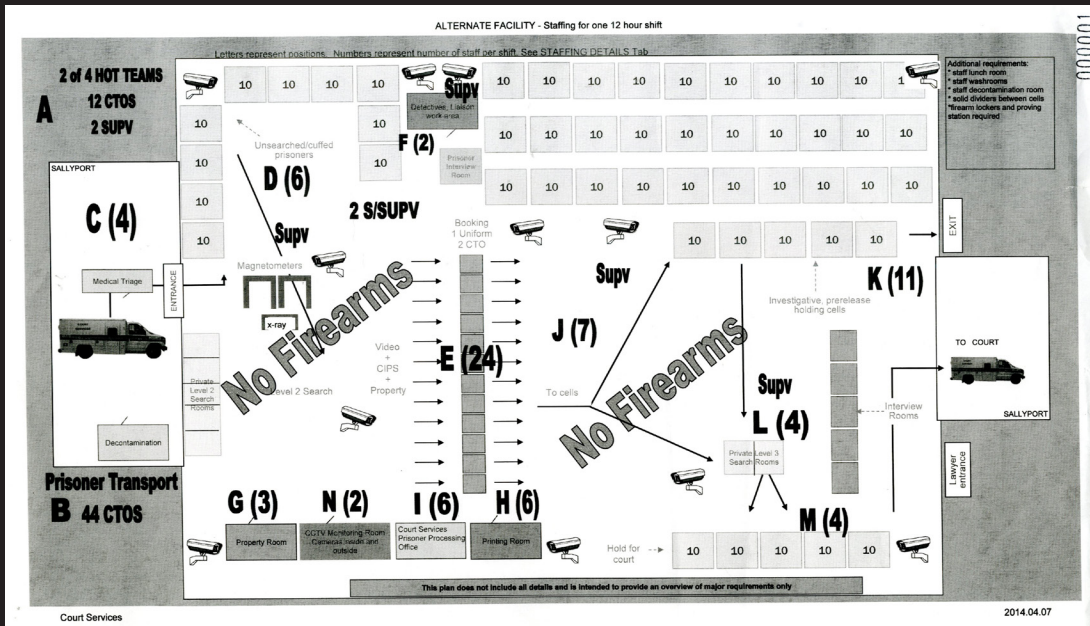


Figure 61: Toronto Police Service, Alternative Facility Plan, 2010.

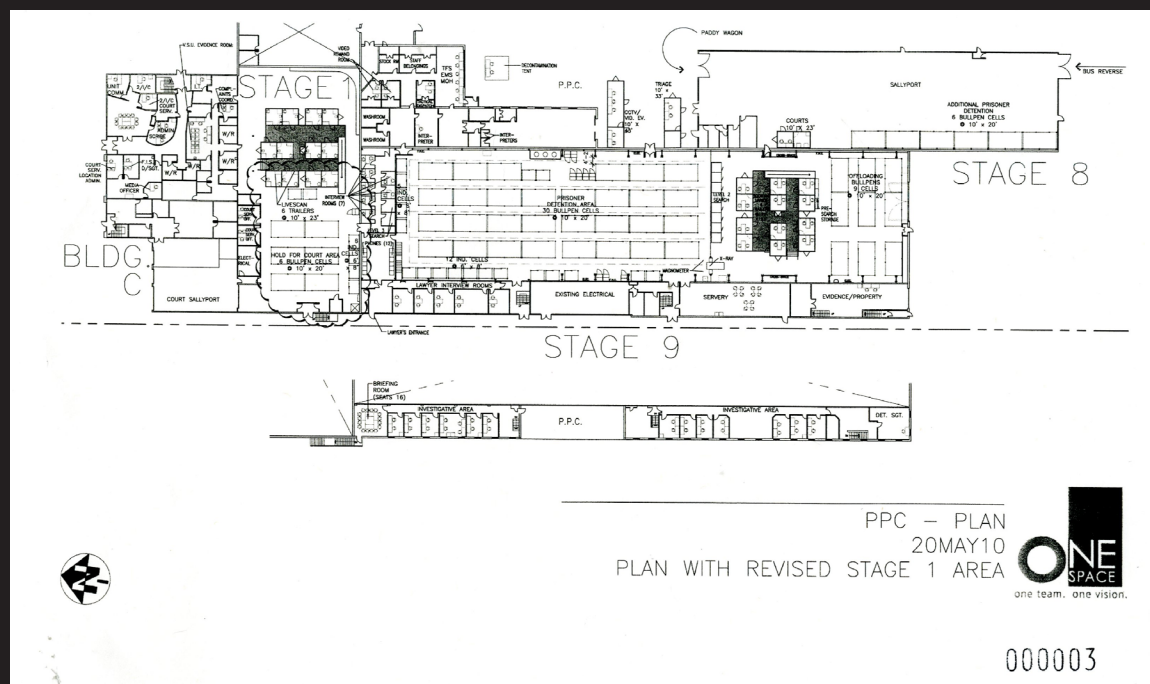


Figure 62: One Space, EADC Floorplan, 2010.